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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCHES

MADE BY THE

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society

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PREFACE.

In this, the twenty-seventh volume of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, the Committee of Historians take pride in stating that they present to the reader one of the most interesting volumes of the series. Each year in the history of this society since its organization has brought to us valuable papers that have secured to us important history relating to this State, which have been secured to posterity through these annual publications. The collections of the past year have been no exception and the material of this volume is but an additional proof of the value of this society in procuring and distributing to our public libraries a history of the earlier days of our State that may be made a study for both old and young in all the years to come. Among other interesting matter here offered we desire to call particular attention to the life of Senator Lucius Lyon, found at page 404, and also to letters written by him, commencing at page 412. These letters contain a history within themselves, that are beyond value to the student of State affairs. The society is under many obligations to Mr. L. G. Stuart, who gave time and expense to secure these letters.

The paper found at pages 341 and 346, relating to the boundary lines of our State, have been carefully prepared from records and maps, and the society is under many obligations to Miss Annah May Soule in giving us the benefit of her labor by these articles. These, with articles from the same source in a previous volume, give the entire history of our State boundary.

The article at page 390, presented by L. G. Stuart, relative to "How the Upper Peninsula became a part of Michigan," will be "news" to a majority of the readers of this work.

Two valuable papers have been presented to the society by Charles Moore. The one at page 260 relates to the Ontonagon Boulder, a freak

from the mineral kingdom, discovered in early days in the Upper Peninsula and considered so valuable as to merit a place in the National Museum at Washington. The second, are the interesting copies of the Manuscripts of Gladwin, supplemented with a historical sketch of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, found at page 605.

The elderly reader and pioneer will find interest in the articles relating to the life and labor of Hon. Thomas D. Gilbert and Col. Michael Shoemaker, both eminent men of this State in their time and for many years prominent and efficient members of this society. The reminiscences given by the pioneers will be found of usual interest to the old and seem as a romance to the young. In a few years more these memoirs will be but ancient lore to all our readers, for there will be no pioneer of our State left among us to give us his recollections of Michigan in its primitive days.

HENRY H. HOLT, *Muskegon*,
THERON F. GIDDINGS, *Kalamazoo*,
L. D. WATKINS, *Manchester*,
GERRIT J. DIEKEMA, *Holland*,
CYRUS G. LUCE, *Coldwater*,
Committee of Historians.

Lansing, May 15, 1897.

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ERRATA.

Page 2, seventh line from bottom, for Benjamin F. Baxter read Benjamin L. Baxter.

Page 422, fourth line from bottom, for J. H. Poinsett read J. R. Poinsett.

Page 428, fourth line from top, for Rev. E. H. Pitcher read Rev. E. H. Pilcher.

MICHIGAN

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 3 AND 4, 1896.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society convened in the senate chamber of the capitol at Lansing on Wednesday, June 3, 1896, at 2 o'clock p. m.

The president, ex-Gov. Alpheus Felch, not being able to be present, on account of illness, the secretary called the meeting to order and requested Hon. Henry H. Holt, the senior vice president, to take the chair. On assuming the chair Mr. Holt spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen—No one regrets more than I the absence of Governor Felch. I had hoped that he would be here, not only on account of meeting him, and seeing him, but on account of the aid he renders to us in every respect. From a letter from him, written within a few days, I find that he is as able to write as good a letter as any of us, and if you should undertake to correct it, or change it, you would be unable to improve it. He is a most remarkable man. He has not quite the ability to get around and walk about that he once had, but so far as his mind is concerned, he is as able to write as good a letter as he ever was. At our last meeting but one, in 1894, he was very active and had a very exhaustive paper on the Indians of Michigan and the cession of their lands to the United States by treaties, which you will find published in full in Volume 26 of our collections.

The session was opened with prayer by Rev. Wm. H. Osborne and singing of "America" by the audience.

The following officers were present, viz.:

Acting President—Hon. Henry H. Holt, Muskegon.

Treasurer—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

Recording and Corresponding Secretary—Geo. H. Greene, Lansing.

Executive Committee—Hon. O. M. Barnes, of Lansing; Hon. Daniel Striker, of Hastings, and Hon. Theron F. Giddings, of Kalamazoo.

Committee of Historians—Hon. Henry H. Holt, of Muskegon; L. D. Watkins, of Manchester, and ex-Gov. Cyrus G. Luce, of Coldwater.

Vice Presidents—Hon. Daniel Striker, of Barry county; Hon. Harvey Haynes, of Branch; Ralph Watson, of Clinton; Esek Pray, of Eaton; C. B. Stebbins, of Ingham; Albert F. Morehouse, of Ionia; Henry Bishop, of Kalamazoo; Wm. N. Cook, of Kent; Geo. H. Cannon, of Macomb; and Hon. Henry H. Holt, of Muskegon.

There were other members of the society present as follows: Hon. D. C. Walker, of Capac; M. H. Bailey, Dimondale; Charles W. Barber, Howell; Hon. David B. Hale, Eaton Rapids; M. D. Osband, Grand Rapids; Hon. Geo. W. Thayer, Noys L. Avery, Wm. N. Cook and Rev. R. C. Crawford, Grand Rapids, and delegates from the Old Residents' Association of Grand Rapids; Mrs. Sarah E. Striker, Hastings; Edward W. Barber, Jackson; Lawrence S. Meech, Meridian; Mrs. Jane M. Kinney, Port Huron; Mrs. Laura D. Burr, Mrs. Sarah M. Church, Rev. Wm. H. Haze, Andrew Jackson, Henry N. Lawrence, Mrs. Caroline Felch Grant, Mrs. John W. Longyear, Lansing.

The reports of the recording secretary, treasurer, and corresponding secretary were read and on motion each was accepted and adopted.

Hon. Henry H. Holt, for the committee of historians, made a verbal report and said he would file a written report in time to be printed with the proceedings.

Miss Edna Brown, one of the pupils from the School for the Blind, then favored the audience with a song, "Love is a Dream."

The secretary then called the roll of counties for memorial reports, when the following counties responded through their vice presidents, either in person or by letter, viz.: Barry, Hon. Daniel Striker; Branch, Hon. Harvey Haynes; Calhoun, John F. Hinman; Clinton, Ralph Watson; Emmet, Gen. Isaac D. Toll; Genesee, Goodenough Townsend; Ingham, C. B. Stebbins; Ionia, Albert F. Morehouse; Jackson, Josiah B. Frost; Kalamazoo, Henry Bishop; Kent, Wm. N. Cook; Lenawee, Benj. F. Baxter; Livingston, Albert Tooley; Macomb, Geo. H. Cannon; Monroe, John Davis; Muskegon, Hon. Henry H. Holt; Saginaw, Chas. W. Grant; Shiawassee, Alonzo H. Owens; St. Clair, Mrs. Helen W. Farrand; St. Joseph, Calvin H. Starr; Tuscola, Wm. A. Heartt.

Edward W. Barber, of Jackson, then read a very exhaustive paper on the life and labors of Col. Michael Shoemaker, after which, on motion of

Hon. Daniel Striker, the thanks of the society was extended to Mr. Barber for his very able address.

An interesting paper entitled "Michigan as a Territory and Some of its Inhabitants," by J. Warner Wing, of Dexter, was read by Hon. Theron F. Giddings..

Misses Edna Brown and Gertie Richardson, pupils from the School for the Blind, sang a duet, "Music and Her Sister, Song," after which several of the pupils gave a fine exhibition in calisthenics and in reply to the question, How do you go to work to teach these pupils? Supt. E. P. Church said:

"I am glad of the opportunity to say something to you about these pupils. I would say that it has to be individual work. The teacher cannot stand before the class and say to them 'do as you see me do.' She must go to every pupil and take the arm and hand and make the movement, and they know the time by the music. If I had space I could give you a military drill. We have that almost every day when the weather is good. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of this association, for the opportunity to represent this State institution to you. You are a body of candid, thinking people. You pay taxes. I wanted you to see the results of some of the outlay which you have in a State institution, which is probably less known than any other institution in the State. We wish to take every opportunity to advertise this institution. The boundary line between our pupils and our pupils in the public schools, is the inability to pursue their studies with comfort and safety in the public schools. People do not have to be absolutely blind to go to our school. We teach handicrafts, beside almost all branches that are taught in the public schools. I wish you could hear a recitation in algebra and higher arithmetic. I wish you could hear them recite in civil government and United States history. We are trying to train them for citizenship, and for self support, so far as it is within their reach. There are two things which all citizens should have. We try to teach them, so far as possible, an intelligent knowledge of the duties of citizens of the great commonwealth. We try to teach them moral character also. You are all invited to go out and visit the school. If you know of a blind child anywhere who needs the advantages which our institution affords, put that child into communication with myself so that it may be in the school. I thank you very much for the privilege of presenting the work of this school to your attention.

The chair appointed a committee of three, consisting of L. D. Watkins, Theron F. Giddings and Rev. Wm. H. Haze, to nominate officers for the year 1896-7.

Five minute speeches were called for and responded to as follows:

Albert F. Morehouse, of Portland: Mr. President—Among the gifted

writers for *The Youth's Companion* is one Lewis J. Bates. I knew him more than fifty years ago as a boy, living in Portland where I reside. The first effort of settlers is to get a home for themselves, the next is to build a schoolhouse. Accordingly we had a schoolhouse built near the stock yards in Portland. As soon as we obtained the schoolhouse the inevitable itinerant Methodist preacher came and held meetings in the schoolhouse. As soon as the meetings commenced of course every one was interested, for every one was meeting hungry. Among the younger population were three boys, Lewis J. Bates, Edward Perrin and Wm. W. Bogue. They were much moved by the preacher's sermons, and holding a consultation one day decided that in the evening they would go forward to be prayed for. Accordingly when the meeting was opened they pressed their way into the schoolhouse. Now the schoolhouse was warmed by a fireplace that occupied about one-half of the end of the schoolhouse, and there never was a chair there, but the seats were slabs with holes made with an auger into which pins were driven to raise them to the proper height. At the proper time in the meeting the minister requested those to go forward who wished to be prayed for, and our three boys were already there according to agreement. Then, encouraged by what he saw, the minister requested them all to kneel down and pray. They all kneeled down. There was no passage from the fireplace to the door because the house was filled. Bates was nearest the fireplace, Bogue next, and Perrin next, and Bates at the suggestion of the minister commenced praying. He confessed his own sins, bewailed his lost condition, and having expressed himself fully on that point commenced confessing for his companions, and so base were his confessions that Perrin whispered to Bogue kneeling next to him, "What is the little cuss saying?" and bending his head still lower under the bench he wormed his way out between the legs of the bench and got to the door, and off he went, and that ended his convictions for that time.

Hon. Geo. W. Thayer, of Grand Rapids, in behalf of Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert, presented the society with a fine portrait, in frame, of her late husband, and in doing so spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I have assigned to me a pleasant service, that of presenting to this society on behalf of Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert, of Grand Rapids, a portrait of her late husband. That the propriety of offering this portrait may be better understood and appreciated by those present not personally acquainted with Mr. Gilbert, I invite your attention for a few moments, while I, in a very brief way, introduce to you the man.

Thomas D. Gilbert was one of the pioneers of the Grand River valley. He was born in Greenfield, Mass, December 13, 1815. Sixty-one years

ago this June, he settled in Grand Haven, Mich., then a hamlet containing a half dozen settlers. He resided there twenty years, carrying on successfully in conjunction with his brother Frank B. Gilbert, a lumber, mercantile, warehouse and shipping business. He was sheriff of Ottawa county in 1841-2. In 1855 the Gilberts came to Grand Rapids. In 1860 Mr. Thomas D. Gilbert became secretary and treasurer and managing director of the Grand Rapids Gaslight Co., which position he held for thirty-five years. This company was one of the most successful corporations ever conducted in that city. He was a representative in the Legislature from Grand Rapids in 1861-2, serving on the committee of ways and means. In 1863 he was elected a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, on which he served for twelve years, and during that entire period was chairman of its finance committees. He was for several years a leading member of the Board of Education in Grand Rapids.

In 1865 he assisted in organizing the National City Bank of Grand Rapids, was elected its president and so remained until his death, Nov. 18, 1894.

In 1873 he was one of the organizers of the Board of Public Works for the city of Grand Rapids; was one of the original members of that board, and its president for five years, when he voluntarily retired from that body. He never sought any public position.

Mr. Gilbert was annually present at the meetings of this society, in which he took a deep interest, as he did in promoting the welfare of the Old Residents' Association of the Grand River valley, of which body he was president at time of his death. Grand Rapid has never had a more active and useful citizen than Thomas D. Gilbert, or one who commanded a greater degree of respect from all of her citizens. As an evidence of this, there will be unveiled in the most central public ground in that city on Friday afternoon, the 5th inst, a life-size bronze bust of Mr. Gilbert, which has been provided entirely by a body of gentlemen who were his immediate business associates, and who will on that occasion present with proper ceremonies, the same to the city for whose best welfare Mr. Gilbert labored untiringly during all the years that he was a resident of it.

As Mr. Gilbert was for so many years one of the leading Regents of the University, President Angell will bear a most prominent part in the dedication and unveiling exercises.

In this brief manner, I have endeavored to make known to those here present, who did not before know, something of one of the noblest and best citizens of Michigan, whose portrait I now have the honor to present.

The chairman, Hon. Henry H. Holt, in a few appropriate remarks, accepted the gift in behalf of the society, and on motion of the secretary the thanks of the society were extended to Mrs. Gilbert.

Mr. Thayer, president of the Old Residents' Association, in behalf of his society, of the mayor of Grand Rapids and of the gentleman who had provided the bust, then extended a most cordial invitation to our venerable president and the society to be present on the occasion of the unveiling.

Hon. Daniel Striker then moved that the president of this society together with the senior vice president, and secretary be appointed delegates to represent this society on that occasion, which was adopted.

Music by Miss Ella Bower, a song entitled "Anchored."

Adjourned to 7 o'clock in the evening.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The society met pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by the chairman. Prayer was offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

The secretary then read a letter from the president, ex-Gov. Felch, which he had just received, and which was as follows:

[A facsimile of this letter will be found in the front part of this volume.]

Following the reading of the letter was a paper entitled "The Indiana-Michigan Boundary," by Miss Annah May Soule, of Ann Arbor, followed by a song by Mr. Gage Christopher, entitled "Let All Obey."

A very interesting article on the "Ontonagon Boulder" by Charles Moore, of Washington, D. C., was read by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

Music—Song, "A Story Ever Sweet and True," by Mr. Frank Cowley, who responded to an encore, "Forget Me Not."

A paper entitled "Recollections of the Barry County Bar Forty-Five Years Ago," by Hon. James A. Sweezey, was read by Mrs. Sweezey.

Five-minute speeches were then called for and responded to as follows:

Judge D. C. Walker: Mr. President—Were it not so late in the evening I should like to have occupied five minutes. The name of Geo. Martin, referred to in the paper just read, is one of peculiar importance in my mind. I remember him at college; he graduated while I was a junior. Too much cannot be said of the ability, of the kindness, of the nobleness of nature of Geo. Martin. The last time I saw him was in 1836. Years before the saying to the young man to "go west," I had taken it into my head I would go west. I went to Chicago looking for a place to commence the practice of my profession I found some fifty or sixty young lawyers all waiting for a place to begin, and I concluded I would go back to Michigan. Chicago had then about three hundred inhabitants. I had concluded to locate in Grand Rapids. I was on a lumber wagon drawn by four horses through the woods. The driver had no particular road, and as the stage came up from Kalamazoo, Geo. Martin was aboard. I

told him I had concluded to locate in Grand Rapids. He said, "I am going there." Geo. Martin was a noble man in every respect. All that has been said in his praise I can testify to. I came to Michigan when Michigan was in a state of political purgatory; it was neither a State nor a territory. It had two governors, one a governor of the State, and the other a governor of the Territory. Stevens T. Mason had been elected as Governor of the State, and the people were so anxious to arrive at the condition of Statehood that they actually drove John S. Horner across the river into Canada, and Stevens T. Mason remained as Governor, although the State was not yet admitted into the Union.

Hon. Henry H. Holt: I would indorse all that Mr. Walker has said in regard to Judge Martin. It happened so I came to Michigan in time to be admitted to the bar by George Martin.

Mr. C. B. Stebbins: Mr. President—I knew George Martin. I was his roommate at one time when he was studying law. He was a universal favorite. All the young people thought there never was such a fine fellow as George Martin. He came to Michigan about the same time I did.

The meeting then adjourned until Thursday morning, at 9:30 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING.

The society met pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by the chairman.

Prayer by Rev. Wm. H. Haze.

Music—Song, "The Old Homestead," by Mr. Frank Lemon.

A paper entitled "Early History of Ray Township, Macomb County," by Geo. H. Cannon, was then read by him.

Hon. Harvey Haynes then read an interesting paper on his "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Coldwater and Vicinity."

L. A. Baker then favored the audience with a song, "The Old Arm Chair."

Hon. Geo. W. Thayer of Grand Rapids, then read a carefully prepared paper on the life of Senator Lucius Lyon, and at the close of the reading deposited with the society a mass of letters written by Mr. Lyon and copied from his letter books, expressly for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society by Mr. L. G. Stuart, of Grand Rapids.

A paper entitled "Early History of Michigan," by Wm. W. Warner, of Allegan, was read by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

Music—Song, entitled, "Old Glory," by Mr. Fayette Wyckoff.

Hon. Enos Goodrich's version of "Michigan, My Michigan," was then read by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

Music—A piano duet, "The Sledge Race," by Misses Edith Langenbacker and Clara Hurd.

Adjourned until 2 o'clock p. m.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The society met pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by the chairman.

Prayer by Rev. Clarence F. Swift, followed by music, a song entitled "The Clang of the Forge," by Mr. Leslie Manne.

The nominating committee made the following report, which was adopted:

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

Your special committee appointed for the purpose of suggesting to this society suitable persons to act as officers for the ensuing year, respectfully report as follows:

For President—Hon. Alpheus Felch, Ann Arbor.

Recording and Corresponding Secretary—Geo. H. Greene, Lansing.

Treasurer—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

Vice Presidents—Same as selected last year, excepting those that have died during the year or have declined to serve another year, and their places to be filled by the secretary upon suggestions from the several counties.

Executive Committee—Daniel Striker, Hastings; Orlando M. Barnes, Lansing; and Edward W. Barber, Jackson.

Committee of Historians—Henry H. Holt, Muskegon; Theron F. Giddings, Kalamazoo; L. D. Watkins, Manchester; J. Wilkie Moore, Detroit; Gerrit J. Diekema, Holland; and Cyrus G. Luce, Coldwater.

The secretary then called the roll of counties and vice presidents were chosen as follows:

Allegan—Don C. Henderson, Allegan.

Barry—Daniel Striker, Hastings.

Bay—Andrew C. Maxwell, Bay City.

Berrien—Thomas Mars, Berrien Springs.

Branch—Harvey Haynes, Coldwater.

Calhoun—John F. Hinman, Battle Creek.

Cass—

Clare—Henry Woodruff, Farwell.

Clinton—Ralph Watson, South Riley.

Crawford—Dr. Oscar Palmer, Grayling.

Eaton—Esek Pray, Dimondale.

Emmet—Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey.
Genesee—Goodenough Townsend, Davison.
Grand Traverse—Reuben Goodrich, Traverse City.
Gratiot—Wm. S. Turck, Alma.
Hillsdale—William Drake, Amboy.
Houghton—Thomas B. Dunstan, Hancock.
Huron—Erastus M. Stevens, Caseville.
Ingham—C. B. Stebbins, Lansing.
Ionia—Albert F. Morehouse, Portland.
Iosco—H. C. King, Oscoda.
Jackson—Josiah B. Frost, Jackson.
Kalamazoo—Henry Bishop, Kalamazoo.
Kent—Wm. N. Cook, Grand Rapids.
Lapeer—John Wright, Lapeer.
Lenawee—Benjamin L. Baxter, Tecumseh.
Livingston—Albert Tooley, Howell.
Macomb—Geo. H. Cannon, Washington.
Manistee—T. J. Ramsdell, Manistee.
Marquette—Peter White, Marquette.
Menominee—James A. Crozier, Menominee.
Monroe—John Davis, Monroe.
Montcalm—Joseph P. Shoemaker, Amsden.
Muskegon—Henry H. Holt, Muskegon.
Oakland—John M. Norton, Rochester.
Oceana—Enoch T. Mugford, Hart.
Otsego—Charles F. Davis, Elmira.
Ottawa—
Saginaw—Chas. W. Grant, Saginaw.
Shiawassee—Alonzo H. Owens, Lennon.
St. Clair—Mrs. Helen W. Farrand, Port Huron.
St. Joseph—Calvin H. Starr, Centreville.
Tuscola—
Van Buren—Kirk W. Noyes, Paw Paw.
Washtenaw—Wm. H. Lay, Ypsilanti.
Wayne—J. Wilkie Moore, Detroit.

A paper entitled, "The Public Domain—Its Surveys and Surveyors," by C. S. Woodard, of Ypsilanti, was read by the Hon. Theron F. Giddings.

Chairman then said: I understand Mrs. Kinney is present and wishes to make an announcement.

Mrs. Kinney: I wish to bear the greeting of the St. Clair County Pioneer Society to the State society, and invite any who can attend our meeting on June 23 at Port Huron to do so. We shall be glad to have any who can attend our meeting. We shall have a program

that will be agreeable. I say this as the vice president of our society. Our president is ill and I believe I am the only representative from St. Clair county.

Mr. Wm. N. Cook: Mr. President—I am gratified that the society is to meet on that day, because it is the day that we usually picnic at Grand Rapids, and also it is the anniversary of the arrival of the first permanent white settlers, who arrived on the 23d day of June, 1833.

Music—Song, "Out on the Deep," by Mr. George Curtiss.

The chairman, Hon. Henry H. Holt, then found it necessary to retire in order to reach home that night, and called ex-Gov. Luce to the chair, who presided during the remainder of the meeting.

"Sketch of the Settlement and Growth of Isabella County," also a "Sketch of Peter Naw-gaw-nee, a celebrated Indian of the Isabella Reservation," by John E. Day, of Mt. Pleasant, was then read by Lewis M. Miller.

A paper entitled, "Early Recollections of the Indians Located near Gull Prairie," by Frank Little, of Kalamazoo, was read by Hon. Theron F. Giddings.

A short paper, entitled "Indian Funeral Scene," by Judge Mason D. Chatterton, of Lansing, was then read by the secretary.

Five-minute speeches were then called for and responded to by Judge D. C. Walker, of Capac, who, after referring to the paper on "Pioneer Schools," by Hon. John M. Norton, of Rochester, which was expected to have been read, spoke as follows:

If there is any one point that I was a crank upon, it was the schools. In fact, I got the sobriquet in 1840 of being a crank on the subject of free schools. Now it is about forty years since the free school system was adopted in this State, and I have been surprised in the later years, in conversing with young men and young ladies twenty or twenty-five years old, who had never heard of any such thing as the schools being maintained under the rate system. You gray headed people, all of you, understand about that system. It was not peculiar to Michigan; it was peculiar to the United States at large. The wealthy men of the town were able to educate their children and were lavish in the amount that they expended in this way. But when we talked to them about having free schools, "Why," they said, "You might as well talk about having free tables, in every district in the State, as to have free schools." It happened that I was elected from Macomb county as a member of the convention of 1850 that was to make a new constitution for the guidance of the people. Judge Goodwin was president of that convention. He was a particular friend of mine—resided in the same district where I resided —and he probably had heard that I was a crank on this subject, for he placed me at the head of the committee on education, a committee of nine. I called the committee together and talked the matter over. I

found seven out of the nine were entirely opposed to the system of free schools. Mr. Cornell was as ardently and enthusiastically in favor of it as I was myself. *He* was a crank. We said to the other members of the committee, "What is your objection?" "Well, said a member, we have educated our own children, do you want us now to turn around and educate other people's children?" All would admit that the free school system was a fine foundation for any government, but thought that "Michigan was not yet old enough. Its districts were all sparcely settled. Wait until she was well settled"—and they might have said until they were in their graves—*then*, they would be in favor of free schools. But I drew up a report recommending the adoption of the system of free schools, and arranged it in such shape as to meet partially the objection of those who thought it was not quite time yet. I provided that it should be the duty of the legislature after five years to establish a system of free schools and dispense with the rate plan. The committee got together, and those who had formerly moved against it said, well, they would yield that point. We got five out of the nine authorizing us to make that report, and I went and made the report. But they figured after it got in the house before the convention to get some one to vote it down, and they go home with the reputation of having reported the system of free schools. But the result was that it was adopted.

Then I wrote to the secretary of each state in the Union, asking for information as to their system of free schools. The response came back from every state, with the exception of Wisconsin, that they had no state system of free schools. Wisconsin informed me that they had recently had a convention to vote to put in a clause in their constitution for the adoption of free schools, and it was to be submitted to the people, for affirmation or rejection. I had supposed and understood that Massachusetts had adopted this system, but from Massachusetts came back the response that there was no such thing, except in Boston. Under the charter of Boston, they had assumed the right to adopt the system of free schools. So that it was not in the east, where riches are supposed to come from—it arose in the west, and Michigan and Wisconsin have the honor of making the law in that system of free schools which has since been adopted.

And it is a positive fact that one man who was not in favor of the measure, when in the convention he found it was going through all right, got up and made a hifalutin speech in favor of it, and that man was given the credit of it, though he was not even on the committee, but before the convention made that very nice, hifalutin speech, and so came in for all the credit.

But now I regard it as the proudest act of my life that I was instrumental in bringing that law about. I have attended school exhibitions

in the villages, and I find that the class of people who were not able to give their children an education, the children of the poorer or laboring class of people compare not only favorably, but even as a rule excel in their education, and honors, and standing in society—even excel the children of the wealthy. Especially among the ladies and the girls—a girl up to the age of 12 or 14 years goes ahead of the boys in her acquisition of knowledge and education. You will find—and it has been the result that it has given a large amount of good employment to the ladies—members of families that, without the free schools, would have been mere household drudges, are now occupying good positions as teachers in our public schools, or as bookkeepers or as stenographers. I regard it as one of the greatest things that ever took place in the United States, the adoption of the free school system.

In Vermont I first got my ideas on the subject by attending the free schools. My father was well off, but there were others that were not. One man had thirteen children, another had eight or ten, and it so happened—it seemed to be a wonderful provision of nature—that the poor people would have the most children. A man who must live by the sweat of his brow, who has eight or ten children to support, if he has no capital to begin with, and if he is honest, he naturally becomes poor. The effect upon the schools was disastrous in every respect. The rate bills would accumulate. The teacher had to keep a roll book in which she had the number of attendance. Jonathan Hackett had thirteen children, but they were not all in school the same day. I inquired into the matter and found why the rest didn't come. "Father says he can't afford to send us all all the time, so he sends part of us for a day or two, and then we stay at home and let the others come for a day or two." It had a demoralizing effect upon the school and the scholars.

Little Miss Lena Hoffman then entertained the audience with a song, entitled "Rock-a-Bye."

Ralph Watson, vice president from Clinton county, then, in behalf of his county, extended a very cordial invitation to attend their annual pioneer meeting at St. Johns, on the 13th of June.

Gov. Luce was then called upon for a five-minute speech and responded as follows:

I don't know that I have any excuse why I should not say something to you. It is sometimes dangerous, however, to start me off. I never prided myself on my ability to say anything in a five-minute speech, but I can say something in a three-hour speech! This subject assigned to Mr. Norton sent my memory racing back over the years. It was on the second day of October, 1836, that my father, with his wife and six boys, located across the line from Michigan in Indiana, right in sight of Michigan. When I established a home for myself I had the good

sense to come this side of the state line. We were sort of pioneers in Ohio where I was born, and when we came to this State we were neither very poor and were not all rich. We went through the hardships that others endured. Our early education was secured in the typical and proverbial log schoolhouse. Ours was tamarack. As I look back over the years I wonder whether the hardships which we endured, whether the efforts we were compelled to make to secure something of an education, whether the result was not worth to us a part of those deprivations. I have little doubt that Mr. Walker received the elements of an education something in the same way. He did not go to a brick schoolhouse where they have blackboards, and all the implements for a modern education.

But I am going to confine everybody to five minutes and I want to talk a little about this subject of early pioneer life.

It may be thought by some that we didn't have the social enjoyments that we have now. As I told you I came from Ohio; I was the second of six boys; four have crossed the dark river, two still live. Our neighbors came from York state, a few from Pennsylvania. The York state people were a little more tony than the rest of the people. They dressed better—more style. And we were taught in those early days to take off our hats to the New York boys, and we naturally took them off to the girls without being taught at all. In those days the Ohio boys looked up to the York state boys. They don't do it any more. Ohio boys don't look up to the York state boys any more! The York state boys frequently have to take off their hats to the Ohio people now. We have got over that part of pioneer life.

Now, when we people wanted to take a ride, we secured a wagon and four horses, and put boards around on top of the box and secured about twelve people—six couples—six of the prettiest girls. My memory goes back to them now and my eyes fairly kindle as I think of those pretty girls. And then we used to have other good times. (Mr. Greene: Used to have spelling schools.) Yes, used to have spelling schools; Mr. Greene was there. We used to have good times. There was something about it that delighted the heart of the boy anyway. If there is any place where my heart goes out in sympathy and pity it is with the young couple that now start out for a ride! They get into a top carriage with the curtains closed up, and just think of those poor, lonely, forsaken souls! Why, compare with it the pioneer life, and the enjoyment of those girls, and those boys! That was one of the enjoyments of pioneer life, and there is a memory connected with it that will never go out while the heart beats.

I have talked ten minutes almost, and I was determined to cut *myself* off anyway. It is a good thing to look back over the race we have run

and the work we have done. It is a good thing for the pioneers to come together thus. We have not had quite so much of the joyful, quite as much of the lightening up. It has been sad, but we have had more of the intellectual. We old people should see nothing to cry over in the fact that the hair is white and the brow is becoming wrinkled, and the Beyond is close in sight. The pioneers have nothing to mourn over, nothing to regret. Now I have used up the ten minutes and I will stop.

Mrs. Jane M. Kinney, of Port Huron: I don't believe you have women talk very much in your meetings.

Gov. Luce: I will tell you how it is. There are very few pioneer ladies, because there are very few ladies who are over forty.

Mrs. Kinney: I will prove by Judge Walker that I am not only over forty, but am over fifty.

Three years ago I was elected as president of the St. Clair County Pioneer Society, and upon my re-election the following year I accepted again gracefully. Last year I, when re-elected, said that I did not approve of third terms, and so I declined, but was not relegated to the ranks, but was made vice president.

Ever since I was a child I have always taken the greatest interest in incidents from old people. I think one reason for this was that, one of my grandfathers lived with us a good deal, and was fond of speaking of the early days, as he came to this country about 1800, and was a Scotchman in the British army, rewarded for his gallantry with a medal at the taking of Detroit, when Hull surrendered. My American grandfather often visited us, and as he, too, was in the war, in the American army, they used to fight their battles over very peacefully, and to the great delight of their oldest grandchild. I have always had a great taste for "reminiscencing."

At the time of my father's and mother's golden wedding, the bridesmaid of my mother at their first wedding was present and remained with us for about six weeks, and often I would go up stairs to my room and my sister would say, "Well, what are they talking about now?" and I would say, "Oh, reminiscencing."

When I was climbing over the ruins of old Fort Erie, down at Buffalo, I wrote home and said what a good thing my Scotch grandfather had fought his battles down at Detroit and the other at the other end of the lake, for if they had been in the same engagement, and had happened to kill each other, then where would I have been?

Today in the paper that was read, written by Mr. Day, of Mt. Pleasant, my mind went back to the early days I had heard of. My grandfather was given a grant of land, and that land was almost the site of the little city of Mt. Pleasant; and it was by a strange coincidence that the land was sold to the man who was afterward my father-in-law. In many of

the papers today there were reminiscences that I had known since childhood.

I, for one, am glad to meet with the Pioneer Society from year to year, but I think with Governor Luce that we ought to have a little more of the social, a little more of the joyful in these meetings. I took dinner today with Superintendent and Mrs. Church, of the School for the Blind, and I think if you had adjourned your meeting for a part of the afternoon at least and gone up there, it would have cheered you up to see what the young people are doing and what you paved the way for them to do.

It is something to have one who has been our chief magistrate to preside here, and we sorrow to think of another (Gov. Jerome) who has passed away. I want to tell you of a little pleasantry of Gov. Jerome's. It was but a short time before his death. A reception was given to a very feeble old pioneer living near my home, Judge Bunce's one hundreth birthday. Many prominent men had accepted invitations to attend, and were at my home to dinner just before the reception. Among them were Gov. Jerome and Hon. Ezra Rust, of Saginaw. I dreaded to think how the old man would stand so much excitement, and just before we went I said: "I want you to understand you can't shake his hand; you may take it and press it very gently." But the governor, turning to me, said, "Mrs. Kinney, if we wish to press the hand of any, we will press the hand of the ladies."

Now I am not so young but that I used to go to spelling bees, and when the boy I loved the best of all was away at college I used to drive the horses so that the other boys and girls could have a good time.

I am proud to claim Judge Walker as a part of my pioneer society, because he was one, if not the very one, who helped to inaugurate the system of free schools.

The audience joined in singing the song of the old folks, "Auld Lang Syne."

Rev. Wm. H. Haze pronounced the benediction and the meeting adjourned.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 3, 1896.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

Your recording secretary begs leave to submit the following report for the year ending with this date:

The twenty-first annual meeting of this society was held in the Senate chamber of the capitol June 5 and 6, 1895. The program was carried out with but few changes and the papers read proved to be of a high order, and much valuable historical matter was added to our large amount of collections.

MEMBERSHIP.

The total enrollment on the membership book of the society is 857. Of this number 386 have been reported as deceased, leaving the present membership 471.

Since our last report there have been fifteen names added to the list as follows: Mrs. Harriet (Heald) Gilbert, of Ypsilanti; Albert Tooley, Howell; Wm. I. Williams, Flint; Geo. W. Thayer, Grand Rapids; Jane M. Kinney, Clyde, St. Clair county; Lawrence S. Meech, Alaiedon, H. F. Miner, Lake Odessa; Homer L. Thayer, Julia P. Thayer, and Caroline Felch Grant, Lansing; John Davis, Monroe; Alfred Beamer, Lansing; Charles Turner Hills, Muskegon; Bowen Wisner Schumacher, Chicago; Erastus M. Stevens, Caseville.

DONATIONS.

Among the donations worthy of especial mention are the four chairs formerly used by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan, presented by Lansing Lodge No. 33, F. & A. M., of this city. They were purchased from the State about thirty years ago by Geo. W. Peck and Nelson B. Jones and presented to the Lodge. They were brought here from Detroit on the removal of the capital, and have probably been in constant use since the organization of the Territory in 1805, a period of over ninety years.

The list received from various sources during the past year is as follows:

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Boston, Mass.:
Forty-Second Annual Report of the Directors, 1895.

E. W. BARBER, Jackson, Mich.:
Jackson Patriot, October 13, 1895, containing the inaugural lecture of the Business Men's Course by E. W. Barber.

BENZONIA COLLEGE, Benzonia, Mich.:
Catalogue for 1894-5.

W. A. BETTS, Benzonia, Mich.:
Catalogue of Benzonia College, 1894-5.
Benzie Banner, Benzonia, August 22, 1895, containing a report of a meeting of the old settlers of Benzie county.

HENRY BISHOP, Kalamazoo, Mich.:
The Schoolcraft Express, August 30 and November 8, 1895, containing articles on "Local Pioneer History," by Henry Bishop.
The Kalamazoo Telegraph, November 11, 1895, containing an article on David S. Walbridge by Henry Bishop.

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Buffalo, N. Y.:
Annual Report of the Board of Managers for the year 1894.

C. M. BURTON, Detroit, Mich.:
A Sketch of the Life of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Founder of Detroit, by C. M. Burton. Pamphlet.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Chicago, Ill.:
Report of the Annual Meeting of the Society, November 19, 1895. Leaflet.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Hartford, Ct.:
Annual Report, 1895. Pamphlet.

SAMUEL F. COOK, Lansing, Mich.:
Legislative Proceedings on the death of Senator Francis B. Stockbridge. Pamphlet.

JAMES H. COYNE, St. Thomas, Ont.:
The Country of the Neutrals from Champlain to Talbot, by James H. Coyne. Pamphlet.

GEN. CHARLES W. DARLING, Utica, N. Y.:
Facsimile of the signatures to the Preliminary Articles of Peace with the Senecas. Leaflet. Two copies.
Report of a Meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, November 17, 1895. Judge Stephen Holden's Address. Leaflet.
Report of a Meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, December 10, 1895. Sketch of the Times of James Monroe by Robert J. Hubbard. Leaflet.
Report of the Annual Meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, January 14, 1896. Leaflet.
The Triumph of Foreign Missions. Sermon by Rev. R. L. Bachman, D. D.
The Armenians and their Present Persecutions. Sermon by Rev. R. L. Bachman, D. D.

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, Madison, N. J.:
Alumni Record, 1869-1895. Book.
Year Book, 1895-1896. Pamphlet.

HON. ALPHEUS FELCH, Ann Arbor, Mich.:
Proceedings at the Banquet given by the Bar Association of Washtenaw county, September 28, 1894, in honor of Hon. Alpheus Felch, on his ninetieth birthday. Pamphlet.

GEO. H. GREENE, Lansing, Mich.:
Speech of Hon. James McMillan, in the U. S. Senate, April 19, 1894 on "Michigan, Canada, and the Tariff. Pamphlet.
State Republican, Lansing, Mich., January 27, 1896, containing the last Service of the Universalists in their brick church.

JOHN T. HASSAM, Boston, Mass.:
Dunster Papers. Pamphlet.
Confiscated Estates of Boston Loyalists. Pamphlet.
Genealogies, The Hassam, Hillon and Cheever families by John T. Hassam. Book.

KANSAS STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE, Topeka, Kan.:
Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the month ending December 31, 1895.

WM. KAY, Librarian, Windsor, Ont.:
Catalogue of the Windsor Public Library, 1895.
First Annual Report of the Windsor Public Library, 1895.

LANSING LODGE, No. 33, F. & A. M., Lansing, Mich.:
Four chairs formerly used by the Governor and Judges in the Territorial days of Michigan.

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Portland, Oregon:
Our Library, October, 1895, Vol. I, No. 22.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, New Orleans, La.:
Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society, Vol. I, Part II, 1895. Pamphlet. Vol. I, Part III, 1895. Pamphlet.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, St. Paul, Minn.:
Minnesota Forest Fires, by Rev. William Wilkinson. Book.

NEBRASKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Lincoln, Neb.:
Proceedings and Collections, Published Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 3. Second Series, January, 1895. Pamphlet.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, Boston, Mass.:
New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July and October 1895, and January and April, 1896.

NORTHERN INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, South Bend, Ind.:
Constitution, By-Laws, and List of Members.

NORTHWEST WEATHER AND CROPS CO., Minneapolis, Minn.:
Northwest Weather and Crops, Vol. I, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

L. S. PATRICK, Marinette, Wis.:
Copy of Manuscript Instructions to Richard L. Hall, Dept. U. S. Surveyor to Survey the Islands in Menominee River, 1854.

EBEN PUTNAM, Salem, Mass.:
Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine, April, 1895.

COL. M. SHOEMAKER, Jackson, Mich.:
The Sunday Times, Philadelphia, July 27, 1895, containing an article on "Simon Girty, the Renegade."

HARLAN I. SMITH, New York, N. Y.:
The Inlander for May, 1896.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington, D. C.:
Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 1895, New Series, Vol. IX.

THE PETERSON COMPANY, New York.:
The Peterson Magazine, March, 1896.

ROBERT T. SWAN, Commissioner, Boston, Mass.:
Eighth Report on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of Parishes, Towns and Counties, 1896.

UNION COLLEGE, Schenectady, N. Y.:
Invitation to attend the Centennial Celebration of the founding of Union College, with a program of the exercises.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION, COLUMBIAN HISTORICAL EXPOSITION:
History of the Participation of the United States in the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, Spain, 1892, by Rear Admiral Stephen B. Luce. Pamphlet.
Report of Wm. E. Curtis, Assistant to Commissioner General in charge of the Historical Section, Exhibit of the United States at the Columbian Historical Exposition, Madrid, Spain, 1892.
Report of the Collections Exhibited at the Columbian Historical Exposition, by Daniel G. Brinton. M. D., LL. D., D. SC. Pamphlet.

RALPH WATSON, South Riley, Mich.:
Clinton County Independent, St. Johns, Mich., January 18, 1894, containing Sketches of the Board of Supervisors for 1893.

WEATHER AND CROP REVIEW CO., Minneapolis, Minn.:
Minnesota Weather and Crop Review, Vol. 1, Nos. 2 and 4.

WYOMING COMMEMORATIVE ASSOCIATION, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:
Proceedings on the Occasion of the 116th Anniversary of the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming, July 3, 1894. Pamphlet.

WYOMING HORTICULTURAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:
Report of a Meeting of the Society, January 10, 1896. Address by Dr. Wm. H. Egle on "Pedigree Building." Leaflet.
Report of the Annual Meeting of the Society, February 11, 1896. Leaflet.
YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Yonkers, N. Y.:
Bulletin for April, 1895, Vol. 1, No. 1. Pamphlet.
Bulletin for January, 1896, Vol. 1, No. 2. Two copies. Pamphlet.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

The executive committee and the committee of historians have held two meetings in joint session since our last annual meeting as follows:

On December 11, 1895, at which time the secretary was requested to secure designs for a seal for the society and submit them to the committee at a subsequent meeting. The secretary was also directed to have prepared a general index to volumes 1 to 25 inclusive, as time would permit, after keeping up the other work of the society, and have the same published in a seperate volume. It was also decided that we proceed at once with the publication of Vol. 26, and that it contain the proceedings of the annual meetings of 1894 and 1895, together with the papers read at those meetings. The question for papers to be read at the meeting of 1896 was also duly considered.

On June 2, 1896, the second meeting was held, when the arrangements for this meeting, as made by the secretary, were reviewed, the program approved, and other business of a routine nature was transacted. It was ordered that we proceed with the publication of Vol. 27. to contain the proceedings of this meeting, together with the papers read and other material now on hand.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

GEORGE H. GREENE,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Lansing, June 3, 1896.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I herewith submit my seventeenth annual report as corresponding secretary. While the correspondence increases with the usefulness of the society, yet there has been none of an unusual nature during the past year. All inquiries have been promptly answered and donations duly acknowledged.

The scythe of time has again invaded our circle and cut down some of our most valued members, among whom some of the more prominent are ex-Gov. David H. Jerome, of Saginaw; Col. Michael Shoemaker, of Jackson, for many years chairman of the committee of historians; Judge Thomas R. Sherwood, of Kalamazoo; Gen. Geo. T. Shaffer, of Redfield, vice president for Cass county; and Rev. Ethan Ray Clarke, of Spring Lake, vice president for Ottawa county. The full list so far as I have been able to ascertain is as follows:

No.	Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Came to Mich.
5	Henry H. Bingham	Jackson	Jan. 7, 1814	Jan. 10, 1896	82	1836
13	Henry P. Cherry	Johnston	May 21, 1823	July 17, 1895	72	1838
121	Wm. H. Chapman	Lansing	Jan. 25, 1820	Aug. 18, 1895	75	1848
253	William A. Dryer	Lansing	March 9, 1813	May 31, 1896	83	1836
285	Orien A. Jenison	Lansing	May 22, 1823	Aug. 6, 1895	72	1846
317	Michael Shoemaker	Jackson	April 6, 1818	Nov. 10, 1895	77	1842
339	Charles Blunt Mills	Mayville	May 5, 1823	Mar. 11, 1896	73	1856
405	Catharine Morehouse	Lansing	Oct. 7, 1808	Aug. 27, 1895	87	1848
411	Norman Bailey	Hastings	Jan. 1, 1821	Feb. 15, 1896	75	1853
476	Stephen B. Wakefield	Monroe	July 14, 1814	Mar. 1, 1896	82	1838
486	Harvey Mellen	Romeo	April 3, 1822	Aug. 8, 1895	73	1837
489	Philo Parsons	Detroit	Feb. 6, 1817	Jan. 23, 1896	79	1844
546	David H. Jerome	Saginaw	Nov. 17, 1829	April 23, 1896	66	1829
572	Jason St. John	Lansing	Aug. 18, 1804	July 2, 1895	91	1835
579	Thomas R. Sherwood	Kalamazoo	Mar. 28, 1827	Mar. 29, 1896	69	1852
596	Daniel Ellis	Bridgeport	Nov. 22, 1812	Nov. 26, 1895	83	1836
688	Shubael Rowland Greene	Lansing	Feb. 5, 1810	Sept. 24, 1895	85	1833
737	William L. Worthington	Centreville	Nov. 24, 1823	Oct. 5, 1895	72	1837
742	John A. Crossman	Lansing	Sept. 18, 1819	Dec. 18, 1895	76	1833
761	Geo. T. Shaffer	Redfield	Oct. 9, 1822	July 24, 1895	73	1832
783	John R. Price	Lansing	July 1, 1816	July 11, 1895	79	1833
830	W. Grant Stephens	Calvin	June 4, 1823	July 13, 1895	72	1857
839	Ethan Ray Clarke	Spring Lake	Jan. 14, 1818	Dec. 7, 1895	78	1870
845	William I. Williams	Flint	May 31, 1828	Feb. 11, 1896	68	1836

Also the following whose deaths have not been reported heretofore:

No.	Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Came to Mich.
290	Alexander D. Crane	Dexter	Oct. 5, 1809	Aug. 14, 1893	84	1827
306	Alonzo Douglass	Sturgis	March 6, 1816	July 11, 1893	77	1832
410	S. G. Blanchard	Sturgis	Nov. 10, 1819	Feb. 11, 1889	70	1835
483	William Brunson	St. Johns	June 3, 1821	Feb. 3, 1893	72	1842
591	George Sellman	South Lyon	Feb. 13, 1815	Jan. 2, 1893	79	1833
756	Oliver P. Arnold	Constantine	Mar. 16, 1816	May 31, 1895	79	1839

All of which is respectfully submitted,

GEORGE H. GREENE,
Corresponding Secretary.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Lansing, June 3, 1896.

To the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I herewith submit my annual report as follows:

Benjamin F. Davis, treasurer, in account with the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society from June 5, 1895, to June 3, 1896.

RECEIPTS.

To balance on hand June 5, 1895	$259 57
To amount received on account of membership fees	15 00
" " " " " " sale of Vol. I	75
Total	$275 32
Balance on hand June 3, 1896	$275 32

APPROPRIATION OF 1893.

Amount on hand June 5, 1895, in the State Treasury of the appropriation made by act 60 of 1893		$288 96
Disbursed as follows:		
Expenses of annual meeting, 1895	$42 00	
Expenses of committee of historians	31 50	
Expenses of executive committee	8 20	
Postage, express, etc.	19 75	
Printing part of Vol. 24	187 51	
		288 96

APPROPRIATION OF 1895.

Amount on hand June 5, 1895, in the State Treasury of the appropriation made by act 115 of 1895.

For the year 1895	$2,500 00
For the year 1896	2,500 00
Total	$5,000 00

DISBURSEMENTS.

Proof reading, indexing and other clerical work	$600 00
Expenses of committee of historians	35 25
Expenses of executive committee	3 10
Engraving maps, etc.	46 90
Copyright Vols. 24 and 25	2 00
Postage, express, telepraph, etc.	11 37
Subscription to American Catholic Quarterly Review	4 00
Printing and binding balance of Vol. 24	680 69
Printing and binding Vol. 25	953 15
Total	$2,536 46
Balances available in State treasury, June 3, 1896	$2,663 54

The printing and binding of Vol. 26 has not been paid for, which will reduce the above balance about $1,000.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

BENJ. F. DAVIS,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

ALLEGAN COUNTY.

MRS. MARY ALLETT.—Mrs. Mary Allett died February 12, 1895. Mary Thompson was born at Camillus, Onondaga county, N. Y., April 23, 1816, was married to Rodney Dyer in 1840, and came to Allegan in the fall of 1844, Mr. Dyer dying in 1846. She remained a widow until October, 1847, when she was married to Mr. John Allett, with whom she lived happily the remainder of her days. She was the mother of five children, Warren A. Dyer, the eldest, being the only one still living, James D. Dyer dying in the prison pen at Andersonville, Ga., another in infancy, and Frank and Alice Allett in Allegan, after arriving at maturity. Mrs. Allett, like the majority of old pioneers, was a woman of ambition and energy, and was gifted with more than ordinary native ability but lacked early educational advantages. She was a kind and indulgent mother, faithful wife and companion, ever ready to assist the needy; none went hungry from her door. Her age was 78 years, 9 months and 19 days.

GEORGE H. ANDERSON.—George H. Anderson, Esq., died at his home in Plainwell, August 30, 1894. He was born in Mayfield, Fulton county, N. Y., October 22, 1827, and at the age of 7 years he was brought by his parents, who were of Scotch descent, to Gun Plains, settling at a point where the road between Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids crosses the river and known to the old settlers as "Anderson's Bridge," afterwards the "Junction," and is now the village of Plainwell. In 1852 he married Miss Elizabeth Woodhams, and in the fall of that year they went to California by way of Cape Horn, returning to Plainwell in 1859 by way of Panama, where he remained until his death, which was the result of a runaway. He obtained his education mainly in the common schools, with a short term at Olivet and a year in Dr. Stone's academy in Kalamazoo. Mr. Anderson was a man of remarkable business capacity, and by close application to business accumulated a fortune. He was an exemplary citizen, always taking the deepest interest in local affairs. He was a member of the school board three terms, and had occupied many other positions of trust and honor in the town. He was the father of six children, all living in Michigan, and who with their mother survive him. His age was 66 years, 10 months and 2 days.

URI BAKER.—Uri Baker died in Martin, June 16, 1895. He was born in Arlington, Vt., November 14, 1809. Losing his mother in infancy, his home was made with his grandparents until he was sixteen, when he went to Wayne county, N. Y., where his father then lived, and remained in that vicinity until he came to Michigan. Without doubt Mr. Baker came to this county earlier than any other inhabitant now living, having arrived with Turner Aldrich in town 1 north of range 12 west (now Otsego) September 1, 1828, being the fourth white man in the county. Soon after their arrival, and previous to the advent of Mr. A's family, their provisions ran short and Mr. Baker went to mill with their ox teams and wagon, I think to "White Pigeon Prairie," distant seventy miles, taking six days for the trip. As there was no inclosure for the team at "the mill," he turned them into "Uncle Sam's pasture" for the night. In the morning, when he wanted to load up his grist and start homeward, he could not find his oxen, and after looking for them several days without finding them, he concluded they had gone home, so he returned home on foot for them, only to find they had not been seen or heard of. He lost no time in going back to White Pigeon on foot, where he almost immediately found the team, probably not over half a mile from where he turned them loose; and we can readily imagine he hurried home with his grist, where he found Mr. Aldrich's family had arrived less than an hour before him—taking about three weeks and traveling about 280 miles, half of it on foot, to go to mill and get his grist home. At another time Mr. Baker and another man getting out of provisions,

before another supply could be obtained, performed their allotted labor while subsisting some three weeks upon the milk of their one cow and what blackberries they could find in the woods. Such was early pioneering.

Mr. Baker assisted in building the first saw mill in Otsego, located at Pine Creek, and in which he worked some ten years, at one time owning an interest in it, but during a flood lost what represented years of labor. He was therefore again obliged to work by the month two and a half years. He then traded his little savings for 40 acres of wild land in Martin, where he immediately moved, cutting his road through the woods the last mile to reach it. When he first came to this county the nearest postoffice was at Detroit, 160 miles away. He helped to raise the first building in Kalamazoo, and was in Grand Rapids when there was only one frame building in the village.

Mr. Baker was married in Otsego township in 1831, to Miss Diadema Aldrich, who died in a year. In 1835 he married Mary A. Putnam, of Wayne county, N. Y. Three children, two girls and a boy, were born to them, all of whom died before reaching their sixteenth year. In 1843, he was again left a widower, and after a time he married Mrs. Anna M. Saxe, a native of Vermont, who died in 1891, at the age of over 84 years. Shortly after the death of his last wife, Mr. and Mrs. Burroughs Ingham came to Martin and assumed the care of Mr. Baker, and as tenderly ministered to his welfare to the end of his life as if he had been their father instead of a comparative stranger. "Grandpa Baker," as he was familiarly called, was a pleasant, jolly old gentleman to converse with, and could entertain his hearers for hours with reminiscences and anecdotes of his pioneer days. At his death he was the sole representative of his branch of the Baker family, having no knowledge of any blood relation in the world. His age was 85 years, 7 months and 2 days.

Mrs. Lucretia Beebe.—Mrs. Lucretia Beebe died October 15, 1893. Lucretia Miller was born in Rochester, N. Y., September 21, 1817, came to Michigan in September, 1837, was married to John F. Beebe, October 10, 1838. Her husband, one son and two daughters remain to mourn her loss. A kind and faithful wife and loving mother. "By their works shall ye know them." How well this text applies to the sister now gone to rest. She was 76 years and 28 days old.

Mrs. Sarah Case.—Mrs. Sarah Case died in Watson, November 21, 1893. Sarah Harris was born March 18, 1828, in Yates, Monroe county, N. Y. At the age of six her family moved to Cattaraugus county, where she spent her girlhood and was married to Stephen Case in November, 1850. In 1855 they came to Michigan and settled upon the land in the woods in Watson which became their life home and where she died. Her husband and four daughters survive her, Mrs. Adell Shepherd, of

Martin, and Mrs. Mary E. Fenner and Mrs. Ella and Mrs. Julia Hooper, of Gun Plains. Mrs. Case was a lady of more than ordinary intelligence and force of character, of dignity and independence—a natural leader—but of a kindly and generous nature, ever ready to share her best with those in distress and to care for the sick. Her age was 65 years, 8 months and 2 days.

Benoni Collins.—Benoni Collins died November 28, 1893. He was born in Ira, Rutland county, Vt., March 21, 1821, and with his family came to Allegan, Setember 6, 1848, where he made his home until his death. He was aged 72 years, 8 months and 7 days.

Loren Daggett.—Loren Daggett died in Trowbridge, April 23, 1895. He was born in Palmyra, N. Y., August 15, 1811. He married Caroline Brest, and they came to Pine Creek in August, 1840, and remained there one year. In 1841, they moved into the woods, upon what is now the Minckler farm in Trowbridge, which he cleared for the late Mr. Daniel Foster, in that way paying for the farm upon which he ever after lived, and where he died. While clearing the two farms he supported his young family by days' work wherever he could get employment, sometimes walking seven miles to Allegan in the morning, doing his day's work, and returning at night carrying his wages in provisions upon his back. His wife died in December, 1869, and in April, 1870, he was again married to Mrs. Lucinda Hough, who, with eight of his family of ten children survive him. His life was of necessity a continual struggle from childhood until old age incapacitated him from further exertion. His age was 83 years, 8 months and 8 days.

Mrs. Julia A. Davison.—Mrs. Julia A. Davison died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. J. H. Wetmore, in North Allegan, November 12, 1894. Miss Julia A. Rood was born at Watertown, N. Y., June 25, 1813, and while quite young her family moved to Binghamton, N. Y., where she was married to Ira Davison, May 11, 1831, and soon after moved to Seneca Falls. In December, 1837, they came to Allegan county, settling first in Trowbridge. In 1840 they moved to Allegan upon the farm now owned by L. Y. Cady, where they remained until their children had all grown to maturity and commenced life on their own account, when they moved into the village and remained until the growing infirmities of age compelled them to break up housekeeping and accept a home with their daughter, Mrs. Wetmore (Mr. D. dying in 1890). Mrs. Davison was of a cheerful and happy disposition, but modest and retiring, preferring the society of her chosen and intimate friends, among whom she was highly esteemed for those humble virtues which endeared her to them very closely. Of her family but two remain, Caroline (Mrs. Wetmore) and Jason, of Big Rapids, Mich. Her age was 81 years, 4 months and 17 days.

JOHN S. DAY.—John S. Day died in South Monterey, March 2, 1894. He was born in Norwich, Essex county, N. Y., March 22, 1830, and when two years old his family moved to Brighton, Monroe county, where he spent his youth. Coming to Monterey in 1851, he bought what is now the S. B. Guyot farm, then a wilderness, built his shanty, went to work and cleared up a farm. March 17, 1853, he married Miss Ruth D. Tanner, and to them were born three children, Mrs. F. H. Carpenter, Mrs. Roscoe Ellis, and Mr. S. E. Day. Mrs. Day preceded him to the spirit land, October 6, 1892. Mr. Day served several terms as justice of the peace, and one as supervisor. During the winter of 1855-6, Mr. and Mrs. Day became convinced that the doctrines of the Seventh Day Adventists were true, and soon sold his place and invested in the farm in South Monterey where he died. Mr. Day was exceptionally an honest man, not only in his dealings with his fellow men, but with his own conscience. Frank, free, generous, and withal modest, no man can persuade the writer that John S. Day ever made an assertion he did not believe strictly true, however he might suffer—the stuff that martyrs are made of. In his office of justice of the peace he would always use his best efforts to effect a sttlement between litigants, and if unsuccessful he would send them to some one else before whom to quarrel. In his religion he was faithfulness personified, never deviating from what he believed his duty, and however much we may have differed from him, we must respect him for the courage of his convictions. A peaceable citizen, obliging neighbor, and a kind and indulgent husband and father. He was called to rest at the age of 63 years, 11 months and 8 days.

MRS. RUTH D. DAY.—Mrs. Ruth D. Day died at her home in South Monterey, October 6, 1892. Ruth D. Tanner was born at Granville, Washington county, N. Y., June 6, 1831, and was married to John S. Day March 17, 1853. She was the mother of F. H. Carpenter and Mrs. Roscoe Ellis, of Allegan, and Mr. Scott E. Day, of South Monterey. She was distinguished for those domestic virtues which adorned the lives of so many of the early pioneers of the county. A kind and indulgent mother and an obliging friend and neighbor. Her age was 61 years and 4 months.

WILLIAM DUNN.—William Dunn was born in Seaton, Yorkshire, England, October 27, 1806. He came to America when quite young and located at Whitehall, N. Y., where, January 1, 1855, he married Eliza A., daughter of Rev. John M. Weaver. He here carried on a general blacksmithing business until about 1840, when, from failing health, he moved to Saratoga county and followed gardening for a time. Partially recovering, he next moved to Waterford, N. Y., and from there to Ganges, Mich., arriving May 31, 1849, and with his little family commenced pioneer life on the farm where he ended his days on earth, October 28,

1894, aged 88 years and 1 day. He was the father of three children, two of whom survive him, viz.: George E., of Los Angeles, Cal., and Maj. William H., of Ganges. Mr. Dunn was twice elected justice of the peace and served his township as highway commissioner and school inspector, and was noted for his sturdy adherence to right principles. He was a consistent member of the Methodist church for over half a century.

James Eggleston.—James Eggleston died September 28, 1893. He was born at Strongsville, Ohio, September 1, 1836, and came to Monterey in November, 1854. A few years later he married Miss Mary Kibby, a daughter of George W. Kibby, Esq. At the breaking out of the war of the rebellion he was in the state of Missouri, but returned immediately to Monterey, enlisting soon after in the 13th Michigan Infantry, in which regiment he served to the close of the war. By occupation he was a farmer and carpenter. He was elected supervisor of Monterey and filled several other local offices. He was always a republican, and in 1875 was elected to the State Legislature. In 1890, and again in 1892, he was chosen register of deeds of Allegan county, which office he held to the end. His wife, two daughters, Mrs. Wm. Kennedy, of Ionia, and Miss Nellie, and one son, Max, of Allegan, survive him. Mr. Eggleston was a quiet citizen, industrious, intelligent, amiable, honorable, clean in private life and kind and genial in his family. His age was 57 years and 27 days.

Dr. Lenora Foster.—Dr. Lenora Foster, of Otsego, passed over to the great majority, October 30, 1893. He was stricken with paralysis in 1887, from which he never recovered, though able to be about. He was born in Barnard, Vt., July 29, 1815, where he received an ordinary education and studied medicine, and in June, 1840, was graduated from Vermont Medical College. During the following five years he practiced in the "Green Mountain state." In August, 1845, he settled in Otsego, where, with the exception of three years residence in Boston, Mass., he spent the remainder of his life. He was descended from good stock, his ancestors upon both sides being "Pilgrims," and both of his grandfathers being revolutionary soldiers. He was thrice married—October 21, 1841, to Miss Martia Stone, of Cavendish, Vt.; July 17, 1874, to Mrs. Mary M. Kromer, of Cannonsburg, Mich.; and February 20, 1878, to Mrs. Harriet Little, of Boston, Mass., who so kindly cared for him in his old age, and who is by his death again left a widow. The only other living relatives of Dr. Foster are a sister, Mrs. Maria Town, of Sioux City, Iowa, and a nephew and niece living in Grand Rapids, Mich. From his skill as a physician, his public spirit and his familiar courtesy, Dr. Foster became very generally known throughout the western portion of the State. He was president of the Allegan County Medical Society in 1851, the Kalamazoo Medical Society in 1865, and first vice president of the State Medical Society in 1871. He was a member of the Congregational

church for many years—a courteous Christian gentleman, and possessed the esteem of all who knew him. He died aged 78 years and 3 months.

Samuel Dana Foster.—Samuel Dana Foster died December 17, 1893. He was born in Montgomery, Franklin county, Vt., August 11, 1813, and came to Otsego with his father's family in October, 1831—his father building the first house on the present site of Otsego village. He was in active business in that village since 1835, was always a democrat, and for many years held the office of justice of the peace, besides other places of trust. He leaves a wife, one son, Henry, of Alden, Antrim county, an adopted daughter, Louisa, one brother, Albert, of Otsego, and a sister living in Indiana. His age was 80 years, 4 months and 6 days.

John Frank.—John Frank died in Monterey, January 6, 1894. He was born in Frankfort, Herkimer county, N. Y., February 4, 1819. Two years later the family moved to Cattaraugus county, where he spent his youth, and was married in 1842 to Miss Caroline Sterling. November 15, 1851, he came to Allegan, and remained a resident of the county the remainder of his life. His wife and three children survive him. His age was 74 years, 11 months and 2 days.

Mrs. Sophia Gile.—Mrs. Sophia Gile died at her home in Cheshire, March 4, 1894. Sophia Beckwith was born in Charleston, Portage county, Ohio, February 22, 1836. At thirteen years she was adopted by a clergyman living in the state of New York, in whose family she lived until she was eighteen, when she returned to her Ohio home and was soon after married to Mr. Delos Gile, and moved to Columbus, Pa., where they resided three years, coming to Michigan in April, 1862, and settling on the farm where they resided until her decease. She was a Christian from her girlhood, and was an esteemed and consistent member of the United Brethren church in Cheshire twenty-five years. Nothing but in praise can be said of her as a wife, mother, friend and neighbor. Her age was 58 years and 12 days.

Orren Goodspeed.—Orren Goodspeed died in Dorr, January 29, 1895. He was born in Menton, Ohio, August 6, 1816, and married Miss Sarah M. Curtis, of Northfield, Ohio, March 9, 1837, to whom were born twelve children, Mrs. G. dying September 24, 1864. He came to Dorr in October, 1845, being the first settler in the township. He was present at the first town meeting in the township, which then included Hopkins and Watson. The first town meeting after the division of the township was held at his house, when but thirteen votes were cast, and he was chosen supervisor, town clerk, and highway commissioner, giving good satisfaction. When he came to Dorr he brought twelve head of cattle with him, which subsisted the first winter on browse, and by the next spring he had chopped eighteen acres of the quarter section he first located upon, and where he spent the remainder of his life. His nearest

market was at Grand Rapids, and many times he made the trip over the trail for provisions, taking two days to go and return. He was a genuine sample of the material of which pioneers were composed, and from the fruit of whose labors the later generations reap the harvest, while they endured the privations and toil. His age was 78 years, 5 months and 23 days.

Mrs. Louisa Hawes.—Mrs. Louisa Hawes died August 4, 1894. Louisa Ferris, a sister of Hon. Richard Ferris, of Cheshire, was born at Savannah, Wayne county, N. Y., October 18, 1828. Mr. and Mrs. Hawes came to Michigan forty-two years ago and settled on wild land in Cheshire, Dec. 21, 1856, experiencing the various difficulties incident to pioneer life. She was the mother of six children, four of whom, with her husband, survive her. She was of Irish descent, educated a Roman Catholic, and continued a member of that church to the end. She was a lady of sterling character and highly respected by all who knew her. Her age was 65 years, 11 months and 16 days.

James D. Henderson.—James D. Henderson died at his home in Otsego township, July 17, 1894. He was born in Rochester, N. Y., January 1, 1836, and had been a resident of Allegan and vicinity since 1838, in which year his parents moved to Allegan. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was appointed assistant quartermaster with the rank and commission of captain of volunteers. He served faithfully during the war and was honorably discharged at its close. Capt. Henderson was appointed one of the census marshals in 1870, which position he filled with credit. He was well educated, though peculiar in many ways, but was much respected by those who knew him best. His wife, formerly Miss Martha Tayer, five sons, two daughters, one brother, Donald C., of the Allegan Journal, two sisters, Mrs. E. S. Nichols, of Allegan, and Mrs. Anne B. Clubb, of Philadelphia, survive him. His age was 58 years, 6 months and 16 days.

Mrs. Elizabeth Higinbotham.—Mrs. Elizabeth Higinbotham died in Allegan, December 8, 1894. She was born in Danbury, Ct., January 13, 1824, and came to Allegan with the family of her father, Mr. Nirum Abbott, in 1835. February 5, 1840, she was married to John P. Allard, Esq., to whom were born a son, who died quite young, and a daughter, Mrs. Eliza Dwight, of Monmouth, Ill. Mr. Allard died in 1845, and January 8, 1852, she married Mr. H. S. Higinbotham, with whom she lived until his death in 1890. To them were born two sons, who died in early childhood, and three daughters, Mrs. F. E. Clock, deceased, and Misses Cora and Jennie, who, with Mrs. Dwight and several grandchildren, survive her. Mrs. Higinbotham was remarkable for her cheerful disposition and her patience in adversity. She was a great sufferer during the last years of her life, but never uttered a complaint. Her age was 70 years, 10 months and 25 days.

S. I. B. Hutchinson.—S. I. B. Hutchinson died in Ganges, March 17, 1894. He was born in Smyrna, Chenango county, N. Y., May 18, 1809, remaining there fourteen years, in Monroe county, N. Y., two years, and in Erie county four years, when in 1829 he came to Monroe, Mich., then called Frenchtown, where, at the age of twenty, he engaged in brick-making three years. During this time, while canvassing in connection with his business, he visited the site of the city of Toledo, where then not a dwelling had been erected. In 1834 he located a farm in Emmet, Calhoun county, which he improved, living by himself until May 19, 1842, when he married Miss Charlotte Hughes, who with one son, Jesse E., of Fennville, one daughter, Mrs. John S. Payne, and an adopted daughter, Mrs. W. E. Hull, both of Ganges, survive him. Mr. Hutchinson disposed of his interests in Calhoun county in 1862, and on April 10 of that year arrived in Ganges and moved upon the farm where he remained the balance of his days, and engaged quite extensively raising fruit for the Chicago market, planting the first peach orchard for marketing purposes in the now justly celebrated Allegan county peach belt. Mr. Hutchinson was politically a republican, though not an active politician. Religiously he was what is known as "liberal," with great respect for the opinions and beliefs of others. Kind and affectionate in his family, with a cheerful and sunny disposition, his loss is keenly felt. He was aged 84 years and 10 months.

Mrs. Ann Hutton.—Mrs. Ann Hutton was born in Kildare, Ireland, August 17, 1825, and was married to William Hutton at Burlington, N. J., August 17, 1853. They came to Michigan in 1859, stopping first in Wayland, but soon afterwards moved upon their land in Martin, where they proceeded to carve out of the wilderness a farm and a home where they lived together until her death, June 15, 1895, leaving her aged husband and a sister to mourn their loss. She left no living children, but a nephew, William Glynn, has lived with them since his infancy. She was a member of the Methodist church, and was esteemed by her friends for those humble domestic virtues which so adorn the homes of our early Michigan pioneers. Her age was 69 years and 10 months.

Mrs. Clarissa Killam.—Mrs. Clarissa Killam died at her home in Trowbridge, April 11, 1895. She was born in Otselic, Chenango county, N. Y., December 18, 1822, and first came to Allegan in 1843, returning to New York at the end of two years. She was married to Jacob Killam, October 3, 1847, returning to Michigan in 1849; since that time they have lived on their farm in Trowbridge until she died. Of her family, only her husband and one daughter remain. Mrs. Killam was very well known to the old settlers, and generally esteemed for her modesty and womanly virtues as a wife, mother, neighbor and friend, having been taught in the school of Michigan pioneers, who were all neighbors, if once acquainted,

and came to feel through their rough experiences as if belonging to one family. She was aged 72 years, 5 months and 23 days.

SYLVESTER KNOWLTON.—Sylvester Knowlton died in Monterey, April 16, 1895. He was born in Keene, Cheshire county, N. H., November 22, 1813. Losing his parents at fourteen years, he went to Syracuse, N. Y. He was married at Lysander, N. Y., to Miss Harriet M. Rowell, February 16, 1848. In January, 1856, he moved to Milwaukee, Wis., remaining about eighteen months, when he came to Monterey and settled on the place where he lived the remainder of his days. Four of his children remain. William, in Wexford county, Mich., Mrs. Martha Bixley, of Benton Harbor, Mich., and Mrs. Mary Agan and John, of Monterey. Mr. Knowlton was a quiet, peaceable citizen, kind and obliging, beloved by his family and friends, and respected by the community in which he lived. His age was 81 years, 4 months and 19 days.

MRS. JULIA M. LAY.—Mrs. Julia M. Lay died at her home in Petoskey, Mich., July 28, 1893. Julia M. Barber was born in Canaan, Ct., April 2, 1831, where she resided until she was about eleven, when, with her family, she came to Ohio and from there sooner after to Michigan, stopping a year on Gull Prairie, when in October 1844, the family came to Allegan. In December, 1852, she was married to Dr. H. S. Lay, residing here until 1864, where on account of her failing health they moved to the sanitarium at Dansville, N. Y., and from there to Battle Creek, returning to Allegan in the summer of 1870; in 1880 they removed to Petoskey where they resided until her death. She was afflicted for more than two years with cancer of the breast. For a long time and especially during the last months of her illness she was a great sufferer, but bore it all with a sublime Christian fortitude. Affliction only served to make her virtues shine the brighter. She left a husband and four daughters to mourn her loss besides a large circle of sorrowing relatives and friends. Her age was 62 years, 3 months and 26 days.

MRS. MARY LILLY.—Mrs Mary Lilly was born in Old Hadley, Hampshire Co., Mass., August 16, 1830, was married to Augustus Lilly at Brattlebboro, Vt., March 1, 1849, and came with her husband to Allegan in August, 1854, Mr. Lilly died in 1888. They were the parents of nine children, but three of whom are living, Lyman A., of Allegan, Mrs. Iddles, of Casco, and Mrs. A. Stillwell of Lansing, Mich. Many friends mourn their loss in her of a kind and sympathizing friend and neighbor. At her decease, May 29, 1894, she was 64 years, 1 month and 13 days old.

MRS. ELLEN MCALPINE.—Mrs. Ellen McAlpine died September 19,1893, aged 48 years, 11 months and 11 days, having been born in Monterey, October 29, 1844—the daughter of the late George W. Kibby, Esq. She was married to M. V. B. McAlpine, Esq., October 25, 1865, and was esteemed by all her friends as a faithful wife, kind mother and obliging neighbor.

Mrs. Sarah J. McCormick.—Mrs. Sarah J. McCormick died at the home of her son, James E. Jones, at Benton Harbor, Mich., September 4, 1894. Miss Sarah J. Loveless was born at Ithaca, N. Y., September 10, 1830, and came to Michigan, settling in Gun Plain, September 10, 1846. She was married in 1848 to Mr. J. J. Jones and came to Allegan where she resided until after his death which occurred in July, 1872. She remained a widow 9 years, part of which time she spent in South Haven, Mich., where Dec. 14, 1881, she was again married to Mr. James McCormick of Fennville, with whom she lived until his death July 26, 1891. She has since lived in Allegan and Benton Harbor. Mrs. McCormick was well known to many of the old settlers as Mrs. "Jack" Jones, her first husband being in business in Allegan quite a number of years, and kept the Allegan postoffice several terms. Mrs. McCormick, at her death, was aged 64 years, lacking six days.

Capt. Charles McVea.—Capt. Charles McVea died at his home in Ganges, March 2, 1894. He was born in Ballyeasboro, County Down, Ireland, August 11, 1834, where he lived until 16 years old when he came to Chicago. He immediately engaged as a sailor on the great lakes, which occupation he followed thirty years, first before the mast and since 1860 as master. In 1861 he married Miss Jane Warnock and settled on a small farm on the lake shore in Saugatuck township which he sold in 1865 and purchased the farm in Ganges on which he made his home for the remainder of his life. While he was following the lakes he built and owned two sail vessels, the Mary McVea and another. Since 1880 Capt. McVea has been a member of the "Moore Transportation Co.," during which time the company have owned and run the propellers Douglas, Severans and Charles McVea, and during the same time he cleared and improved his farm making a beautiful home. He was the father of ten children—five sons and five daughters, all of whom, with their mother, survive him. Capt. McVea was a gentleman of enterprise, of unusual force of character, great energy and superior executive ability, of pleasing address, which won him many friends—in short, a courteous gentleman. His age was 59 years, 6 months and 21 days.

Isaac S. Martin.—Isaac S. Martin died at his home in Allegan, April 25, 1894. He was born at Richmond, Ontario Co., N. Y., May 11, 1839, and came to Watson with his parents in 1845, where he spent his youth. Nov. 8, 1862, he married Miss Lucy E. Franklin at Leonidas, St. Joseph Co., and soon after settled on his farm in Watson, living there until 1870, when they moved to Allegan and engaged in a meat market with several partners and with varying success until the winter of 1883-4, afterwards devoting his attention to his farming interests.

Mr. Martin was well and favorably known in this and adjoining towns, enjoying the confidence of all. As a member of the Masonic fraternity

for many years, he gained the high esteem of his brethren. His family relations were most happy, never obtruding his business cares and perplexities at his fireside. He left to mourn their loss, his wife and sons, Frank E. and Carl, besides three brothers, two sisters, a mother and other relatives and friends. Always Republican in politics, he never craved office but was elected drain commissioner at the last election. He was aged at his death 54 years, 11 months and 14 days.

Mrs. Eveline Miner.—Mrs. Eveline Miner died at her home in Allegan, March 6, 1895. Eveline Stone was born in Broadalbin, N. Y., Aug. 13, 1810, where she was married with John Miner, who died about 20 years ago. They first came to Allegan in 1836, settling on the place known as the J. A. Frost farm, where they lived two years, returning to Rochester, N. Y., for Mr. Miner's health, where they remained five years. Returning to Michigan in 1843, they lived another two years on their farm and in 1845 they came to Allegan, where Mrs. Miner has resided the last fifty years. To them was born one daughter, Mrs. J. A. Frost, of Allegan. Besides her, Mrs. Miner leaves three brothers, two sisters, seven grandchildren and four great-grandchildren and many other relatives and friends. She was a very excellent Christian lady and enjoyed the confidence and esteem of every one who came to know her. She was a faithful and conscientious member of the Congregational church and seldom missed a morning service, notwithstanding her advanced years. She always enjoyed the best of health and retained her faculties to the last. She was aged 84 years, 6 months and 23 days.

Mrs. Elizabeth Monteith.—Elizabeth, wife of Walter Monteith, of Martin, died at their home, August 20, 1893. She was born at Amsterdam, Montgomery Co., N. Y., April 14, 1814, and came to Martin in 1838, experiencing the vicissitudes incident to the lives of the pioneers of western Michigan. Her age was 79 years, 4 months and 6 days.

Mrs. Margaret Monteith.—Mrs Margaret Monteith died at her home in Martin, December 18, 1893. She was born in Galloway, Saratoga Co., N. Y., June 28, 1824, and came to Martin in July, 1847, and survived her husband, Thomas Monteith, but a few days over three months. A good neighbor and friend, kind and obliging, she leaves a host of friends. Her age was 69 years 5 months and 20 days.

Thomas Monteith.—Thomas Monteith died in Martin, September 4, 1893. He was born in Caledonia, Livingston Co., N. Y., December 2, 1817, and came to Martin in October, 1838, which was his home for the remainder of his life. Mr. Monteith was of Scotch descent and his life was characterized by the stalwart virtues for which the Scotch are so eminently distinguished. His age was 75 years, 9 months and 2 days.

Alden Morrison.—Alden Morrison died in Jennings, La., March 11, 1895. He was born on a farm in Pippsburgh, Me., Feb. 29, 1824, where he received a common school education, and when a young man he left his father's farm and worked in saw mills in several places in his native state, and while working in Bath, he became acquainted with Miss Vilda Johnson, whom he married in 1844 and by her was the father of several children, but one of whom, Mrs. Nettie Eichenlaub, lived to maturity. He came to Saugatuck, Michigan, Nov. 15, 1852, in the employ of Messrs. Carter and Stockbridge, first as sawyer and afterwards as foreman of their mill. He bought a farm in Ganges, where he lived for a short time, but which he finally sold and moved to Illinois near his daughter's home and remained seven or eight years. Returning to Ganges he bought the place he made his home until his death. His wife died in 1889 and his only child in 1891, since which, though possessing the warm friendship of a wide circle, he spent a sad and lonely life. He was aged 71 years, 11 days.

Mrs. Melinda Newton.—Mrs. Melinda Newton died September 30, 1893. Melinda White was born in Warrensburg, N. J., March 13, 1818. When about 20 years old she was married to Dike Newton, and the family subsequently resided some time in Rochester, N. Y., coming from there to Michigan in June, 1851, and stopping at Pine Creek. About 1870, the place upon which Mrs. Newton spent the remainder of her days was bought and the family moved upon it, Mr. Newton dying the same year. She was the mother of seven children, of whom four survive, Henry and Mrs. Hannah and Mrs. Elizabeth Brundage, all of Kansas, and Benjamin, who still lives on the old homestead in Otsego township. Mrs. Newton professed to have found peace in her Saviour in early girlhood, joining herself to the Baptist church, and although she never united with a church in Michigan, she ever led a Christian life in accordance with her profession. At her death she was aged 75 years, 6 months and 17 days.

Lorenzo D. Nichols.—Lorenzo D. Nichols died at Otsego, June 23, 1894. He was born in Barre, Orleans Co., N. Y., February 10, 1827, and in June, 1836, came with his father's family to White Pigeon, Mich., and in April, 1838, they again moved to Orangeville, Barry Co., and again October 25, 1839, to Gun Plains. September 16, 1845, he married Miss Olive Nichols, who with four children, viz.: Perry of Alamo, Curtis of Mason Co., Mrs. Eva Martin of Oceana Co., and Leander of Otsego, and his old mother, now aged 97 years, linger here to mourn their loss. Mr. Nichols moved from Gun Plain to Watson, in 1853. In 1860 he was appointed enrolling and enlisting officer in Watson, besides acting as supervisor, township clerk and treasurer a number of years. In February, 1873, he moved upon a farm west of Pine Creek, and in October 1882, into the village of

Otsego where he remained until he died. While attending a revival meeting in Orangeville in April, 1842, he experienced a change of heart and joined the Methodist church of which he remained an active member during the remainder of his life, occupying the position of class leader most of the time. His age was 67 years, 4 months and 13 days.

Mrs. Gertrude Otto.—Mrs Gertrude Otto died in Otsego, August 12, 1894. Gertrude Hagerman was born in Pleasant Valley, Dutchess Co., N. Y., October 16, 1813, and is the last of a family of eleven. December 23, 1834, she was married to George D. Otto in Rochester, N. Y., to whom were born four children, all of whom survive her, Mrs. W. O. Packard of Covert (since deceased), George R., of Cheshire, Mrs. T. E. French, of Otsego and Eugene L. Otto of Fort Worth, Texas. She came, with her husband to Otsego, November 11, 1844, settling in the virgin forest and cleared up a farm where they lived many years. At the age of 16, she gave her heart to her Saviour, uniting with the Presbyterian church, in Pleasant Valley, and was the last of the original 23 who formed the M. E. church class of Trowbridge many years ago, in communion with which denomination she lived the remainder of her days. She was aged 80 years, 9 months and 26 days.

Mrs. Melissa W. Perkins.—Mrs. Melissa W. Perkins died at her home in Trowbridge, December 9, 1893. She was born at Stillwater, Saratoga Co., N. Y., May 9, 1814. At eleven years of age she removed to Rochester, N. Y., and at 20 years married George Perkins. They came to Allegan December 1, 1838, and Mr. Perkins died in 1865. She was a wife 31 years, a widow 28 years, and had resided in Allegan and vicinity 55 years. In 1892 she suffered a stroke of apoplexy, and her mind gradually failed from that time. She was the mother of two sons, both deceased, and 3 daughters, Mrs. John W. Fansler of Allegan and Mrs. Charles Sharpless and Miss Julia Perkins of Trowbridge. Mrs. Perkins was well known in Allegan and vicinity, especially by the old settlers, was a very excellent woman and her many friends cherish kindly remembrances of her. She reached the age of 79 years and 7 months.

Mrs. Christine Robinson.—Mrs. Christine Robinson died in Watson, December 30, 1892. She was born in Germany May 6, 1823, a peasant girl and came to America to carve out her humble fortune in domestic service. While working for a family in Kalamazoo she formed the acquaintance of Wm. B. Robinson, a pioneer of Watson, a very deaf man, whom she married and came to that town to live in 1848. She was a kindly disposed woman but never entirely mastered our language. She, however, made "Deaf Robinson" as he was called by the early settlers and who died many years ago, a faithful wife and companion. Her age was 69 years, 7 months and 27 days.

Mrs. Elizabeth Rockwell.—Mrs. Elizabeth Rockwell died at her home in Ganges, May 1, 1894. Elizabeth Kershaw was born in Williamsport, Maryland, August 30, 1824, and when about 7 years old, she came with her parents to Seneca Co., Ohio, where she spent her girlhood. January 21, 1844, she was married to Giles Rockwell and in 1846 they came to Michigan, settling in Ganges, August 14, where she remained until her death. She was converted at seventeen and united with the Methodist church and lived a consistent Christian life until her death. She leaves a husband, one son and several grandchildren all residing in Ganges. She was aged 69 years and 8 months.

Mrs. Alvira Sherwood.—Mrs. Alvira Sherwood died in Otsego, May 6, 1895. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Crittenden and was born at Seneca, Ontario Co., N. Y., March 13, 1807, where she lived until she was seven years old, when her family moved to West Brighton, Monroe Co., N. Y., where she grew to maturity and was married to Mr. Eber Sherwood, January 27, 1824. In the spring of 1831, Eber, Hull and Edmund Sherwood with their little families came in search of homes and fortunes to the wilds of Michigan. From Rochester to Buffalo they came by canal and from there to Detroit by steamboat. There they bought ox teams and covered wagons and started inland. Arriving at the place where Marshall now stands they helped to raise the first log house erected there, staying several days with their new found friends. After a few more days' journey into the wilderness they arrived at Pine Creek, June 9, 1831. Mr. Sherwood "entered" quite a tract of land at that point and erected there their first home which was replaced in later years by the comfortable home in Otsego village where her last days were spent. For a time they were obliged to get all their supplies from Detroit, requiring a six weeks' trip with ox teams, and not infrequently the flour barrel was low before the long journey was made. White neighbors were few and scattering. The Indians, however, were friendly, some of them becoming warmly attached to their white neighbors, willingly assisting them in time of need. At the time of the Black Hawk war, they buried their valuables ready to start east when news came that Black Hawk was a prisoner. Mrs. Sherwood was the mother of eight children, Luther W., Clarissa A., William W., and Austin W., born in West Brighton, N. Y., and Olive A., Martha A., Elasco W., and Delora A., in Otsego. Judge Sherwood died December 14, 1868, while of the children Olive A., died in December, 1846, and Luther W., February 12, 1894. The many privations of a pioneer life were endured by her with the indomitable perseverance and cheerfulness which were characteristic of her during her whole life. She was very industrious, and in later years did a large amount of fine needle work, and in many homes in the vicinity of Otsego articles are exhibited with great pleasure with the remark that "Grandma Sherwood

did that after she was eighty-five." She was a beautiful exemplification of a Christian wife and mother. Her influence was always exerted for good and cannot be overestimated. She had full possession of her mental faculties to the last, making every arrangement for her funeral services in accordance with which six of her grandsons, Wallace and Elton Botsford, Eber and Graham Sherwood, Hiram Clapp and Elasco Reese tenderly bore her loved remains to their last rest. One brother, Mr. Wallace Crittenden of Rochester, N. Y., six children, Wm. W., and Mrs. A. D. Botsford of Otsego, Austin W., Elasco W., and Mrs. I. F. Clapp of Allegan, and Hiram Reese of Alamo; sixteen grandchildren and eighteen great grandchildren, besides a host of other friends to mourn their loss. She died at the ripe age of 88 years, 1 month and 23 days.

Gone is the dear old mother,
Empty her room and chair,
But deep in the hearts of many,
Lies her memory, green and fair.

Luther W. Sherwood.—Luther W. Sherwood died in Otsego, February 12, 1894. He was born in Brighton, N. Y., January 24, 1825, and when six years old was brought by his parents to Otsego (they being the second family to settle in that township), where he resided all his life. He was married at an early age to Miss Laura Squires and to them were born two children, Mrs. Julia Russell, of South Bend, Ind., and Mrs. Ella Larenberg, of Kendallville, Ind. Losing his wife, he after a time married Mrs. Hannah Harrigan, who survives him, as did his mother, Mrs. Alvira Sherwood, over a year. Coming to Allegan county at the time he did Mr. Sherwood experienced much of the privations incident to pioneer life. His age was 69 years and 18 days.

George T. Smith.—George T. Smith died at his home in Monterey, November 3, 1894. Born in Oxford, N. H., May 27, 1813, he went at an early age to New York, and in October, 1836, was married to Miss Jane Leonard. They came to Michigan in 1855, locating at Grand Rapids, where they remained two years, coming from thence to Trowbridge, subsequently to Allegan, and finally to South Monterey, where he resided until his death. Losing his wife in 1882, he married in 1883 Mrs. Charles Russell of Otsego, who, with five of his thirteen children survive him. Mr. Smith was a mason by trade and a member of the Second Advent Society of South Monterey, and was highly respected by all who knew him. He was at his death 81 years, 5 months and 6 days old.

Mrs. Elizabeth Stuck.—Mrs. Elizabeth Stuck died May 12, 1894. Elizabeth Baird was born at Otsego, May 14, 1840, where she spent her whole life. Her first husband, Mr. Henry Cany, died some years ago, and

her second husband, Mr. H. D. Stuck, in 1889. She was a faithful member of the Methodist church and was much respected by the entire community. She was at her death 54 years old.

Joel W. Taylor.—Joel W. Taylor died at his home near Dunningville, July 4, 1895. He was born in Louisville, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y., Jan. 27, 1843, where he lived until sixteen years old when he came to Almena, Van Buren Co., Mich., making his home with an uncle, Mr. Brewer, for three years, and the next three years in Kalamazoo with another uncle, Mr. Earl. In 1865 he married Miss Mary Earl, living with her near Dunningville. In 1870 he lost his wife. He worked for Sawyer & Kellogg of Heath and other parties, some time. In 1875 he married Miss Emma Crawford of Prairieville, Barry Co., and moved on to a farm near Dunningville, afterwards settling on his farm on Sec. 36, in Heath, on which he lived eighteen years, until the time of his death. He was chosen to the offices of township superintendent of schools, school inspector, highway commissioner, justice of the peace, and of supervisor since 1880, except two years. Mr. Taylor's influence was always exerted in favor of religion and good morals, though he never made a public profession of his religious faith until about a month before the end when he joined the M. E. church, and died in the hope of eternal life through the merits of a crucified Saviour. He was a good citizen, kind and indulgent husband and father, a faithful friend, large hearted, and generous and will be missed by a large circle of acquaintances. He was aged 52 years, 5 months and 7 days.

Sylvanus Van Dusen.—Sylvanus Van Dusen died in Allegan, June 29, 1894. He was born in Maentz, Cayuga Co., N. Y., April 15, 1815, and was educated at LeRoy, N. Y., and taught school several years in that vicinity. Later he learned the tanner and currier's trade at LeRoy, and was sent to Michigan in 1837 by his employers, a leather house of Rochester, to sell boots, shoes and woolen goods. He went to Chicago soon after and thence to Iowa and to Cincinnati where he married Mary Bryant and took up his residence in Burlington, Iowa. Three years later he moved to Madison, Ind., and five years later to Michigan again, and on March 20, 1855, he settled on a farm in Watson. From 1860 to 1865 he was supervisor of Watson township. About fifteen years ago he moved to Allegan village where he has since lived. He was the father of three children by his first wife, Edward S., William and Emma. His second wife, who was Miss Lydia A. Griffin, survives him. His age was 79 years, 2 months and 14 days.

William C. Weeks.—William C. Weeks died December 25, 1893. He was born in Allegan, Jan. 13, 1839, the eldest son of the late Alanson S. Weeks, one of the early settlers of Allegan, and always made his home

here. He enlisted as a private in Company I, 5th Michigan Cavalry, did splendid service in that regiment, was promoted to sergeant and was made first lieutenant, Feb. 1, 1865. Lieut. Weeks was in twenty-four battles in Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, and was wounded by a musket ball in the left ankle April 1, 1865, at the battle of Five Forks, Va., causing the loss of the foot. At Old Church Tavern, March 2, 1864, by the killing of his horse which fell upon him, he was taken prisoner and was confined in Libby Prison, Richmond, until August 2, 1864, when he was paroled. He was honorably discharged and mustered out of service July 5, 1865, and returned home. In politics Mr. Weeks was always a Republican, and was elected register of deeds of this county in 1868, serving two terms. In 1876 he was chosen president of the village of Allegan; after which he formed a partnership with his brother, H. C. Weeks, in the abstract business. His brother and partner is the only survivor of his family, except his wife, formerly Mrs. Minnie Lacey, to whom he was married about a year previous to his decease. He was a member of the C. J. Bassett Post, G. A. R., formerly its commander; also of the home lodge, I. O. O. F. He was aged 54 years, 11 months and 12 days.

Mrs. Lucy E. White.—Mrs. Lucy E. White, *nee* Lucy Eaton, died February 15, 1890. She was born at Jarman, N. Y., January 15, 1811, and came to Michigan, settling in Otsego near Pine Creek in October, 1837, and was consequently one of the early pioneers of that township. For several years she had lived with her son, Mr. W. S. White, in Kalamazoo, where she died. At her death she was aged 79 years and 1 month.

Robert G. Winn.—Robert G. Winn died in Ganges, July 12, 1895. He was born in Toronto, Canada, May 10, 1816, and came to Michigan, settling in Manlius, January 5, 1844. Mr. Winn was married three times, having several children by his first wife, who died while they were quite small; he felt obliged to part with them, one of whom, Miss Lydia, was adopted by Mr. and Mrs. David Doane Davis, of Allegan (now Mrs. A. I. McCarthy, living in New York state). His second wife was Mrs. Sophia Stillson, a sister of Alvin and Harrison Hutchins. Besides his widow, he leaves three daughters and a son, Mrs. A. I. McCarthy, Mrs. Henry Piper, and Mrs. Frank Miller, and Mr. Ralph M. Winn. He was truly a pioneer of Allegan county, much respected by all his acquaintances. His age was 79 years, 2 months and 2 days.

BARRY COUNTY.

BY DANIEL STRIKER.

Names.	Residence.	Date of death	Age	Remarks.
Benj. M. Allen	Yankee Springs	Oct. 11, 1895	70	Resident 47 years.
Mrs. Mary Austin	Hope	Aug. 10, 1895	87	Resident 40 years.
Mrs. Phœbe Booram	Hastings	Mar. 8, 1896	68	Wife of Henry Booram.
John Budd	Johnstown	Jan. 27, 1896	84	A pioneer of Johnstown.
Robert Campbell	Hope	June 29, 1895	60	
Mrs. Keziah Davis	Hastings	Mar. 13, 1896	93	A native of New Jersey.
Peter De Wolf	Prairieville	Sept. 18, 1895	80	Resident 41 years.
Charles Dunham	Maple Grove	July 11, 1895	.....	Resident over 40 years.
James W. Dunning	Prairieville	Nov. 25, 1895	77	Resident 50 years.
Edgar Emerson	Rutland	Jan. 4, 1896	74	
B. H Farr	Prairieville	July 11, 1895	63	Resident 40 years.
Allen Green	Baltimore	June 6, 1895	84	Resident 42 years.
Philander M. Hyde	Maple Grove	Aug. 15, 1895	.....	
William Jordan	Hope	Dec. 15, 1895	86	Resident of county 33 yrs.
Mrs. Catherine Kaiser	Hastings	Mar. 15, 1896	74	
Job Kilcox	Maple Grove	June, 1895	67	Resident 40 years.
Leonard Lemis	Hastings	Sept. 18, 1895	73	Resident 55 years.
John McArthur	Woodland	Feb. 1, 1896	83	One of the first settlers.
John McCallum	Hope	Mar. 1, 1896	61	An old resident.
Simon Mathews	Hastings	Jan. 1, 1896	71	Resident 40 years.
Mrs. Esther M. Nye	Barry	Aug. 14, 1895	75	Resident in county 59 yrs.
Henry Paull	Johnstown	Dec. 11, 1895	78	Resident 56 years.
James Ray	Prairieville	June 9, 1895	52	Resident 45 years.
Anthony Rogers	Prairieville	Oct. 11, 1895	83	
Jabez R. Rorabeck	Barry	Oct. 27, 1895	81	Resident 41 years.
Baroba Shultz	Hope	Apr. 20, 1896	70	Resident 42 years.
Delos D. Smith	Carleton	May 12, 1896	68	Resident of county 53 yrs.
William H. Spence	Hastings	Apr. 19, 1896	71	A native of Belfast, Ire.
Mrs. B. V. Stanton	Barry	Feb. 13, 1896	54	Resident 50 years.
O. N. Town	Barry	July 15, 1895	70	
Geo. W. Valentine	Hope	June 12, 1895	79	Resident 59 years and an uncle of Daniel Striker.
Isaac Walker	Hastings	Mar. 13, 1896	81	A soldier in the late war.
Thomas Waters	Baltimore	Nov. 7, 1895	75	Resident of State 65 years.
Byington Wells	Barry	Dec. 22, 1895	87	Resident 59 years.

NORMAN BAILEY.—Norman Bailey, an old and esteemed resident of Hastings, died at his home Saturday morning, February 15, 1896. Mr. Bailey's death will be considered a personal loss by every member of the Odd Fellows lodge throughout the State. He has been identified with the Odd Fellows for the past fifty years, and has held every office in the gift of the order. Patriarch Bailey, as he was always called, was considered an authority on all subjects pertaining to Odd Fellowship. The ritual of the lodge has been the guiding religion of his life, and the order has received the benefit of this devotion. He was born in Cayuga county, N. Y., in 1822, and came to Michigan in 1852, and engaged in the mercantile business with his brother, A. W. He was at one time editor of the republican paper published in Hastings and was elected to the State Senate by the republicans. During the war he was provost marshal, stationed at Grand Rapids, where he became acquainted with Miss Rachael Aldrich, who became his wife in November, 1864. The result of this union was three children, a daughter, Mrs. Dan Donahue, of Hastings, and one son, Ernest, who is connected with the Loomis & Underout printing house in Grand Rapids, and Edward, who is engaged in the drug business in Gobleville, Mich. At the close of the war he changed his politics and became a staunch Democrat, and remained so the rest of his life. Twenty-five years ago he had a severe illness, and, the doctors telling him he had only a short time to live, he sold out his business interests and had never reinvested. Although living longer than anticipated, he has always been an invalid.

He was taken with a congestive chill Friday, February 14, and to the surprise of all his friends, who considered him improving, he passed away Saturday, the 15th, at 5 A. M. He was buried in Riverside cemetery, Monday, under the auspices of the Odd Fellows. The full floral offerings testified to the high esteem in which he was held by the order. He was of fine scholarly attainments, having received a college education, and was highly gifted as a writer.

His ability in this direction has been utilized by his political party, and his advice and services will be missed by a large circle of political friends as well as by his immediate family.

HENRY P. CHERRY.—Henry P. Cherry, one of the twenty-two incorporators of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, was born May 21, 1823, in the town of Bethany, Genesee county, N. Y., and died Wednesday, July 17, 1895, at his home in Johnstown. When a youth he moved with his parents to Alexandria, in the same county, and later moved to Sheffield, Lorain county, Ohio. In 1838 he purchased a farm in Johnstown, Barry county, it being then almost an unbroken wilderness, and only eight families living in the township at that time. In November,

1844, deceased cast his first vote for Henry Clay for President, and voted the whig ticket until Millard Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Law, which act sounded the death-knell of the old whig party. When the republican party was organized under the oaks at Jackson, he joined it, and continued with it up to the time of his death. Deceased always held the respect and confidence of his friends and was honored with various official positions. He was three times elected justice in Johnstown, and for fifteen years held the office of clerk, several times receiving all the votes cast. In 1862 he was elected county clerk and held the office two years. In 1870 he was elected Representative in the State Legislature from the second district of the county, and for eight years was bookkeeper in the State Land Office. In 1883 he was elected clerk of Bedford township, Calhoun county, and held the office eight years. He was appointed notary public by Gov. Kinsley S. Bingham, and held that office by appointment up to the time of his death. He was married to Charlotte Cowles, and to them five children were born, two of whom survive him, R. H. Cherry, of Hastings, and F. T. Cherry, of Banfield. Deceased was an earnest, hard-working man, and enthusiastic in all that he undertook. Quiet and unassuming, he exercised a good influence over those with whom he came in contact. His life was one of toil and labor, which he did cheerfully, and his later years were spent in quiet. Deceased will be remembered by many of the old pioneers, who will be pained to learn of his death.

N. F. Clemence.—N. F. Clemence died January 29, 1896, at his residence in Dowling, aged 54 years. He was born in Verona township, Oneida county, N. Y., in the year 1842, came to Michigan in 1859 and settled in Galesburg. At the age of nineteen enlisted in the United States army, where he was disabled by a wound which he received in the battle of Glendale, and was obliged to return to his home in Galesburg. In 1864 he married Miss Adelia Aldrich, a prominent young lady of that place. In 1866 they located on a 40-acre farm on the town line, and in 1877 he purchased the fine farm a few rods east of Dowling, where he has made a beautiful home and where he resided at the time of his death. He leaves a patient, loving wife and five children.

Mrs. Jane E. Garrison.—Mrs. Jane E. Garrison, *nee* Dubois, died April 3, 1896, at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Frank Bush, in Hastings township, aged 80 years. She was born at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., September 15, 1815. She married Robert Garrison July 28, 1833, they moving to Michigan in the fall of 1854, and until a few months ago she had always lived in Baltimore, a period of over 41 years. Deceased leaves two sisters at Poughkeepsie, and seven children, S. S. and W. H. Garrison, of Hastings, G. W., W. O. and R. F. Garrison, of Baltimore, Mrs.

Frank Bush, of Hastings township, and Mrs. Isaac Weeks, of Baltimore. Her oldest daughter, Mrs. C. M. Hendershott, died about two years ago.

Mrs. Sarah Henry.—Mrs. Sarah Henry died March 11, 1896, aged 70 years, after an illness of nearly two years. Her maiden name was Henney; she was born in Little York, York county, Pa., January 8, 1826. When eighteen months old she, with her parents, migrated to Morrow county, Ohio. October 17, 1850, she was married to John W. Henry. In 1856 they came to Carlton, where they endured the hardships of pioneer life. To them twelve children were born, six sons and six daughters. A son and daughter died in infancy. One daughter is a resident of Minnesota. Nine children and their father were with her in her dying hours to watch over her and to do all that could be done by loving hands to minister to her needs and finally to lay her to rest.

Edwin H. Mallory.—Edwin H. Mallory, of Nashville, was born at Marengo, Calhoun county, April 13, 1837. When seven years of age he removed with his parents to Barry county, where he grew into worthy manhood, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. In May, 1861, he enlisted in the 3d Michigan Infantry, Co. K, and after serving over three years was honorably discharged in June, 1864, retiring to his childhood home. In May, 1866, he married Mary J. Otis, of Marshall, Michigan. They began housekeeping at the old homestead in Maple Grove. In November following he was elected sheriff of Barry county, which position he filled honorably and acceptably for four years. At the expiration of his duties as sheriff, he received an appointment as postal clerk on the Michigan Central railroad, which he held for eleven years. While at Hastings he became a member of the F. & A. M. While acting as postal clerk he removed to Grand Rapids, but came to Nashville in 1876, where he has since resided. The last years of his life he devoted to his one absorbing creed, that of healing through spiritualistic agencies, and in this department of his life's work he made many warm and lasting friends. He departed this life October 30, 1895, in his fifty-seventh year. He leaves a wife and three children, two sons and a daughter, grown into manhood and womanhood. He was a true and faithful husband, a kind and indulgent father, and will be sadly missed by his family and friends. The funeral occurred at the house Friday afternoon, November 1, 1895, Elder Holler officiating.

Mrs. Caroline Roberts.—Mrs. Caroline Roberts died at her home in Hastings, Monday evening, March 9, 1896, at the age of 63, of pneumonia. Caroline Augusta Powers was born in the state of Vermont, July 5, 1832, coming to Michigan in 1835, and removed to Hastings when about sixteen years old. She was married to Dr. John Roberts November 2, 1854,

whose death occurred in the winter of 1886. Two children were a result of their union, John B. and Mary Roberts, who survive them. Mrs. Roberts has been an invalid for years, being a sufferer from scofula in its most acute form. Her nature was of that resolute, patient, cheerful turn which refused to allow her ills to make herself or those around her unhappy, permitting her to enjoy life as few can who are so afflicted. She was never heard to murmur or complain through all her years of illness, and cheered and inspired her friends by her example. Her home was to her the center of attraction, and she was devoted to its interests and those of her dear ones. Her memory will be cherished by all who knew her, and especially those who knew her best.

George Swanson.—George Swanson died at his home in Johnstown, March 3, 1896, aged 85 years. He was born near Glasgow, in Scotland, November 4, 1810. Deceased moved with his parents to Erie county, N. Y., in the year 1826. He, being their youngest son, became their support, caring for them until the close of their lives. He was married to Miss Sopha Wheeler in the year 1837, and moved with his family to Flint, Genesee county, Mich., June, 1844, where he lived two years; from thence he moved to Oakland county, where he lived four years, and from thence to Johnstown, where he lived until the time of his death. He was the father of three children, George, Margaret and Donald, all of whom survive him, his wife having died nearly forty years before. Subsequently he married Mrs. Mary Merritt, with whom he lived twenty-six years, and who survives him.

John Valentine.—John Valentine died Saturday, February 22, 1896, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Fred. Tungate, in Hastings. He was born in Steuben county, N. Y. At an early age he came to Michigan with his parents. When twenty-eight years of age he was united in matrimony to Lois Fish, and they have lived together fifty-one years. He came to Orangeville in 1849, and experienced all the hardships of the pioneer's life. He was the father of six children, Mrs. Eliza Sheffield, of Banfield, Albert Valentine, of Orangeville, Andrew Valentine, of Cadillac, John Valentine, of Hope, Maria Copeland, of West Superior, and Esther Tungate, of Hastings, all of whom, with his aged wife, survive him.

BRANCH COUNTY.

BY HARVEY HAYNES.

Hon. Augustus S. Glessner.—Hon. Augustus S. Glessner died Thursday evening, March 19, 1896. He was born in Somerset, Penn., and according to a letter from his oldest brother would have been 82 years of age about the time of his death, which would make his birth in 1814. This extreme age is a surprise to many, as he had always been an active man, but quite methodical in all his ways of doing business. Another suggestion which would indicate his age is that he was twenty-four years old when he came here, which was in 1838. He was a carpenter by trade, and began life with nothing but his energy, skill and good health, which are the very best capital a man can possibly possess with which to win success. Hon. Harvey Haynes thinks he came here in 1837, as he did the shingling on the old Methodist church, and that was dedicated in June, 1838. Be this as it may, it is evident to all that he had lived to a ripe old age and this community had been his home ever since his arrival here, making almost sixty years, which is equal to nearly two generations of the average period of life. He had counted on reaching the advanced age of his father, which was about ninety years, and undoubtedly had no expectation on Thursday morning that that would be the last day of his life. To those who have observed him in the last few months there was a change in his countenance which seemed to indicate that he was not in perfect health. For years he had walked regularly down town and back again; but for some time he had quite often engaged the herdic to take him home. And yet until the day of his death he had not recognized any such thing as sickness, and did not keep his bed until that last day, and during that day became unconscious and died about five o'clock in the evening. Such a record of health it is not given to many mortals to make, and, as Dr. Wilson said at the funeral, it shows not merely a strong constitution, but a habit in his living that was wonderfully conducive to life. He had attained some years before he wooed and won Miss Huldah Winans, their marriage occurring about 1850; and their home remained unbroken until nine years ago, when Mrs. Glessner was taken away. No children were born to them; and since that time his sister has had the the care of his home. As stated, Mr. Glessner was a carpenter by trade, and there are a number of houses in the city that are evidences of his skill as a workman. Mr. John O. Pelton, who was a mason by trade and has worked with Mr. Glessner often, says he was a very quick workman and expert in every detail of his trade. After he had gathered some means by his business he largely devoted his attention to the loaning of money for himself and looking after funds placed

in his hands by others. He was always very economical in his own expenditures, and as years went by his accumulations have steadily increased. His wealth is variously estimated, but probably $100,000 would not be an extravagant figure. In his treatment of all men he has been honest and fair, and to those who were his debtors he has been uniformly indulgent and kind. He did many deeds of benevolence that the world knew not of and that will prove a star of rejoicing in the great future upon which he has now entered. He was not a member of any church, but he was a steady attendant for many years upon the services of either the Baptist or Presbyterian churches. Remarks were made at his funeral by Revs. H. P. Collin, W. T. Lowry and Dr. Wilson. In his long life he has performed public service and been honored by his fellow citizens. From 1844 to 1850 he was superintendent of the poor, and from 1866 to 1876 he performed the same service. In 1862 he was elected alderman from the second ward. In 1858 he was chosen to represent this district in the State Legislature. And in all his life as a citizen and as a neighbor he has been useful in a quiet and unassuming way, and leaves an untarnished name to his family friends, as well as to the community where he lived. He leaves four brothers and one sister behind out of a family of thirteen—ten brothers and three sisters. His oldest brother still lives in Zanesville, Ohio, at the ripe age of 88 years.

William Riley Miller.—William Riley Miller, one among the oldest settlers of Matteson township, has passed away. His death was the gradual and reluctant submission of a constitution that seemed to have no limit to its powers of endurance and in which he had placed the most implicit confidence. For thirty-four years he had remained the proprietor of the first eighty acres which he had purchased in the township, and, by dint of unceasing labor and a will to overcome all difficulties, to this he had added two more farms of equal size. Although the greater portion of the land was very stony and heavily timbered, he had not only cleared it and placed it in cultivation, but had erected upon it, diagonally across the road from each other, two full sets of well-improved farm buildings. Mr. Miller had worked his farm himself only one year in the last fifteen, but had seldom rested from making improvements or repairs. It was while actively engaged in the former during the intense heat of the past summer, and against the wishes and advice of his friends, that he brought on the collapse of his mental and physical powers. On September 14 he was brought to his bed by atrophy, and for more than three months he struggled to undo fate until at last a complete elision of the brain released him quietly from the unequal combat. Born in the town of Sweden, Monroe county, N. Y., on September 25, 1829, he moved with his parents, William Miller and Eunice Hill Miller, to the town of Mense, Cayuga county, N. Y., thence to Phelps, Ontario county, N. Y.,

and finally to Bergen, Genesee county, N. Y. At the latter place he was married, on November 1, 1855, to Miss Hannah Irish. One daughter, Ella Bell Miller, was born September 4, 1856, and died March 24, 1859. Soon after her death the bereaved parents moved to Michigan, and located where the old homestead now stands. Here a son, Fred Rial Miller, was born, and on January 7, 1887, all that was mortal of the wife and mother was called to its final resting place in Matteson cemetery. Later he was again married, on February 2, 1888, to Mrs. Dora Sisson Hayne, who, together with his son, still survives. He died on December 24, 1895, at 12:30 P. M., at the age of 66 years.

CURTICE DUNHAM PRENTICE.—Curtice Dunham Prentice died at his home in Burr Oak, Thursday afternoon, January 16, 1896, aged 84 years. Mr. Prentice was born in Pennfield, N. Y., April 13, 1811, and came to Michigan in 1831, locating in Bellevue. In 1834 he returned to Pennfield, and two years later came to Coldwater. In 1866 he moved to Girard, living there until his removal to Burr Oak in 1883, thus making forty-seven years' residence in Branch county, seventeen years of which was passed in Girard township. Mr. Prentice was twice married, his first wife being Miss Clarinda Fox, whom he married in 1837. Five children came of this union, three of whom are now living—Mrs. Emma Mann, of Girard, Charlie Prentice, of South Haven, and Ed. Prentice, of Mason, Mich. In the spring of 1853 his wife died, and the following winter he married Miss Emily Andrews, and by this union had six children, four of whom are living—Mrs. Ella Hollenbeck, of Tekonsha, George and Clara at home, and Mrs. Hattie Sanford, of Girard. His funeral was held at his late home in Burr Oak, Saturday, the services being conducted by Rev. Shepherd, and his remains were brought to Girard cemetery the same day, where many of his old friends and neighbors had met to pay their last tribute to his memory. Here a last service was held before burial. Mr. Prentice was a highly respected citizen, a man of broad views, a good husband, and one of the kindest and best of fathers and a good friend to the poor. He leaves a wife and seven children to revere and honor his memory. The friends appreciate the kindness and sympathy extended them by their old friends and neighbors in their time of sorrow.

JUDGE DAVID THOMPSON.—A busy life ended Wednesday morning, February 19, 1896, at 11:40 o'clock, when Judge David Thompson closed his eyes upon all earthly scenes at the home of his son-in-law, Nelson Fletcher, west Chicago street. Although his death was unexpected, yet it finally came hardly without warning to friends outside his immediate family. Last June he came home from Washington, hoping that a prolonged rest from his confining and arduous duties there would restore him to health. For a time the change was beneficial, but a few days

previous to his death he suffered a severe attack of the grippe, from which he was unable to rally. Mr. Thompson was born February 21, 1823, near Canajoharie, N. Y., and came to Branch county with his parents when quite young, living in Bethel township several years, then came to Coldwater, at that time a small hamlet. He taught school in the little school house on Clay street, where Dr. Ives' veterinary stables now stand. After graduating at Albion College, he returned to Coldwater and read law with the late Col. H. C. Gilbert, with whom he was associated several years. Later he was associated with L. T. N. Wilson, and also with Hon. Chas. Upson. In 1864 he was elected probate judge on the republican ticket, filling that position creditably two terms, then resumed the practice of his profession. In 1877 he was appointed judge of this judicial circuit, to fill Judge Keightley's unexpired term, serving about one year. In 1882 he was tendered and accepted a clerkship in the Land Department at Washington, which position he filled so acceptably that he was retained through democratic as well as republican administrations. About a year ago his health failed him and he was given an indefinite leave of absence, with the assurance that his position in the department was open to him at any time, but he was never able to return. Judge Thompson was a quiet, unassuming man, of a kindly, courteous nature, well versed in his profession, and enjoyed the confidence and esteem of all to an unusual degree. In 1859 he was married, in Medina, N. Y., to Miss Helen S. Knapp, who survives him, and two children were born to them—Fred D. Thompson, of Lincoln, Neb., and Mrs. Nelson Fletcher, of Coldwater.

Newcomb Wilcox.—Newcomb Wilcox was born in Naples, Ontario county, N. Y., November 3, 1803. When he was thirteen years old his father died and he was thrown on his own resources. He pursued various vocations until, in 1825, he was married to Miranda Stearns, and in 1837 they came to Michigan and settled on the land in Sherwood, where they lived continuously for nearly fifty years. They came in a wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen. The journey was made in thirty-seven days and was marked by many eventful incidents. The new home to which they came was entirely unimproved. He soon put up a log house, into which they moved before it was completed. Coming here at so early a period, he suffered all the privations of pioneer life, but by industry and frugality secured for himself and family a fine home and a competency, which he lived long to enjoy. His wife died in 1884, since which time he has lived with his children. For the past six years he has boarded with his daughter, Mrs. M. D. Clipfell, who has ever been unremitting in her care and attention, and by deeds of love made his last days happy ones, and at whose home he died, March 1, 1896, in the ninety-third year

of his age. He passed away peacefully, and it can be said of Father Wilcox, a good man has gone. He was a staunch republican and a member of the M. E. church, which will miss his liberal donations, as will the poor of the community.

CALHOUN COUNTY.

BY JOHN F. HINMAN.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mrs. Phebe Andrus	Convis	Jan. 9, 1896	66	Widow of Ira Andrus.
Wesley Ball	Eckford	Nov. 7, 1895	45	A native of Michigan.
Oris Barnum	Battle Creek	Oct. 10, 1895	90	
Jacob A. Baum	Albion	Jan. --, 1896	77	An old resident.
William Betterly	Battle Creek	Mar. 9, 1896	80	An old resident.
Caleb Clark Bly	Marshall	Aug. 6, 1895	76	Resident of Co. 25 years.
Mrs. Ella Brooks	Marengo	April 13, 1896	49	A native of the county.
Mrs. George B. Canney	Marshall	Jan. 10, 1896	70	An old resident.
Mrs. Maria Clark	Homer	May 22, 1896	77	Wife of Thomas Clark.
Mrs. O. S. Clark	Battle Creek	June 6, 1895	43	Maiden name Clara Watson.
Thomas Clark	Homer	May 29, 1895	71	Came to Michigan in 1854.
William Cook	Tekonsha	Sept. 30, 1895	.....	An old resident.
C. C. Cotton	Albion	May 5, 1896	52	A native of Michigan.
Mrs. Urania Davis	Bedford	June 12, 1895	70	
Mrs. Grogan De Frate	Marshall	June 15, 1895	67	Her maiden name was Frances Green.
William Delbridge	Albion	April 19, 1896	54	Resident of Michigan over 40 years.
William Dicer	Marshall	Sept. 13, 1895	.....	Resident of county many years.
James G. DuBois	Battle Creek	June 13, 1895	.....	An old resident.
Andrew A. Eddy	Albion	Mar. 5, 1895	47	Came to Michigan in 1865.
Louisa F. Emery	Leroy	Sept. 24, 1895	45	
Mrs. Cornelia Evart	Homer	Mar. --, 1896	91	
William Palmer Fanning	Newton	Feb. 27, 1896	85	Came to Michigan in 1853.
Mrs. Catherine Farrington	Battle Creek	July 13, 1895	74	Came to Battle Creek in 1846.
Mrs. Wesley F. Flynn	Pennfield	June 7, 1895	.....	Came to Michigan in early childhood.
Mrs. Lydia Foster	Albion	Nov. --, 1895	80	Wife of Ira Foster.
John M. Galloup	Battle Creek	July 2, 1895	74	Came to Battle Creek in 1864.
Daniel P. Gassett	Albion	May 17, 1896	79	An old resident.
Mrs. Anna Maria Goodrich	Marshall	Dec. 4, 1895	70	Resident since 1854.
Mrs. Mary A. Greble	Battle Creek	Feb. 7, 1896	44	Wife of Geo. W. Greble.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death	Age.	Remarks.
Mrs. Ogden Green	Battle Creek	April 9, 1896	79	Resident of Battle Creek 60 years.
Mrs. Lydia Gregory	Albion	Feb. 19, 1896	82	Resident since 1837.
Solon W. Hale	Bedford	Oct. 18, 1895	77	An old resident.
Mrs. John F. Halladay	Battle Creek	May 8, 1896	52	
Mrs. Ann Maria Harbeck	Battle Creek	Mar. 21, 1896	66	Came to Battle Creek in 1858.
Mrs. Margaret Hassett	Newton	Dec. 19, 1895	64	Came to Michigan in 1837.
William Hayes	Albion	Nov. 17, 1895	60	An old resident.
Mrs. Maria Holcomb	Battle Creek	Aug. 9, 1895	86	
Clara Eunice Hollingworth	Albion	April 9, 1896	65	Daughter of George Gale.
Mrs. Mary E. Hopkins	Bedford	Dec. 27, 1895	98	One of the earliest pioneers.
Mrs. J. J. Howell	Albion	Oct. 23, 1895	.....	A resident many years.
Conrad Hulscher	Battle Creek	Oct. 9, 1895	76	A resident 35 years.
W. H. H. Hutchinson	Albion	Aug. 16, 1895	54	Come to Michigan in 1865.
Charles Irons	Marshall	Oct. 29, 1895	81	
Ludjer Jirou	Marshall	June 4, 1895	68	An old resident.
Mrs. Maria Knickerbocker	Albion	Sept. 6, 1895	77	Came to Michigan in an early day.
Michael Laupp	Newton	Nov. 6, 1895	.....	Resident of Newton over 30 years.
Mrs. Emily J. Lee	Pennfield	Dec. 28, 1895	80	
John W. Lewis	Albion	Oct. 4, 1895	71	Resident of Albion about 40 years.
Melissa McFarland	Battle Creek	Nov. 2, 1895	80	
Mrs. Elizabeth Miller	Battle Creek	Mar. 22, 1896	82	An old resident.
Samuel Mosher	Marengo	Mar. 22, 1896	64	An old resident.
Mrs. Mary Louise Neale	Battle Creek	Dec. 3, 1895	73	Resident since 1848.
Mrs. James H. Ott	Albion	Jan. 20, 1896	55	Maiden name Mary S. White.
Mrs. Alma S. Owen	Homer	April 19, 1896	44	Wife of E. L. Owen.
Mrs. Lizzie Phillips Owens	Marshall	Oct. 24, 1895	40	Wife of Albert Owens.
Percival Palmer	Battle Creek	Sept. 2, 1895	85	Resident about 30 years.
Mrs. E. N. Parsons	Albion	Aug. 17, 1895	60	Graduated from Albion College in 1859
Mrs. Jane Payne	Battle Creek	Aug. 28, 1895	69	Came to Battle Creek in 1836.
Robert M. Pealing	Marshall	Sept. 20, 1895	50	Born in Eckford township.
David Phillips	Battle Creek	Sept. 30, 1895	85	
Mrs. Hiram Pittee	Battle Creek	Sept. 17, 1895	79	
John W. Potter	Newton	Oct. 10, 1895	85	
Mrs. Eleanor Rafter	Albion	Nov. 2, 1895	76	
William Rapp	Clarendon	May 16, 1896	72	Resident of Clarendon 55 years.
Mrs. Zaidie Reed	Albion	Dec. 23, 1895	85	Widow of Reuben Reed.
Mrs. Eliza Rhodes	Homer	Dec. 11, 1895	80	Widow of Smith Rhodes.
William Robbins	Wheatland	Nov. 28, 1895	59	First white male child born in Wheatland.
Mrs. John Rocho	Newton	Nov. 24, 1895	53	Killed, being struck by the cars.
Mrs. Salome Regina Schuff	Battle Creek	Aug. 13, 1895	63	Wife of Jacob Schuff.
Albert Sharpsteen	Marshall	Dec. 5, 1895	.....	An old resident.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mrs. L. Simmons	Eckford	Aug. 25, 1895	65	Came to Michigan in 1855.
David Smith	Battle Creek	Oct. 24, 1895	78	An old resident.
John Cash Snider	Homer	Oct. 19, 1895	91	Came to Michigan in 1845.
Mrs. Phebe L. Spencer	Battle Creek	Dec. 23, 1895	89	Came to Michigan in 1844.
Mrs. Paulina (Hunt) Stayman	Battle Creek	Dec. 22, 1895	75	Came to Michigan in 1857.
Wm. B. Swan	Albion	May 18, 1896	.....	Became a resident of Albion in 1850.
Albert Taylor	Le Roy	May 11, 1896	60	A well-known pioneer.
Mrs. Jane Torrey	Albion	Oct. 21, 1895	71	One of the oldest residents.
Jacob Wagner	Marshall	Oct. 6, 1895	76	A resident of county 60 years.
Mrs. Letitia (Vaughn) Walton	Homer	Dec. 7, 1895	57	Came to Michigan about 1842.
Mrs. Charles F. Walter	Battle Creek	Dec. 25, 1895	69	An old resident.
Mrs. Susan G. Whitmore	Battle Creek	May 17, 1896	92	
Hiram Wilbur	Homer	June 8, 1895	75	Came to Michigan in 1854.
Elisha Culver Winans	Convis	May 9, 1896	76	Came to Michigan in 1859.
Louis Winters	Newton	June 10, 1895	83	

MRS. MARGARET F. BENHAM.—Mrs. Margaret F. Benham, wife of Holmes S. Benham, deceased, died at her home in South Albion, Monday, May 4, 1896. She had been in poor health from nervous trouble for some time, having been confined to her bed for two weeks. She had so far recovered as to be able to be up with her family the day previous to her being stricken with paralysis, and lingered only five days. Mrs. Benham, whose maiden name was Fox, was born in Herkimer county, N. Y., August 15, 1817. She was one of a family of six girls and one boy, only two of whom are living, Mrs. Kennedy, of New York, and Mrs. Nevilt, of Lansing. She came to Michigan and was married to Holmes S. Benham, February, 1847, coming immediately to their farm, where she has since resided. Mr. Benham died February 12, 1880.

MARTIN C. BENHAM.—Martin C. Benham died at his home in Albion, February 24, 1896, from brain trouble, aged 74 years, after an illness of but four days. He was born in Roxbury, N. Y., May 22, 1822, and came to Michigan in 1837. In the year 1856 he was united in marriage to Miss Lorissa Howell, and made his home upon a farm at South Albion. He and his family took up their residence in Albion in 1864, and made his home there until his death. Mr. Benham was a splendid representative of the successful farmer and pioneer, and was the possessor of a consistent Christian character, having been an active member of the Methodist church for over fifty years. To know him was to admire his sterling qualities, and by his death the community loses a valued citizen who will

be missed by a very large circle of friends. Although not an active politician in any sense, he served the village as supervisor several terms with credit. Two daughters, Mrs. H. L. Brown, of Parma, and Mrs. W. H. French, of Albion, survive him.

Major Darwin D. Buck.—Major Darwin D. Buck died December 23, 1895, in Battle Creek. He was a native of Vermont, where he was born seventy-four years ago. In his childhood his parents removed to Buffalo, N. Y., and he grew up in that city and vicinity, and there spent the earlier years of his manhood. Early in the fifties he came to Battle Creek, and soon after entered into partnership with the late Joseph G. Hoyt as contractors and builders, who subsequently changed their industry to cabinet making and the manufacture and sale of furniture, including undertaking and all other features of the furniture business, being the predecessors of Baker and Caldwell. The services of the deceased in the war for the Union was given with the 11th Michigan Cavalry, for which he participated in raising Co. F in Battle Creek, and was commissioned as its captain; he was subsequently, for gallant and meritorious service, promoted to the rank of major. He made a fine record in the army, and has been one of the most active and influential members of Farragut Post, Grand Army of the Republic, in which he has held the position of post commander and other responsible offices. He was also a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity, being honored with the highest offices in the organizations of the order in Battle Creek, including the Knights Templar. Major Buck was a member of the city council in 1868 and 1869, and rendered valuable service, and has always taken a deep interest in affairs relating to the welfare of the city. He was an active republican from the formation of the party until 1872, when he supported Mr. Greeley for President, and since that time has been an Independent, affiliating in later years with the democracy, and was honored by that party by being placed upon its ticket for mayor and other important positions. Major Buck was twice married, his first wife being Miss Cornelia Waldo, of Elba, N. Y., to whom he was united previous to his removal to Battle Creek, and whose death occurred in 1882. He was afterward married to Mrs. Martha Greble, widow of the late Capt. Charles Greble, who survives him. He leaves also a son, Cyrenus G. Buck, and Mrs. Anna W. Jennings, widow of the late Thomas H. Jennings.

Dr. Ennis Church.—Dr. Ennis Church, of Marshall, died December 10, 1895, at New Orleans, La., where he had gone to spend the winter on account of his health. His remains were brought to Marshall and buried in Oakridge cemetery. He was born in Madison county, N. Y., June 9, 1815, the son of Robert and Elizabeth Ennis Church, who, with their

children, settled in Marengo township, this county, in 1836. Ennis studied medicine, and for many years was regarded as one of the best of the excellent physicians and surgeons practicing in the county. During the rebellion he was surgeon of the 9th and 26th Michigan Volunteer Infantry regiments, serving with the armies of the Cumberland and Potomac. Since being mustered out of the United States service he has practiced his profession but little, except two or three years at Bellevue hospital, New York city, but has spent his time in travel and looking after his landed and other interests in Michigan, Kansas, Mississippi and Louisiana. In the spring of 1849 Mr. Church married Cornelia A., daughter of the late Philo Dibble, of Marshall, but she died February 8, 1851, their infant daughter dying but a short time before the mother.

James Conley.—James Conley died on March 20, 1896, at the residence of his son, William Conley, in Marshall. Mr. Conley was born June 24, 1805, in Calen, Kilkenny county, Ireland. He came to this country and landed in Baltimore, Md., in 1829. Here he helped in the building of the Baltimore, Washington & Ohio railroad, the first railroad for steam locomotives in America. In 1832 Mr. Conley went to Poultney, Vt., where he was united in marriage to Miss Mary O'Neil. He settled in Marshall in 1841, and in the year following his wife died, leaving three children. He married his second wife, Miss Ellen Farrell, of Detroit, in 1843. Six children were born of this union. Since the death of his wife in 1883, Mr. Conley lived alternately with his three surviving children, William, of Marshall, Mrs. M. Muir, of Chicago, and Patrick, of Hammond, Ind. Mr. Conley was a man of sturdy endurance, an energetic, successful farmer, and one of the first in Calhoun county to introduce improved stock and labor-saving machinery on his fine farm, which he had reclaimed from the wilderness. The ever kind hospitality of the Conley home is a pleasing remembrance to many Marshall pioneers.

Elizabeth Case Easterly.—Elizabeth Case Easterly, of Marshall, died March 25, 1896. She was born at Berlin Heights, Erie county, Ohio, March 16, 1836. She was one of a family of ten children, three of whom survive her, Newton Case, of Marshall, Mrs. Emily Gregg, of Kalamo, and Adatha Case, of Ohio. She married John Thompson in 1852 and removed to Eaton county, where Mr. Thompson died in 1863. She then came with her family of five children to Fredonia, where, in 1867, she was married to James Easterly, of Eckford. Two children blessed their union, Frank and Libbie, both of whom were present to render the last sad offices for their mother. Three other children survive her, Mrs. Wm. Williamson, of Marshall, Mrs. Frank Williams, of Sardinia, N. Y., and Charles Thompson, of Ohio.

Mrs. Helen M. Fiske.—Mrs. Helen M. Fiske, wife of President L. R. Fiske, died at her home in Albion, March 19, 1896, aged 72 years. Helen Marion Jaquette was born in Gilsum, N. H., October 17, 1823. In 1843 she was united in marriage to Capt. Ira Davis, who died in Detroit in 1873. June 29, 1880, she was married, in Detroit, to Dr. Lewis Ransom Fiske, now president of Albion College. From her youth Mrs. Fiske has lived an earnest and exemplary Christian life, she having made a profession of religion at about the age of sixteen. During her residence in Detroit she was a member of the Central M. E. church, and upon her removal to Albion transferred her membership to the church there. In her church relations she was active and zealous, both in word and work; in society, gentle, dignified, refined; as a wife and mother, faithful, affectionate, with a full sense of her duties and responsibilities. Many are the students of the college who will ever remember with pleasure and gratitude her cordial greetings, her words of encouragement, and her personal interest in their welfare. A large circle of friends and the community at large share in the sorrow caused by her death. Mrs. Fiske bore her years lightly. She believed in being young, and consequently never grew old. Few persons not knowing her age would have taken her to be within twelve or fifteen years of as old as she was. She was ill about ten days. First she suffered a severe attack of pneumonia, but subsequently pleurisy developed, causing a complication that baffled the skill of physicians. Besides her husband, one son, Albert E. Davis, of Lansing, and two daughters, Mrs. Frank B. Preston, of Detroit, and Mrs. Emma D. Thayer, of Albion, are left to mourn her loss. These were all present at her death bed. Appropriate resolutions by the faculty of Albion College were adopted.

Flavel S. Hamilton.—Flavel S. Hamilton was born in Chittenden county, Vt., November 3, 1823. His parents removed to the state of New York while he was quite young and his education was obtained at the district school, which he only attended winters after reaching his twelfth year. In 1853 he was married to Miss Martha Wicks, at Springwater, N. Y., an estimable lady, who died of consumption 18 years after her marriage, leaving to her husband two young children to love and rear, Emerson Hamilton and Emma, wife of Frederick Lusk, both residents of Eckford township at the time of their father's death. He came to this locality in the spring of 1856, and has been engaged in farming until the past ten years, since which time he has been residing in the village of Eckford and closely identified with its business interests and improvements. In the fall of 1871 he was united in marriage with Mrs. Sophia Gillett, the mother of a son, Vernon Gillett, of Detroit, and Mrs. Mary Plum, a resident of Eckford. Mrs. Hamilton died suddenly of heart failure in 1891, leaving her husband sadly bereft. His sister, Mary, has

since contributed to his comfort and happiness by remaining in his home and caring for him. He was very much afflicted by the death of his youngest brother, Linus S. Hamilton, which occurred July 3, and was over anxious to perform every service possible in the arrangements for the funeral. In driving from Marshall with a spirited team and a wagon loaded with chairs, the horses became frightened and unmanageable and he was thrown violently to the ground, sustaining such severe injuries that he never regained consciousness, but passed quietly away soon after midnight of July 5, 1895. Another one of the substantial men of the county has gone, one who has worked his own way to competency and an honorable position among his associates. A man of good habits, strong principles, kindly heart, and conscientious every day life. He has long been a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, in which he has held the positions of steward and of class leader. Besides the children who mourn the loss of a kind, loving father, Mr. Hamilton leaves one brother, Parker Page, a resident of Eckford, and three sisters, Mary E., Martha L., the wife of J. A. Washburn, of Eckford township, and Cornelia, the wife of Edward Young, of Marengo.

Linus S. Hamilton.—Linus S. Hamilton was born in Franklin county, N. Y., June 12, 1832, and died from the effects of an abscess of the bowels, July 3, 1895, at his home in Eckford, Mich. He was one of a large family of children, eight in number, sturdy, intelligent, energetic, self-reliant New England people, who were capable of working their way to success, five of whom have long been residents in this locality, respected and honored by everyone. He came to Michigan in 1855 in company with the family of his eldest brother, P. P. Hamilton, and was for many years engaged in stock buying, and was well and favorably known throughout the county. March 27, 1872, he was married to Miss Sarah M. Hall, of Marshall, a union which has resulted in unusual happiness. They resided in Detroit from 1884 until 1891, when they returned to Eckford and made for themselves a pleasant, comfortable home, where they hoped to pass many happy years in the enjoyment of their friends and of each other. Mr. Hamilton was an honored member of the K. O. T. M. of Eckford, which he had served faithfully as finance keeper and in whose success he was truly and deeply interested. He was also a member of the Eckford Union Literary society and always enjoyed the pleasant social gatherings as well as the literary programs, being in attendance whenever possible, endearing himself to the members of that association by his genial, social and kindly manners.

Rockwell Hazen.—Rockwell Hazen died at his home in Clarendon, Saturday, July 6, 1895, aged 77 years. He was a son of Jabies and Millie Hazen, and was born in Byron, Genesee county, N. Y., June 11, 1818.

He was of a family of seven children, five sons and two daughters. The brothers, James died in Colon, May 16, 1895, Franklin died some years ago, Earl and Marion are living and reside in Sherwood. The sisters are both living, one Laura, widow of the late H. B. Hayes, resides in Clarendon, the other, Jane, widow of Edward Bartlett, deceased, lives in Minnesota. At the age of eighteen years he came to Michigan. In 1839 he was united in marriage to Miss F. Louise Rogers, who, with their daughter, Myrta, now Mrs. Henry Lusk, of Eckford, survive him. They had but two children, the other a son, Marion, who was beloved by all who knew him, but just as he was entering manhood's years, was called from earth, August 10, 1874. Mr. Hazen went to California in 1860, but returned in the following year, and in 1863 removed to Clarendon, and to the home where he passed his remaining years. While in Clarendon he for years owned and operated a saw mill, was appointed postmaster in 1874, and for a number of years was station agent for the Michigan Central railroad. In the death of Mr. Hazen, another landmark of early days has fallen, another pioneer has joined the majority in the beyond. "Uncle Rock" had the respect and esteem from all who knew him. He was kind and generous, and by nature was one who would gladly do unto others as he would wish to be done by. Peace be to his ashes; though dead, he will not soon be forgotten.

Mrs. Marandia V. Hooker.—Mrs. Marandia V. Hooker died Tuesday, October 1, 1895, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Thomas Clarage, Kalamazoo, Mich. Mrs. Hooker will be remembered by many as the mother of Mrs. James Shanley, of Albion, with whom she has made her home for several years. Her last sickness resulted from a relapse while convalescing from a severe illness through which she passed a few weeks previous. She was born at Middlebury, Vt., January 6, 1809, and married Wm. Hooker of the same place April 20, 1824. In 1844 they removed to Michigan, locating in Homer. Mr. Hooker died in 1864. Mrs. Hooker continued to reside in Homer until eleven years ago, when she came to Albion to make her home with Mrs. Shanley. During her residence here she gained and retained the warm friendship and admiration of all who became associated with her, for her bright mind and amiable and gracious disposition. She was a member of the Presbyterian church of Homer. She leaves besides her two daughters, three sons, Wallace L., St. Paul, Minn.; Franklin M., Jackson, and William E., Kalamazoo. The funeral was private, being held at the residence of Mrs. Clarage, Wednesday at 11 a. m., Rev. John Gray, D. D., officiating. Interment at Mountain Home Cemetery, Kalamazoo.

Polly L. Houck.—Polly L. Houck was born at Walworth in Wayne county, N. Y., January 10, 1815, removed with her father William

Drake to West Concord, Michigan, in 1835. In 1847 was married to Philip Houck. She had two children, Henrietta, who died in 1879 and Frank, who died in 1882. She contracted a severe cold November 12 while visiting in South Albion, returning the following day to her home in the family of W. J. Hartung in Albion; her old age prevented her recovery and she died Monday morning, November 18, 1895, quietly, calmly and painlessly. She was buried Wednesday in Riverside cemetery. She was one of a family of ten, two of whom, George Drake and William Drake of Concord, only survive her. Possessed of a warm heart and kindly nature she was always ready to minister to the wants and needs of others and relieve pain and distress. She was a mother to the motherless, a comfort to the afflicted and a solace to the broken hearted. Hers was a long and useful life and the world is better for her having been here.

William Kerr.—William Kerr., of Tekonsha, was found dead in bed Sunday morning, August 18, 1895, having died from heart trouble. Mr. Kerr was one of the pioneers of Michigan, coming to the State in 1834. He settled in Tekonsha when there were but two or three families in the township. He was a man of remarkable vitality, and reached the advanced age of 87 years in well preserved strength of mind and body. His wife, a lady of 78 years, survives him. Mr. Kerr has been one of the substantial men of the township for above fifty years. He was a member of Coldwater Commandery, Knights Templar, and Washington Lodge, F. & A. M., of Tekonsha.

Emmett G. McNutt.—Emmett G. McNutt was born in Greenfield, Saratoga county, N. Y., July 24, 1820, and died at the family residence in Marshall, Feb. 16, 1896. He came to Michigan September, 1854, and settled in Marengo where he resided many years in the home of Geo. S. Smith, now of Marshall. August 14, 1861, he enlisted and went out with the Ninth Michigan Infantry in defense of his country. His army career was patriotic and honorable, covering four years, three of which he served as body guard of General Thomas. Through all of the conflicts of the civil war he maintained his Christian integrity, loyalty and valor. Hé was also an honored member of the G. A. R., always at his post of duty and ready to lend a helping hand when most needed. November 21, 1865, soon after his return from the army, he was married to Mrs. Anna E. Tarrand and settled on a farm near Rice Creek. About five years before his death he removed to Marshall. His wife and daughter survive him.

Mrs. Ordelia M. Maher.—After a lingering illness Mrs. Ordelia M. Maher died at her residence on Michigan avenue, Albion, May 11, 1896. She was born in Watertown, N. Y., May 14, 1834, and was married to

Mr. George W. Maher, in Hanover, Michigan, September 15, 1852, and in the same year removed to Albion where she resided until her death. Three children were born to them, viz.: William E., George W. and Myra R., the latter the wife of William B. Sackett, of Rochester, N. Y. Mr. Rensselaer Elwood, of Albion, is a brother of deceased. Mrs. Maher was a member of the Episcopal church, and, until advancing years impaired her strength, an active worker therein. In church and society, as a friend and neighbor, in all the circle of her acquaintance, she was held in high esteem for her kindly disposition and excellent traits of character.

Frederick E. Mason.—Frederick E. Mason was born in Weedsport, N. Y., February 8, 1828, and died at his home in Marshall, April 2, 1896. He was married to Miss Matilda Canfield in Westberry, New York, in 1851. She with her son and daughter, mourn his departure. Soon after his marriage he and his wife moved west and settled in Battle Creek, and about thirty-five years ago removed to Marshall, where they resided until he was called away. During the civil war he enlisted, was a faithful soldier and honorably discharged in 1865. He was also a member of the G. A. R. and highly respected by all.

Chester J. Murray.—Chester J. Murray, formerly for many years a resident of Homer, died at his home in Mt. Pleasant, Wednesday morning, January, 8, 1896, aged 70 years. He was a son of Gilbert B. and Harriet Murray, and was born in Scio, Washtenaw county, this State, May 26, 1839. In 1840 he came with his parents to this county, settling on Wet Prairie. There he passed his boyhood days, there he grew to manhood. Early in the war of the rebellion, he responded to the call for troops, enlisted in the 8th Michigan Cavalry and for a time was quartermaster sergeant of Company A. of that regiment, and still later was captain of Company A, 102d U. S. C. T. At the close of the war Mr. Murray returned to this county, and February 6, 1866, came to Homer where he opened a dry goods store, which at once became a leading institution, and which for many years was one of the most successful mercantile establishments in the place. In church matters Mr. Murray was a Presbyterian, and for many years was a member of that denomination in Homer. July 19, 1866, Chester J. Murray was united in marriage to Miss Hattie Roberts of Toledo, whose noble life during her many years residence in Homer, won many warm friends, and whose untimely death, July 30, 1893, caused unusual sorrow in the community. The remains of Mr. Murray were brought to Homer for burial. Mr. Murray is survived by one brother, an aged father and two children, Belle and Bert B. Murray. Appropriate resolutions were adopted by Gregg Post No. 155, G. A. R., of which he was a charter member and its first commander.

MRS. MAURICE H. NEALE.—Mrs. Maurice H. Neale died at her home, 11 North Jefferson street, Battle Creek, February 14, 1896. Although her sickness was known among her friends as serious, her death was unexpected. Mrs. Neale, whose maiden name was Emily M. Campbell, was born in Onondaga county, N. Y., near Syracuse, April 18, 1838. In 1850 she removed to Battle Creek with her parents. Her father, Charles Campbell, in partnership with her uncle, James Wood, became the proprietor of that well known hostelry, the Battle Creek House, situated at the corner of Main and Jefferson streets, where the Thomas block is now located. Deceased spent her girlhood and womanhood in Battle Creek, and was educated in its public schools, afterwards attending the State Normal school. She was one of the early teachers of Battle Creek, having taught in the old No. 1 building. On August 15, 1858, when twenty years of age she was united in marriage to Maurice H. Neale, and their home has ever since been in Battle Creek. Deceased was an estimable lady. She had been identified with the literary, musical and artistic interests of the city from girlhood. She possessed much ability as an artist and was a lover of good literature. She leaves a husband and two sons, William and Ned, to mourn her death. One sister also survives her, Mrs. J. Arthur Turner, of Lansing.

MRS. CHRISTINI EMORY OTT.—Mrs. Christini Emory Ott was born in 1812, and died at the home of her daughter Mrs. John Smith, in Eckford, May 16, 1896. She was one of a family of twelve children, of whom one brother and one sister are still living. She was married in 1832, her companion of nearly fifty years departing this life fifteen years ago. Nine children were born to them and all are living. The family removed to Michigan at an early day and have identified themselves with its history, as only one son resides outside the State at present. There are also thirty-two grandchildren and twenty-five great grandchildren. Mrs. Ott was connected with the M. E. church for more than fifty years. Her life has been an unusually industrious one, as until the last few years she was remarkably strong and active.

JOHN G. WAY.—John G. Way, a pioneer of Convis, died at his home in that township on Saturday, February 29, 1896; aged 84 years. He was born in Brunswick, N. Y., in 1812, and brought up on his father's farm. He came to Michigan in 1835 and located on the farm where he died. This farm he cleared with his own hands and by dint of hard labor built up a comfortable home. He was united in marriage to the aged wife who survives him at the ripe old age of eighty-one years, in Saratoga county, N. Y., on January 2, 1834, her maiden name being Hannah VanDerwerken. She accompanied him to this county in the good old pioneer days and was of great assistance to her husband in his struggle

to gain a competence. Nine children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Way, eight of whom are living: Charles of Convis, Daniel H. of Marshall, Edward L. of Kansas, Lucy, widow of C. Mooney of Convis, Mrs. Adele T. Feesler of Convis, Mrs. Caroline Knowles of Battle Creek, Mrs. Sarah Cavalry of Charlotte and John Way of Nebraska. He was a sturdy pioneer in every sense. He hewed his way to a comfortable existence through the forest wilds of southern Michigan and lived to see the county he so early chose for a home, rise out of a vast wilderness and assume all the gladsome phases of extreme prosperity. Indians were more numerous than whites when he located here, and the deer and wolverine more numerous than human beings. Few indeed were the indications of civilization when he arrived. However, he and his good wife endured the privations uncomplainingly and their efforts were crowned with success. The funeral occurred from the late residence on Tuesday and the remains were deposited in the cemetery at the Austin schoolhouse.

Jonathan M. Weed.—Jonathan M. Weed was born in Scipio, Cayuga county, N. Y., April 11, 1823. Died of paralysis at his home in Ceresco, Calhoun county, December 12, 1895. Mr. Weed has been a resident of Michigan, in Jackson and Calhoun counties, for nearly fifty-three years and was one of Ceresco's oldest and most respected citizens. He was married in Newton, Calhoun county, November 9, 1854, to Louisa A. Treat, by whom Frank J., Fred E., Lillie S., George B., and Bert T. Weed were born. She died October 22, in the year 1880, after which Mr. Weed married Hannah A. Scidmore of Waterloo, Jackson county, Mich., on December 8, 1881. She and his four sons and one daughter survive him. The funeral services were held on Sunday morning, December 15, at the Congregational church in Ceresco, conducted by his pastor, Rev. E. H. Harbridge. The remains were interred in the family lot in the Ceresco cemetery.

Mrs. Alvin T. Winchell.—Mrs. Alvin T. Winchell died at her home in Albion, May 16, 1896. The deceased, whose maiden name was Dorcas A. Monfort, was born near Honeoye Falls, N. Y., June 8, 1822, and was married to Alvin T. Winchell, in the house where she was born, October 4, 1847. Previous to her marriage, when about nineteen years of age, she was converted and united with the Baptist church. With her husband she came to Michigan in 1859, and lived in Blissfield two years, when they removed to Albion. Here she united with the Baptist church by letter, but subsequently withdrew and joined the M. E. church, of which she continued to be a member until her death.

Mrs. Frances Wooden.—Mrs. Frances Wooden died at the home of her son, Andrew Wooden, in Emmet township, January 2, 1896. Frances Palmer was born two miles north of Geneva, Ontario county, N. Y., December 23, 1809. Her father, Asa Palmer, was a native of Rhode Island, a millwright by trade. He helped to build the first mill in Detroit when there were only three or four white families living there. After his marriage to Abigail Aldrich they settled on a farm consisting of sixty or eighty acres two miles north of Geneva, where the remainder of their days were spent. They were blessed with nine children, six of whom have crossed the river of death. Those remaining are Daniel Palmer, of Sumner, Iowa, and Gideon and Rhoda Palmer, who still reside on the old homestead. Our subject resided with her parents until her marriage to Daniel Wooden in 1832. He was a native of the Empire State, was born in 1804, son of John Wooden who owned four hundred acres of land near Geneva and was one of the most prosperous farmers of that region. Daniel received a thorough training in all branches of farming on his father's farm. He was yet a young man when he came to Michigan in 1836 and joined his fortunes with the pioneers of this county. The rough pioneer life with its attendant hardships and privations broke down his health and at the end of four years he returned to his native State with his constitution hopelessly ruined and while yet in the prime of life died at the age of thirty-eight years. His happy union with Miss Palmer was blest by four children. All grew to maturity, but Andrew is the sole survivor. The others were Alma (Mrs. Beckett), Caroline and Harriet (Mrs. Lee). After the death of her husband she returned to Michigan in 1843 with three of her children (the oldest remained with her grandmother) and worked hard to keep the little family together, enduring many hardships and sacrificing much for her children. Having no means except the small income from her farm which was worked on shares she strove in every way to provide for her family. But in after years through the management of her son Andrew, the farm became fruitful and the remainder of her years were spent in comparative ease. Having been blessed with the best of health until within fourteen months of her death her time was mostly spent in travel, having been in twenty-seven states of the Union and visited many of the largest cities. During her last illness she suffered much, but bore the pain very patiently. The funeral was held at the residence, January 5, Rev. E. N. Harbridge of Ceresco officiating.

CASS COUNTY.

GEN. GEORGE T. SHAFFER.—Gen. George T. Shaffer, ex-Commissioner of the State Land Office, died July 24, 1895, at his home in Calvin township, eight miles south of Cassopolis. He had been in poor health some time, but was around as usual up to the time of his death. The immediate cause of death was hemorrhage of the lungs. He leaves a widow and two daughters—Misses Sadie and Gertrude, both of whom are successful teachers, and one son, William T. George T. Shaffer was born near Springfield, O., October 9, 1822, and with his parents settled in Calvin township, Cass county, in the spring of 1832. In 1843 he went to Edwardsburg and attended school there for two years. He then became a teacher in winter, a farmer in summer. In 1850 he went to California, where he worked first in gold mining; then engaged in the grocery business; next conducted a hotel and afterwards established a ranch in the Sacramento valley. In 1858 he returned to Michigan, purchasing a farm of 320 acres in Calvin township, upon which he has since resided. He enlisted in the Nineteenth Michigan Infantry, became first lieutenant and was five times promoted for gallant and meritorious service. He remained in the service until June, 1866. He was taken prisoner during the war and confined for two months in Libby prison. He was elected Commissioner of the State Land Office on the Democratic ticket in 1890, over John G. Berry, Republican. He served for one term and then retired to private life.

CLINTON COUNTY.

BY RALPH WATSON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mrs. Sarah Shepard Annis	Greenbush	Mar. 9, 1896	79	
Geo. W. Barber	St. Johns	May 1, 1896	81	Came to Mich. in 1852.
Oscar M. Brooks	Bingham	Nov. 18, 1895	62	Came to Mich. about 1837.
Mrs. Anna Bryant	Essex	Feb. 4, 1896	89	Born in Fairfield, Conn.
N. R. Catlin	St. Johns	Dec. 27, 1895	78	Lived in Mich. since 1848.
Theo. W. Curtis	Victor	Jan. 26, 1896	.....	An old resident.
Mrs. Mary A. Delcommime	De Witt	Sept. 21, 1895	79	Born in France, near Paris.
Mrs. Geo. O. Doud	St. Johns	Mar. 10, 1896	77	An old pioneer of the county.
Mrs. Ann Fisher	St. Johns	Feb. 26, 1896	79	Resident of Mich. 45 yrs.
John Gatd	Fowler	Sept. 17, 1895	69	Lived many years in Dallas.
Chandler Gleason	Shepardsville	Feb. 3, 1896	72	A pioneer of Ovid.
J. W. Hewitt	Maple Rapids	Feb. 9, 1896	63	Resident of Maple Rapids over 40 years.
Joseph Honeywell	Watertown	Mar. 15, 1896	74	An old resident.
Esther Oneil Jenne	Watertown	Dec. 5, 1895	68	Widow of Mark Jenne.
Mark Jenne	Watertown	May 11, 1893	.....	Came to Clinton county in 1863.
Mrs. Lydia Knapp	Olive	Jan. 26, 1896	78	Widow of Samuel Knapp.
Mrs Elizabeth Kroll	St. Johns	Nov. 6, 1895	66	An old resident.
William Lott	Olive	Mar. 28, 1896	65	A resident from boyhood.
Michael McGuire	Bengal	Jan. 21, 1896	72	Resident of county since 1854.
Henry Mulder	Victor	Apr. 26, 1896	57	An old resident.
Wesley Peterson	St. Johns	Jan. 24, 1896	89	Had been a Mason 66 yrs.
Mrs. Almisa Pierson	Greenbush	Mar. 20, 1896	72	Resident of county since 1853.
James E. Plowman	Bengal	Apr. 5, 1896	71	Resident of Bengal 40 yrs.
James Russell	Greenbush	Apr. 7, 1896	84	Came to Mich. in 1843.
Anthony Vanscooter	St. Johns	Jan. 27, 1896	75	An old resident.
George H. Waltrous	Greenbush	May 17, 1896	47	A resident 40 years.
C. D. Webster	Riley	Sept. 5, 1895	66	Came to Mich. in 1863.
George Yallup	Bingham	Nov. 27, 1895	76	An old resident.

PHILIP ALDRICH.—Philip Aldrich died at his home in St. Johns, Tuesday morning, February 25, 1896, of pneumonia and heart trouble, in his seventy-fifth year. He was born July 7, 1826, in the State of New York, and came to Michigan with his parents in 1834, and settled in Galesburg. On May 6, 1854, he was married to Charlotte Durkee at Galesburg, where they continued to reside until April, 1894, when they removed to St. Johns, to be near their son, Frank, who had engaged in

the book and stationery business there. Three children were born to them, two of whom, together with the widow, survive, and were present at his bedside during his last hours. They are Frank E., a member of the firm of Aldrich & Co., of St. Johns, and Mrs. Carrie M. Wheeler, of Pine Creek, Mich. The funeral was held at the house Thursday morning, Rev. Blanchard, of the Baptist Church, officiating, and the remains were taken to Galesburg for interment.

Lafayette Arnold.—Lafayette Arnold, who was stricken with paralysis on the 18th of June, 1895, completely paralyzing his left side, died from the effects at his farm residence, in Olive township, on Friday, August 16, 1895, in his seventy-first year. He was born in Seneca county, N. Y. Within a year after his birth his parents removed to Michigan, and settled in Washtenaw county, where he resided about thirty-five years. He then went to Shiawassee County, where, in 1858, he was united in marriage with Miss Sally C. Chittenden, by whom two children were born, who, with their mother, survive. They have resided on the farm on which the good husband and parent died, ever since their residence in this county, fifteen years. He was well known for outspoken, plain and strong political views, always advocating those principles which he believed would promote the greatest good to the greatest number of his fellow beings. He was a good husband, father and neighbor. His funeral was held from the farm residence on Sunday, August 18, Rev. Burnes officiating. The interment was made in Bennington, Shiawassee county.

William C. Botsford.—On Friday, July 19, 1895, death came to William C. Botsford, and deprived St. Johns and Clinton county of another honored and respected citizen. He had been quite sick for about four weeks, and his death was not unexpected. The funeral was held at his home in St. Johns, Sunday, July 21, 1895, Rev. Legal, of Lansing officiating, assisted by Dr. Butler, of St. Johns. The interment took place in St. Johns cemetery. He was born in Genesee county, N. Y., June 12, 1829, and was thrown upon his own resources at the age of six years. His parents were Charles and Anna (Drake) Botsford, natives of the Empire State, and he was their only son. He was but four years old when death deprived him of his father's care and two years later he was out among strangers. When twelve years old he began the regular work of a farm hand, and received for his services from that time on from twenty-five cents per day to $5 and $6 per month. He came to Michigan in 1853, and established his home in the woods on section 27, in Greenbush township. He bought a tract of land on which there was a clearing of about two acres, and set himself energetically to work to improve it in every part, and to add to its extent and to the income he would thereby receive.

When he began his work here he was the possessor of $200 in cash, and from this small capital has grown an ample competence. His first fifty acres was cleared in the night time. After working during the day for neighbors, he would return home, and, after supper, shoulder his axe and go to the woods, to work well into the night. Then he would arise in the morning at about 2 o'clock and work until it was time to commence his regular work for the day. His estate now consists of 240 acres of land and a new and beautiful residence in St. Johns. He has also given his eldest son 100 acres of valuable land. The fact that when he came to this State he only had a small sum of money shows that he was prudent and economical, and that he had an aim in life that he was determined to carry out. He has often spoken of and taken much pride in the fact that, throughout his entire life, he has never been engaged in a lawsuit. In his efforts to make a home and secure a competence, he was aided by an able and devoted wife, to whom he was married April 17, 1856. She was born in Lenawee county, this State. Her maiden name was Sara A. Leckenby, daughter of William and Charity Leckenby. To Mrs. and Mrs. Botsford there were born two sons, Varian C. and William E., who, with their mother, survive. Mr. Botsford cast his first vote for Franklin Pierce, in 1852, since which time he has continuously voted the Republican ticket. He has often been solicited to occupy positions of trust in the township, but has preferred the more quiet walks of life, and has served only as school assessor of his district, a capacity in which he acted for twenty-one years in succession.

Joseph M. Dane.—Joseph M. Dane, one of the oldest pioneers in Clinton county, aged seventy-eight years, dropped dead from heart failure in Vauconsant's store, Friday afternoon, December 6, 1895. He had driven into St. Johns on a load during the morning and being rather cold he walked toward the stove after entering the store and commenced to warm himself. In reply to "good morning, Mr. Dane," from Fred Vauconsant, he returned the salutation, and raising his arm laid his hand across his breast saying: "I feel a tightness here." These were his last words, for hardly had the sentence passed his lips when he reeled forward, striking his head upon the stove and fell to the floor. He was born on May 18, 1817, in the village of Temple, New Hampshire. Here he grew to manhood and in 1855 moved to St. Johns, where he associated himself with W. W. Brainard, and the two men founded the business which was really the origin and from which the St. Johns Manufacturing Company sprang. He was the first Noble Grand of the Lodge of I. O. O. F. in St. Johns. On January 10, 1849, he was married to Martha Travis, who was a faithful companion until her death, in April, 1883. In November, 1869, he purchased a farm and removed to Riley, where he continued to reside up to the time of his death. He was an upright, honorable

citizen and respected by all. The funeral occurred at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Walter, St. Johns, Monday afternoon, Rev. Dr. Butler officiating. The interment was made in the family lot in St. Johns cemetery, beside his wife. The surviving children are Charlie, of Fowler; Mrs. Olivia Faraghar of Ovid township.

Philo Doty.—Philo Doty died at his old home in Eagle township January 27, 1896. He was born in Sweden, N. Y., March 8, 1816, making him nearly eighty years old. He had been a resident of Eagle township fifty-seven years, locating there in 1839. When the county seat was located he was elected to the office of sheriff. He was a member of the State legislature in 1869 and 1871, and was supervisor of his township several terms in early years.

Jesse Dunn.—Jesse Dunn was born in Waynfleet, Ontario, August 29, 1834, and died at his home on Oakland street, St. Johns, June 8, 1895, from the effects of a combination of troubles, prominent among which was heart difficulty. He was the fourth son of a family of ten. He was about twenty-three years old when he came from Canada to Duplain township, this county, where his brother Norris was living at the time and died about six years ago. His brother Hiram is the only member of his father's family living in the states. On arriving at Duplain from Canada, he entered the employ of O. M. Pearl, as clerk in his store at Rochester Colony, in which position he remained one year, after which he became a partner of Mr. Pearl in the dry goods business in St. Johns, under the firm name of Pearl & Dunn, occupying a small wooden building on the site now occupied by Travis & Baker. This business was continued by them six or eight years, after which Mr. Dunn became interested in the mercantile business with O. W. Munger and later with F. W. Lee. He afterwards went to Montana with Mr. Lee and J. B. Chapin, and engaged in a government supply store at Crow Agency, which, after about six years, they sold to Charles T. Babcock, and they engaged in the mining business, and later they all returned to St. Johns when Mr. Dunn again became engaged in the mercantile business under the firm name and style of Dunn, Bunday & Co., which was dissolved about three years ago. Besides a widow and two daughters—Mrs. H. A. Tromp and Miss Edith Dunn, and his brother, Hiram, here in St. Johns, he leaves three brothers and two sisters in Canada. Mr. Dunn had held the office of commissioner of the poor for a period of about twenty years, and held that office at the time of his death. His funeral occurred at the family residence on Monday, Rev. Frederick Hall officiating, and was conducted with Masonic honors, of which order he was a high and valued member.

DELIA DRYER.—Delia Dryer died at her home in Bath, Sunday, June 30, 1895. She was the oldest person in Bath, and probably in Clinton county. Miss Dryer had been confined to her room over a year, and to her bed nearly four months. She had lived with her nephew, I. N. Dryer, for nearly two years. Her brother David took care of her. Delia Dryer was born in Rehoboth, Mass., June 1, 1797. When three years old her parents moved to Cazenovia, N. Y., where they lived until the fall of 1836, when she came to Michigan with her brothers, David and William, and settled in White Oak, Ingham county. Her brother William moved to Lansing in the fall of 1848, and Delia made her home with him until the fall of 1853, when she came to Bath, living with David and taking care of his motherless children, his wife having passed away the previous year. Two brothers and one sister are all that remain of thirteen children; David P., of Bath, aged 88 years; Margaret P., 86 years; William A., 82 years, of Lansing.

EZRA FERGUSON.—A pioneer indeed was Ezra Ferguson, who died at his home in St. Johns, Saturday morning, January 4, 1896, of heart disease, at the age of seventy-two years. He was born in Ontario, Canada, August 3, 1823, and was married April 11, 1862, to Harriet L. Simpson. In 1859 he moved to a farm near Lansing, where he lived for two years. In 1861 he moved to St. Johns, where he has since resided and worked at his trade, that of a carpenter. A loving wife and four sons survive him, Henry A., of Battle Creek, Edwin W., of California, Albert M., of Detroit and Walter W., of St. Johns. The funeral services were held Monday, January 6, 1896, and conducted by Rev. Blanchard. The interment was made in St. Johns cemetery.

MRS. ANN P. FOX.—Mrs. Ann P. Fox, mother of Mrs. Benjamin Finkle, died at the home of her daughter, Sunday, October 27, 1895. The funeral services were held at the Christian church, Tuesday, October 29, at 10 a. m., and the remains deposited in the Eureka cemetery. Mrs. Fox, *nee* Ann P. Norton, was born in Pennsylvania, December 7, 1801, being nearly ninety-four years of age when she died. In 1806 she moved with her parents to the state of New York, where she was married to George Fox, in 1822. In 1843 they moved to Michigan, where she has since lived. She was the mother of nine children, only two of whom survive her.

MRS. MARYANNA GARDNER.—Mrs. Maryanna Gardner, widow of the late William C. Gardner, died at her home on section 1, Bengal, January 23, 1896, of pneumonia, aged seventy-two years. Her husband died July 7, 1892. Deceased was born in Broom county, New York, her maiden name being Bliss. She was married in March, 1843, and had lived on the farm where she died ever since—53 years. Four children were born to

Mr. and Mrs. Gardner, one daughter, Mrs. Maria Butts, of Chesaning, W. G. Gardner, of Owosso, who departed this life March 12, 1893; and Eborr and Sears Gardner, now residing in the township of Bengal.

LEONARD GAYLORD.—Leonard Gaylord died in Riley township, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Warren H. Davis, on April 21, 1896, aged seventy-five years and seven days, of paralysis, after a long and lingering illness. The deceased was born in Summit county, Ohio, April 14, 1821. When he attained the age of manhood he was married to Miss Melissa Hammond. In 1853 they removed to Shiawassee county, Mich., where they resided until 1864, when they moved to Clinton county, living in the township of Bengal for about three years, when his wife died. Three children survive him: Mrs. Charles Laughlin, of Bengal; Mrs. J. B. Davis, of Pleasant Valley, Midland county, and Mrs. Warren H. Davis, of Riley. Shortly after the death of his wife he exchanged his farm in Bengal for the farm now owned by J. A. Chapman, of Riley, where he resided until November 1, 1880, after which he sold his farm. Since then he has lived with his children. After a well spent life he has gone down to his grave loved and mourned by all who knew him. The funeral was held Thursday, April 23, 1896, at the Bengal and Riley Baptist church, conducted by the Rev. C. Corman. He was buried by the side of his wife in Stony Creek cemetery, in Bengal.

CHARLES HARPER.—Charles Harper, an old resident of Bengal township, died at his home, September 11, 1895, aged sixty-four years, six months and twenty-seven days. He was born in Ashtabula county, Ohio, Februray 13, 1831. He was united in marriage to Miss Norah Benton in the year 1853. They made their home in Ohio until the year 1865, when they moved to Michigan and settled on a farm in Bengal township, where he has lived the last thirty years of his life, changing the wilderness into a beautiful home. Seven children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Harper, four of which, with their mother, two sisters, one brother and eleven grandchildren, mourn the loss of a loving husband, a kind father and affectionate brother.

DR. SOLON C. KING.—Dr. Solon C. King passed quietly away, from heart failure, at his home on Front street, west, Ovid, Sunday afternoon, March 8, 1896. He was born in Willoughby, Lake county, Ohio, in 1830. At the age of sixteen years he moved with his parents to Durand and later resided in Detroit for three years, afterwards taking up the study of medicine at the University in Ann Arbor. His practice of medicine began in Ovid in 1855 and lasted until 1873, at which time he entered the drug business. At the time of his death he was the oldest citizen of Ovid. In 1862 he married Mrs. L. Jennie Longcor, of Shepardsville.

He was a kind and indulgent husband and ever a devoted father to his two daughters. The funeral was conducted under the Masonic rite at the house on Tuesday, at 2:30, Rev. Ferguson officiating. Interment at Maple Grove. During the hour of the funeral the business places in Ovid were closed.

Nicholas King.—Nicholas King, an old resident of this county, died at his farm home in Greenbush township, Saturday morning, June 8, 1895, of dropsy. He was one of Clinton county's pioneers, having settled here in the year 1854, and had lived continuously on the farm on which he died. He was born at Galien, Wayne county, N. Y., October 14, 1828. At the age of five years he moved with his parents to Ohio, where he resided eight years. The family then moved to Jackson, this state. Here he lived until 1854, when he moved to the place which has been his home during the last forty-one years. At Jackson he married Mrs. Nancy Pierce, and to them two children were born, Dolly, who died when nine years old, and Minnie Coleman Waldron, of St. Johns. After the death of his first wife, which occurred five years ago, he married the widow of his oldest brother, who now survives him. Nicholas King, who was familiarly known all over this country as "Nick" King, was an honorable man in his walks in life, and in his dealings with his fellow men, and we have yet to hear it said of him that he did an unjust act.

Hiram Nestell.—Hiram Nestell, who died at his farm residence in Bengal township, April 30, 1896, and whose remains now rest in the Frink cemetery, was born in Homer, Cortland county, N. Y., February 23, 1829. At the age of six years he came to Michigan with his parents, who settled in Washtenaw county, where they remained nine years, when they came to Clinton county and settled in the township of Essex, where his father and mother both died. In 1849 Hiram was united in marriage with Miss Clarissa Jennison, daughter of the late Dr. Jennison of that township, and well and favorably known to the earlier settlers of this county. They settled on the farm on which he died in 1865. By this union ten children were born to them, eight of whom survive, being, John, Edward and Fred, of Bengal; Charles, of Greenbush; Loring, Frank and Alice, of Saginaw, and Mrs. Jennie Nobles, of Battle Creek. The deceased enlisted in Company G, Fifth Michigan Cavalry, and before his regiment was ordered from the State he was taken sick, was mustered out and discharged. His first wife died December 1, 1880, and on September 6, 1881, he was united in marriage with Mrs. Jane Switzer, of Lake County, where Mr. Nestell possessed landed interests, who also survives him.

Hon. Henry Martyn Perrin.—Hon. Henry Martyn Perrin, senior member of the old and reliable law and real estate firm of Perrin & Baldwin, and one of the best known and useful men of Clinton county, died at his residence in the north part of the village of St. Johns, at 10:10 o'clock Tuesday night, January 7, 1896, from catarrh of the stomach and bowels and nervous prostration, in his sixty-seventh year. His failing health dates from the time of the railroad disaster south of Rochester, N. Y., August 10, 1889, in which his daughter Ella was killed, and he himself was more or less shocked and injured. Since that sad event, while he has been able to be about and attended to his various business cares the principal part of the time, he has shown signs of failing health and wasting away. Mr. Perrin was a typical representative of the old school, quiet, firm, reserved and dignified, but with one of the most kind, considerate natures that could be found. He had been identified with the financial interests in Clinton county for nearly forty years, and his friends are legion. His thoughtful, warm hearted deeds will be remembered by many of the old settlers and early pioneers who are indebted to him for repeated courtesies and the oft extended hand of help in times, too, when the way looked dark. His counsel was not only valuable from a business standpoint, but he sent many a man from his office with a resolve to conquer or die after one of his firm, determined and always sincere bits of advice. Conscientious in the extreme he was the very embodiment of honesty and inspired everyone with confidence in all that he said and did. Nor was this confidence even for a moment ever subjected to the slightest doubt. Few men have ever lived who so thoroughly enjoyed the entire esteem of every one with whom they came in contact, as Henry M. Perrin. He was public spirited and St. Johns is in no small way indebted to his generosity. He was born at Berlin, Washington county, Vermont, June 23, 1829, and remained on his father's farm until he reached the age of seventeen years, when he entered Thetford, Vt., academy, where he graduated, and he afterward attended Dartmouth College and graduated with honors. During the time he attended Thetford academy he was fitting himself for Dartmouth and had mastered the freshman year, passing an examination and entering the sophomore classes. Strange as it may appear, this was all accomplished unknown to his room mate. He afterward studied law at the Albany law school, and then read law in the office of Judge Amory Kinney, at Terre Haute, Ind. He moved to Detroit in 1855, where he resided two years. In the fall of 1857 he came to St. Johns, where he has since resided. In 1860 he was elected judge of probate and served a four years' term, after which he was elected State senator. He had held various positions; been town clerk, supervisor, village president, councilman and was often asked to take public positions which he declined.

He was a Republican in politics, although he was a believer in free trade and very conservative in his views. He was married to Mary Ackley in 1862, and two children were born to them, Ella E. and Mrs. Dr. Palmer. Besides these he leaves four brothers, J. Newton Perrin, of Berlin, Vt.; George K. Perrin, of Indianapolis, Ind.; Wm. B. Perrin, of Nashua, Iowa, and Porter K. Perrin, of St. Johns. He was the seventh of eleven children.

George W. Stephenson.—George W. Stephenson, prominent among the oldest merchants and business men in St. Johns, died at the old family residence on Cass street east, at 7 o'clock, Friday evening, May 15, 1896, in the latter part of his eighty-second year. He was born in Horncastle, Lincolnshire county, England, in 1813, and came to America in August, 1844. He remained in New York city one year working at his trade, that of a tailor. He then went to Long Island, where he remained until 1855, when he came with his family to St. Johns, where he had resided continuously up to the time of his death. Before coming to America he was united in marriage with Miss Agnes C. Hamilton, in Liverpool, September 27, 1835. Three of the surviving children were born there. This good wife died in St. Johns on January 10, 1879.

When Mr. Stephenson was but twelve years of age he was bound out as an apprentice to the tailor's trade for a period of seven years. One year after completing his apprenticeship he went to London, where he worked one year in 1833. He went to Liverpool during the strike of 1834, the greatest strike ever known in the old country. He was one of the 15,000 in the procession that paraded the streets of that city. When the deceased first came to St. Johns he engaged in the merchant tailoring business in a small wooden building which he erected on the lot now occupied by Mr. John Hicks' business block. He afterwards traded with Judge Sturgis for the "Clinton Hall" property, where is now located the store occupied by Mr. Dutcher's boot and shoe business. In the year 1856 he built the very house in which he died, on Cass street. He was one of the organizers and wardens of the first Episcopal Church in this parish, of which his faithful Christian wife was a valued member, and she went to receive her reward in Heaven after she had finished her faithful service to her family and to her God. Mr. Stephenson was a member of the first board of trustees elected in 1858 and was reelected for three years thereafter; was elected president of the village in 1863, also village treasurer in 1867; was presidential elector for Weaver in 1880, and was a member of the board of managers of the State House of Correction at Ionia in 1883, during Gov. Begole's administration. He was a Democratic candidate for State senator during the Tilden campaign. In April, 1894, he was visited with epilepsy. He was a man possessing

great force of character and a radical advocate of what he believed to be right. We have never known of his doing a dishonest or an unjust act. He leaves a family of upright and respected children, also twenty-three grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren. His children, all of whom are residents of Michigan, were present at the funeral, being George H., of St. Johns; John H. and daughter Marie, of Lansing; William, of Eagle township; Thos. J., of Detroit; James A., of Menominee; Mrs. Anna Emmons and Mrs. Mary Chapin and husband, of Port Huron. There were also present eight grandchildren, and a niece and nephew, Charles and Carrie Anderson, of Saginaw. The merchants, to a man, consented to a request to close their respective places of business during the time of holding the funeral, between the hours of 1:30 and 3:30 p. m., which gave them an opportunity of attending the funeral and paying their respects to the memory of their aged neighbor and associate in business and social circles.

EATON COUNTY.

BY ESEK PRAY.

Mary Bell, wife of Robert J. Bell, died February 9, 1896, aged 80 years. They came to Windsor in 1854. They were married in 1839, and their married life extended over a period of 57 years.

Robert Bogett, an old resident of Benton, died October, 1895, aged 83 years.

Cordelia Bentley Covey was born in Harmony, Chautauqua county, N. Y., March 9, 1831, and came to this county with her parents in 1836. Married Benj. Covey, Jan. 1, 1853, and died at the city of Eaton Rapids, March 17, 1896, aged 65 years. A resident for 60 years.

Mrs. Celestia Johnson, widow of the late Nathan D. Johnson and daughter of the pioneer, Stephen Davis, of Charlotte, died February 4, 1896, aged 72. She came to Charlotte with her parents 60 years ago, or in 1836.

Mrs. Henry Earl, of Oneida, Eaton county, died September 10, 1895, aged 82 years. Mr. and Mrs. Earl came to the State in 1835, and to Oneida in 1841, and experienced the toils and privations of pioneer life, built themselves a comfortable home, where they spent their lives, honored citizens.

HARRIET F. ELLS, wife of Almond C. Ells, of Charlotte, died January 3, 1896, aged 74 years, a resident of the county for 50 years. Their six sons acted as pall bearers at her burial.

JOHN EVANS, of Bellevue, died January 11, aged 68 years. He was one of the leading citizens of the township and village, a business man, and ever active in work for the improvement of the young.

RUFUS HANER, of Vermontville, died January 29, 1896, aged 76 years, an honored citizen of the county for 54 years.

SAMUEL HERRING, of Kalamo, died September 8, 1895, aged 98 years, 6 months and 6 days. Mr. and Mrs. Herring came to Kalamo in 1838. They lived husband and wife for 70 years, respected residents of their vicinity. Mrs. Herring died about six years ago. It was supposed that he was the oldest living person in the county previous to his death.

DANIEL B. HOSLER, of the city of Eaton Rapids, died March 1, 1896, aged 82 years. Mr. Hosler was born in Erie county, N. Y., March 4, 1814, and was married to Miss Parmelia Kellogg, December 17, 1844. They came to Eaton Rapids in 1857. He had held the office of justice of the peace for 25 years.

WM. W. REYNOLDS was born in Scipio, Cayuga county, N. Y., December 10, 1828, and came with his parents to Hamlin in 1836, and died March 1, 1896, an honored resident of the county for 60 years.

ASENETH, wife of L. L. Shotwell, of Windsor, died May 3, 1896, aged 83 years, an old resident.

WM. P. SKINNER, of Windsor, died November 5, 1895, aged 81 years, a resident of 1837.

SHERWOOD SNYDER, of Charlotte, died October 24, 1895, aged 95 years, a resident of Charlotte for 50 years. He married Miss Lucy Couch, at Black Rock Dam, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1832. Six of the seven children survive him. Mrs. Snyder died about four years ago. Their married life extended over a period of 60 years. Honored citizens.

EMMET COUNTY.

BY ISAAC D. TOLL.

GEORGE G. WELLS.—George G. Wells died suddenly Thursday evening, May 14, 1896. He had been more or less of an invalid for many years. He was in his seventieth year, and was born in Cazenovia, N. Y., but grew to manhood in Illinois. In 1853 he was married in Albany, N. Y., to Miss Mindwell Stead, who survives him, and the only issue of that marriage was James E. Wells, who is now settled in Petoskey. On his marriage he went to Jackson, Mich., where he remained for a few years, and then removed to Minneapolis, and during his long residence there acquired the means which made him comfortable in his old age. Mrs. Stanton, of Petoskey, is his sister, and Mrs. Ralph Connable, Sr., his niece. Since 1883 the family has resided here, but the conditions of his health precluded him from the walks of active business, and his life was an extremely quiet and secluded one. He was a man of high character and very greatly esteemed by all who became acquainted with him. George G. Wells was a man of fine nature. He had accomplishments as a "raconteur," or story teller, and violinist, which, with his most genial disposition, and experiences of pioneer life in Minneapolis, Minn., and Michigan, made him a most welcome guest and lovable companion. No one could be more missed by those who knew him. His musical talent was hereditary, and his niece, Mrs. Ralph Connable, is a marvel on many instruments.

GENESEE COUNTY.

BY GOODENOUGH TOWNSEND.

GEORGE ANDREWS.—George Andrews died of heart trouble, at his home, corner Harrison and S. Fourth streets, Flint, Dec. 27, 1895, after an illness of several months. The deceased was born in Chautauqua county, N. Y., June 1, 1825. After living with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Bushnell Andrews, at Buffalo and Detroit, he came to Genesee county and settled in Flint about 1843. For a time he worked at the trade of a machinist, but later learned the carpenter's trade, which he followed until compelled by his last illness to give up work. On Christmas day, 1849, he was married to Miss Sarah Taylor, of Flint, and the young couple settled where Mr. Andrews died. He is survived by a widow and four daughters, viz.: Misses Mary S., Eva S., Bertha E., and Georgia E. He also leaves a mother and a brother and sister. Mr. Andrews enjoyed

the warm regard and confidence of those with whom he associated to a marked degree. Though taking little active part in public affairs he was always interested in the same. He was scrupulously honest, was decided in his convictions of what was right, and always had the courage of his convictions. He was a consistent Good Templar, and was prominent in the councils of the order. He was an esteemed member of Flint Lodge No. 23, F. & A. M., of Washington Chapter No. 15, R. A. M., and of Genesee Lodge, I. O. O. F. He was buried with Masonic honors on the 30th. He was an active member and an officer of the Congregational church at Flint, almost since its organization. He was a kind husband, an affectionate father and a true friend, and no citizen of Flint who has departed this life ever left a cleaner character or more spotless record behind, than did he.

Mrs. Evaline Perry McFarlen.—Mrs. Evaline Perry McFarlen, oldest daughter of the late Edmund Perry, was born in Middlebury, Vt., December 15, 1801, and died at Fenton, February 10, 1896, aged 94 years. When about 1 year old her father moved to Schenectady, N. Y. She lived there till she was 8 years old, then moved to Lebanon Springs; lived there till she was 13 years old, then moved to Clarkston Corners, N. Y.; lived there till she was 18 years old, then moved with her parents to Avon. Married Joseph McFarlen there at the age of 22 years, and lived there till they came to Michigan in September, 1828, and lived upon the farm that they settled on and cleared up in the town of Grand Blanc 62 years, and in the town 64 consecutive years, and lived in Fenton nearly four years. She leaves three children, John R. McFarlen, of Fenton, with whom she lived; Mrs. S. E. Hadley, of Los Angeles, California, and Mrs. A. W. Davis, of Grand Blanc; two sisters and one brother, to miss her loving presence, and a large circle of friends and acquaintances. She was of a very joyous and happy temperament, and enjoyed the pleasures of pioneer life without thinking upon its privations. She loved her home and family, and her friends and neighbors were bound to her by strong ties of affection, and after she was removed from them she lived in the pleasant memories she always retained of them. Her amulet was love, self-forgetting, self-sacrificing love, that love that has smiles for the joyous, tears for the sad, and sympathy, tenderness and kindness for all who need or ask. Though her sight had become dim her other faculties and her heart were preserved bright and sweet as roses of Eden, to the very last, occupying a charmed spot in midst of age. She was vigorous and active, and remarkably well developed, physically and mentally. She was formed to pluck the flowers of happiness along the path of life, wherever they grew. Her's has been a long and useful life. Patiently and cheerfully did she perform every duty, and with kind words sought to lighten the burden of others with heart and hand, as the

opportunity afforded. Of a remarkably social and genial nature, all who knew her, loved her. Little children loved her and always had a smile and pleasant greeting for "Grandma." Generous, a beautiful example of the pleasure there is in giving and doing for others. She was a woman of strong mind and clear judgment, of unbounded benevolence and tireless energy, full of that charity which "thinketh no evil." Thoughtful and considerate of all about her, she let the mantle of charity fall over the ills of life. Industry marked her whole life. A bright, active intellect, a warm heart, a nature faithful as the sun, a cheery and humorous temperament which made sunlight in dark places, where qualities which united to inspire the love and confidence of all who knew her.

H. W. Davis.

Hon. John L. McNeil.—Hon. John L. McNeil was born at Charlotte, Vt., October 10, 1813, and died at his home in Goodrich, January 23, 1896. He received a common school education and worked on his father's farm until 21 years of age, and then took charge of his father's hotel in Charlotte. He came to this county in 1836, and purchased 320 acres of land on section 11, Atlas. October 26, 1837, he was married to Miss Sylvia Davison. In 1849 he was a member of the State legislature. He was an extensive farmer and stock raiser, and one of the foremost residents of Atlas. In 1890 deceased moved from his farm to Goodrich, at which place he has resided until his death. He leaves one son, Lyman. The funeral was held on Sunday, January 26, 1896, at 10:30 a. m. from the M. E. church at Goodrich.

Mrs. Anna Phelps Stone.—Anna Phelps Stone, mother of ex-Mayor Oren Stone, died at an early hour Monday morning, February 10, 1896, at her home, 223 S. First street east, Flint. Death was due to her extreme age, deceased having been born near Auburn, N. Y., on November 26, 1800. In 1821 she was united in marriage to Darius R. Stone, who died two years ago at the age of 93 years, after a married life of 72 years. In 1844 they came to Michigan, and lived at Holly until nine years ago, when deceased and her husband came to Flint to live at a home prepared for them by their son, Oren. Mrs. Stone retained her mental faculties to a remarkable degree to the last, and was a woman of sweet disposition, and was highly respected by all who knew her. She was the head of four generations of children. Besides her son Oren, she leaves a son, D. H., of Holly, and a daughter, Mrs. Martha Hadley, of San Diego, Cal.

Mrs Eliza Perry Thompson. Mrs. Eliza Perry Thompson, widow of the late Phineas Thompson, died at her home in Grand Blanc, Saturday, May 9, 1896, aged nearly 87 years. Mrs. Eliza Perry Thompson, second

daughter of the late Edmund Perry, was born in Troy, N. Y., June 2, 1809. She, with her parents, soon moved to Lebanon Springs, N. Y.; lived there about five years; when her parents moved to Clarkston Corners, where they lived till 1821, when they moved to Avon, N. Y., where she lived till February, 1826, when she, only 17 years old, started with her father, her brother Simeon, and her cousin, Rowland B. Perry, for the west. They traveled with a horse team through Canada to Detroit, then by the old military trail to Grand Blanc. They were twenty-five days on the road. They were the second white family to settle in the town, also in the county, the first being Jacob Stevens, whose family consisted of himself, wife, two sons and five daughters, who came to Grand Blanc in 1823. Her father also located the second farm in Genesee county. The Fourth of July, 1826, was celebrated by all the white inhabitants of Genesee county sitting down to a banquet spread under a wild cherry tree which stood in Mr. Stevens' dooryard, the present home of Mrs. B. F. Bush. Those assembled were: the subject of this sketch, her father, brother and cousin, and Mr. Stephens' family. Of a quiet and retiring nature, her life was a life of labor and of love for the good of others. Her intellect was ever bright and active, and her judgment clear. Her serene equanimity ever superior to circumstances; her gracious dignity won all hearts; her purity of soul impressed even those who had but slight acquaintance with her, and to those who knew her well, her invariable kindness of spirit, her charity and benevolence was a crown of honor to her liberal faith, and the most persuasive commendation of its uplifting power. She was a noble and devoted wife, a loving and tender foster-mother, a consistent and faithful friend. Patiently and heroically did she tread her path in life, and used her influence to make the rough places in other's paths smooth. H. W. Davis.

William I. Williams.—William I. Williams, a well known citizen of Flint, died at 3:15 Tuesday afternoon, February 11, 1896, at his residence, 1403 N. Third street, after a sickness of about a month. Deceased was born in Darlington, Canada, May 31, 1828, and lived in this county nearly 60 years. He is survived by a daughter, Mrs. W. H. Lighthall, of Detroit, and by four sons, C. B. Williams, Alpena; W. E., J. I. and C. M., of Flint. He was a member of Flint Lodge, No. 23, F. & A. M. He was highly respected by a large circle of friends. His funeral was conducted under Masonic auspices, and was held from the home at 2 p. m., on Thursday, Rev. Dr. Washburn officiating. Interment took place at Avondale cemetery. Before coming to Flint Mr. Williams lived in Mundy.

INGHAM COUNTY.

BY C. B. STEBBINS.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Ledger Cowley	Lansing	Mar. 17, 1896	88	Resident of Mich. 55 years.
Mrs. W. L. B. Dunham	Lansing	April 19, 1896	66	Resident of Mich. 33 years.
Mrs. Obid Durfee	Williamston	Sept. 18, 1895	70	Resident nearly 50 years.
Edward Elliott	Williamston	July 30, 1895	76	Resident of Mich. 40 years.
Mrs. Sarah E. V. Emery	Lansing	Oct. 10, 1895	57	Widely known in politics.
Mrs. Lorindae M. Kellogg	Lansing	Oct. 27, 1895	65	Resident of Mich. 50 years.
Louis J. Lincoln	Mason	Sept. 16, 1895	62	Resident of Mason 28 yrs.
George Longstreet	Lansing	May 17, 1896	59	Came to Mich. in 1851.
Mrs. Sarah McKeen	Lansing	Aug. 31, 1895	74	Resident of Lansing since 1868.
Charlotte L. McMaster	Lansing	May 3, 1896	70	Resident of Mich. 45 years.
Mrs. Mary A. Madden	Lansing	Dec. 23, 1895	79	Came to Lansing about 1846.
James Maroney	Lansing	Nov. 28, 1895	88	Resident of Mich. 40 years.
Mrs. Esther Middleton	Lansing	Nov. 27, 1895	73	Resident of Lansing 21 yrs.
Orville F. Miller	Mason	Oct. 31, 1895	54	Prominent citizen of Mason.
George Morgan	Lansing	Nov. 27, 1895	69	Resident about 30 years.
Mrs. George Morgan	Lansing	May 12, 1896	72	A native of Ohio.
George G. Morton	Okemos	Feb. 25, 1896	55	Resident of Mich. 47 years.
Albert Rogers	Lansing	Sept. 30, 1895	86	An old resident of Mich.
Mrs. Jennett Rogers	Okemos	Aug. 17, 1895	82	Had lived in Okemos 43 yrs.
Mrs. Jane W. Smith	Lansing	Aug. 2, 1895	78	Came to Mich in 1837.
Mrs. Frederick Thoman	Lansing	Mar. 17, 1896	52	Came to Lansing in 1868.
Bernard Wiess	Lansing	Sept. 11, 1895	62	Resident of Lansing 25 yrs.

GIDEON ACKER.—Gideon Acker, aged 76 years and a resident of Lansing for the past 30 years, died May 29, 1896, at his residence, 111 West street, after an illness of about one year. He was a veteran of the late war.

SHELDON ARMSTRONG.—Sheldon Armstrong died April 19, 1896, of paralysis, at the home of his son George, where deceased had resided for the past five years. Mr. Armstrong was 73 years of age and had resided in this county for 50 years. He was born in Genesee county, N. Y., and when a young man came to Leslie, where he had resided until he came to Lansing. He leaves three daughters and one son, Mrs. Nellie Gallop, of Ashley, Mrs. Jennie Horton, of Parma, Miss Louise Armstrong and George Armstrong, of Lansing.

LUTHER B. BAKER.—Luther B. Baker died Sunday morning, May 24, 1896, about 10:30 o'clock, after a residence in Lansing extending over a period of 30 years. During all these years his high character, upright dealing and earnest Christian living, have commanded the respect and earned the love of all his fellow citizens. His life in Washington during the years of the rebellion as a lieutenant in the detective service, when the city was overflowing with spies and criminals, led him into the lowest and darkest places of that great city, but never sullied his character or taught him to hold a cynical or pessimistic view of life. He was born February 20, 1830, in Stafford, Genesee county, New York. He was descended from Remember Baker, one of the men who contributed fame and luster to the Green Mountain boys in the days of the revolution. He lived on his father's farm with the family, consisting of the father and mother and ten children, until he was 21 years old, when he went to Oberlin college. After leaving the college he returned to his father's farm and remained until he was 28 years old. At that time he and his brother, Maj. J. S. Baker, went to Iowa and took a state agency for the sale of books and maps. At the breaking out of the war he and his brother were summoned to Washington by their cousin, Gen. L. C. Baker, who had been made chief of the detective bureau at Washington. They joined him in that service and remained there for two years, frequently being sent on journeys through the enemy's country and seeing much actual war service. In 1862 the brothers joined the 1st D. C. cavalry and served to the end of the war. Lieut. Baker then returned to the detective service and made himself famous by his capture of J. Wilkes Booth. Gen. Baker detailed him, with an escort of twenty-five cavalrymen to scour the country about Port Royal. His party was the one which captured the noted assassin, and Lieut. Baker was the only assistant of his cousin in the final disposition of the body of Booth. He was the first to strike the assassin's trail as he crossed the Rappahannock, to demand his surrender at the barn where he was taken, the only person to converse with him before the barn was fired, the first to reach him as he fell pierced by Corbett's bullet, and he received the assassin's dying message to his mother, and gave him his last drink of water. The story of the pursuit and capture and the final disposition of the body of President Lincoln's slayer has been graphically related by Lieut. Baker from the lecture platform. At the close of his service with the government, Lieut. Baker came to Lansing and bought one hundred acres of land where Judge Person's residence and the Torrance farm are now situated. This was in 1866. He was soon after employed as a clerk in the Auditor General's department and was there almost continuously until his death. The deceased was married in 1868 to Helen M. Davis and leaves a family consisting of his widow and two sons

and two daughters. He was a member of Plymouth Congregational church almost from the time of its organization and has been an active worker in the church during all his membership.

Prof. Robert Barker.—In the death of Prof. Robert Barker, which occurred May 17, 1896, this community suffers the loss of an old and valued pioneer citizen and business man, and his immediate family and friends sustain a greater bereavement in the passing of an able guide and counselor, an ever kind and patient friend, whose exemplary life was a constant incentive to virtuous thought and prudent action. He was born in Barry township, Orleans county, New York, May 13, 1827. He received his primary education in the common schools, supplementing it by a course of study in Melville academy, and became a teacher when but 18 years of age. Two years later he entered the State Normal School at Albany, and was at once admitted upon examination to the junior class. He graduated in 1848, at the age of 21, and resumed the profession of teaching. In 1853 he went south, traveling in the states of Tennessee and Kentucky. While there he was offered and accepted the professorship of mathmetics and natural sciences in Paducah College, remaining a year, when he accepted the principalship of Paducah Female Seminary, holding that position for five years, and only resigning it to accept a similar position in the Winchester Female Institute, which he held for four years. He came to Lansing in August, 1864. For a brief period he was engaged in merchantile business and then became special supervising agent in Michigan for the Ætna Insurance Company for three years. He was also bookkeeper for the Lansing & Ionia Railroad for one year, previous to its incorporation with the D., L. & N. system. From 1871 to 1888 Prof. Barker was engaged in the manufacture of brick and drain tile, but in January, 1889, he became steward and bookkeeper in the Michigan School for the Blind. His intelligence and broad experience as an educator was soon recognized by the board of control, and at the end of six months he was tendered and accepted, in July, 1889, the superintendency of the institution. During his residence in Lansing in the early days, Prof. Barker was for eight years a member of the school board, serving in every responsible position, and to his ripe judgment and ample experience is largely due our present excellent system of graded schools. May 12, 1850, Prof. Barker married Miss Emily Cornell, of Steuben county, N. Y. Mrs. Barker was herself a lady of fine education and a teacher. She, together with her four children, viz., Mary E. (Mrs. B. D. Northrup, of Lansing), Sally M., a teacher in the city schools, Charles S., connected with the Postal Telegraph at Chicago, and William C., of Mason, survive the husband and father. The last named gentleman continues the tile business established by his father at Mason.

Politically, Prof. Barker was an old time Free Soiler, and has always been an active and enthusiastic member of the Republican party from its foundation. In his church relations he was for 26 years an elder in the Franklin Street Presbyterian church, and for 16 years its Sunday school superintendent. He was always an active and efficient worker in the church, and will be sadly missed. In December, 1890, while performing his duties as superintendent of the School for the Blind, Prof. Barker suffered a paralytic stroke, incapacitating him to such an extent that he resigned in June, 1891. In February, 1892, he was attacked by la grippe, resulting in a second paralytic stroke, which left him a permanent invalid. On Wednesday, May 13, he attended the birthday party of himself, O. A. Clark and Edwin Carrier, at the residence of John I. Carpenter, where he had another slight stroke, and still another the same evening. At 1 o'clock on Sunday, May 17, 1896, Prof. Barker received the third and fatal attack. Quietly and peacefully he bade farewall to earthly scenes, and as the twilight gathered and deepened the shadows upon the face of Mother Earth, there passed out upon the bosom of the unknown sea whose ascending mists forever veil from mortal eyes the glories of the Eternal, the spirit of—*a man.*

Mrs. Caroline C. Bray.—Mrs. Caroline C. Bray died at her residence in the village of Okemos, at 3 a. m. Sunday, December 1, 1895. She was of a New England family, the daughter of Joseph and Phœbe Kilbourne, but was born in the Gore district, Upper Canada, December 17, 1811, and therefore wanted but a few days of being 84 years of age. She was the only sister of Joseph H. Kilbourne, and was married to Truman Bray, January 20, 1839, shortly after which her husband and brother purchased a tract of land on which the village of Okemos now stands, and the two young families became the first settlers in the township of Meridian, and continued to reside there through life, her sister-in-law dying in 1846, her brother in 1891, and her husband in May, 1895. Mrs. Bray was a woman of great strength of character, rare Christian virtue, a cheerful companion in prosperity and an active and sympathetic helper and friend in adversity.

Judge William Henry Chapman.—Judge William Henry Chapman died at 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon, August 18, 1895, at his residence, 602 Washington avenue north, of paralysis of the heart, at the age of 75 years, after an illness that confined him to his bed but a few days. Slowly, one by one, the old pioneers of Lansing, the men to whose efforts and energy the capital city now owes its growth and prosperity, are dropping away. Judge Chapman was one of these men. For forty-seven years, save only for a short interval, Judge Chapman lived in Lansing,

and for the greater part of that time so identified himself with the city's growth and interests that it may be said he was almost one of the founders of the city. He was born January 20, 1820, in Tolland, Conn., and it was there he received his education and early legal training. At the age of 21 he was an assistant in the law office of Hon. Isaac Toucey, who was afterwards a member of President Buchanan's cabinet. He remained there for two years and then went to Binghamton, N. Y., to complete his legal education in the office of Daniel S. Dickinson. In 1848 he came to Lansing, then a hamlet, hardly worthy the name of village, and from that time until his death he made it his home. His first business venture here was in connection with Judge William H. Pinckney, these two men taking a contract to clear forty acres for the State and to be paid in city lots. At the same time he carried on a mercantile business with J. P. Thompson. A year later this partnership was dissolved, and, associated with Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Chapman opened a real estate office, at the same time practicing law. In 1850 he was elected to the position of county judge, and one year later was chosen probate judge, which office he held for four years. At the end of that time he gave up the law and devoted his energies to developing the resources of the city. In 1861 Judge Chapman was elected mayor and held the office for two terms. Subsequently he served in the council as alderman for several terms. In 1880 deceased moved to a farm just north of the college and lived there for six years. It was while engaged in farming, in 1885, that he suffered a sunstroke, which was subsequently followed by a partial stroke of paralysis, and although he recovered sufficiently to be about, he was no longer able to perform active work and he returned to the city with his family. June 20, 1850, Mr. Chapman was married to Miss Julia Stimpson, who survives him, as do also six children that blessed the union. The children are Mrs. Mary Bucklan, Jacksonville, Fla.; W. H. Chapman, Jr., Detroit; Mrs. H. T. Carpenter, Union City, Mich., and Mrs. Robert Smith, Mrs. Minnie Chapman and Percy Chapman, of Lansing. Judge Chapman was a man of great strength, both physical and intellectual, and from the time he first came to the capital city he used his every effort to build up the industries and develop the resources of the city. It was due to his efforts, in association with Judge Alvin Hart, James Turner, John A. Kerr, William Woodhouse, Charles W. Butler, the late Judge John W. Longyear, and many others, that the early manufactories were started here and that sufficient bonuses were raised to bring railroads here, and make the city what it is, one of the chief railway centers of the State. Judge Chapman was always at the front of the workers, subscribing liberally to every bonus, and giving his best efforts to the cause. Not only to such efforts did he subscribe, but 'tis said, by those who knew him best, that his well lined

purse was always open to the needy and poor. Identified from early manhood with the capital city, Judge Chapman remained here, and though of late years his health would not permit active work, he has seen Lansing grow and increase and still move from the impetus he helped to give it years ago. His death is a sad blow to a host of friends, universally respected as he was, for his clean and honorable record, esteemed and loved by all for his strong character and noble qualities. Deceased was a member of the Masonic orders, and was, until his health failed him, warden of the Episcopal church, of which he was one of the founders.

Leva Beebe Clark.—Leva Beebe Clark was born in the township of Cheshire, Ontario county, New York, October 6, 1805. Her parents, Arcinoe and Mary Beebe, were pioneers in that section, having removed from near Rutland, Vermont, and settled upon a new farm in the wilderness of western New York, just ten days before the birth of the subject of this sketch, who was the third of a family of seven children, all of whom she survived. Arcinoe Beebe, father of Leva Beebe, was of Welsh and French extraction, though born in this country, his ancestors having come here early in the eighteenth century, and his father bore arms as a patriot in the war of the revolution. Arcinoe was a large, powerful man, of fine physique, and possessed of indomitable energy and untiring industry. He was a typical pioneer of those days, and as a result of his efforts he had acquired a competence before reaching middle age, was a representative farmer in his county, prominent in civil and military affairs, and held the office of justice of the peace for thirty consecutive years, when he resigned, and the office went to his son, Alonzo. He participated actively in the war of 1812, entering Canada, and was finally discharged with the rank of a colonel of militia. Mary Warriner Beebe, wife of Arcinoe Beebe, was of Huguenot descent, her ancestors having come to America about the time of the Huguenot massacres in France. She possessed a superior education for her day, and her father was also a revolutionary patriot. Leva Beebe was reared as a farmer's daughter of her day, but with such advantages as would naturally come with modest wealth and the care of intelligent and educated parents. While yet but a mere girl there came to her father's residence a young man, a native of Alabama, whose adventurous spirit had led him into the then new country of western New York in search of adventure and prosperity. The chance acquaintance ripened into more than friendship, and on October 3, 1823, the subject of our sketch became the wife of Thomas Clark. They soon after removed to Livingston county, where the little village of Moscow now stands, and her husband engaged in business, combining farming and merchant tailoring. His ventures were successful and he was soon recognized as a leading citizen of the community. He contributed liberally to all new enterprises, and to his generosity the

Methodists of that section were very largely indebted for their church, which is now standing, and of which he and his wife became members soon after its completion. About 1839 Thomas Clark contracted the disease which terminated his life. He returned to his southern home in search of health, and removed with his family to various points, but without relief. He died in New York in 1845, leaving his widow and a family of four children, three of whom were dependent upon a mother's care. Her trust was faithfully fulfilled. Her children all acquired homes, and when the war of the rebellion broke out one of her two sons laid down his life as a sacrifice for the nation which his ancestors had aided to establish. For many years Mrs. Clark was an honored inmate of the family of her surviving son, Wm. M. Clark, editor of the Lansing State Republican, coming with him to Michigan in 1866, and to Lansing in 1870, where, with the exception of about five years' residence in Detroit, she remained until her death, which occurred May 1, 1896, at the age of 90 years, 6 months, and 26 days. Mrs. Clark was for nearly 70 years a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and died in that faith, being connected with the Central M. E. church of Lansing.

Samuel Clark.—Samuel Clark died Saturday night, October 5, 1895, at the residence of his son, W. E. Clark, 219 North street east, Lansing. Mr. Clark was 76 years of age and a victim of paralysis. He came to Lansing from Watertown, where he had resided nearly 50 years, five years ago, and had since resided with his son.

C. B. Conn.—C. B. Conn died suddenly at the residence of his son, Julius T. Conn, in Lansing, Saturday morning, October 12, 1895. He was born in Dorchester, Mass., near Boston, February 2, 1806. His childhood, youth and young manhood were spent in Boston, where he learned the shoemaker's trade, beginning at the early age of 12 years. For seven years he belonged to the Washington Light Infantry, and was detailed as one of the body guard for Lafayette on his visit to America at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill monument. At the age of 23 he was united in marriage to Miss Eunice L. Andrews, of Boston, and came to Michigan soon after their first child was born. They first located in Wayne county, but several years after they moved to Pontiac where they bought a home and stayed twelve years. Here they joined the M. E. church, but owing to various changes of location the connection was lost and a renewal neglected. During the civil war he was detailed at Cairo, Ill., and sent to Mound City, Ill., to nurse the soldiers in a government hospital; he also nursed on a hospital boat called the Red Rover, that ran on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. One son, while in pursuit of the Morgan raiders, was thrown from his mule, receiving internal injuries, and soon after died in St. Mary's hospital, Detroit.

About sixteen years of his later life were spent with his daughter in Branch county, but for the last three years he has lived with his son in Lansing. His work is done, and as the beautiful leaves of October ripen, and fade and return to the earth that gave them life, so has this veteran in life's warfare ripened and faded, and his soul has returned to the God who gave it.

Mrs. Jennette Cook.—Mrs. Jennette Cook died November 9, 1895, at her home in Delhi, aged 71 years. She was born in Scotland in 1824, and has been a resident of this State 52 years.

Deacon John A. Crossman.—Deacon John A. Crossman died December 18, 1895, of general debility after an illness of several weeks. The end was as it should have been, peaceful and painless, simply a going out of life's light. Deacon Crossman was born at Peacham, Vt., September 18, 1819, and was therefore 77 years of age. He came to Lansing in 1860 and for 27 years held a clerkship in the Auditor General's department. For a great many years he was a prominent member and officer of the First Baptist Church Society, serving as leader of the choir, superintendent of the Sunday school and deacon. A wife and one daughter survive him, the latter being the wife of Professor Satterlee, for several years in the Agricultural College.

George Frederick Day.—George Frederick Day, whose career as a lawyer and a business man during the past twenty years has made him one of the most prominent men of the county, died at his home in Lansing, Sunday morning, August 4, 1895, about 8 o'clock, after an illness lasting less than a week. He was born in Dryden, Lapeer county, in June, 1855. He was the son of Mr. and Mrs. John W. Day and was one of a family of six children. His father and four of his brothers and sisters are dead. His mother, 82 years old, survives him and lives with her daughter, Mrs. Charles S. Williams, of Owosso. About 28 years ago the family moved to Mason, where Mr. Day received his education. He began the study of law with Huntington & Henderson, of Mason, and was admitted to practice when about 21 years old. He did not go into practice immediately, but entered the First National Bank of Mason, where he remained for six years. He then left the bank to become the partner of his former preceptor, Judge Huntington. After Judge Huntington's death, Mr. Day continued in practice. His advancement was rapid. In 1886 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Ingham county, and in 1888 he was re-elected. His service in this office was such as to delight his friends and compel the admiration of his political opponents. After his retirement from public office, Mr. Day formed a partnership with James A. Parkinson of Jackson. He remained in Jackson two

years, but his long residence and extended acquaintance in Ingham county led him to prefer a residence here, although his short career in Jackson county was very successful, and he returned to this county over two years ago, when the partnership of Smith, Lee & Day was formed. Since his stay here his practice has been extensive and important. He was engaged in the now famous election fraud cases. He assisted in the defense of Nelson Bradley, and his legal learning and intimate acquaintance with banking and the laws of banking, made his services invaluable in that case. The deceased leaves a family consisting of a widow and two children, Florence, aged 13, and George, aged 11 years.

Philip De Barry.—Philip De Barry died January 22, 1896, at his home, nine miles northwest of Williamston, aged 81 years. Mr. De Barry settled in the township of Woodhull, near his late home, in 1841, and ten years later moved to the township of Williamston. He was appointed postmaster at Alverson in 1875 and held the office until it was discontinued a few weeks ago. He was confined to his bed but two days. He was well known in Ingham and Shiawassee counties and also in Detroit, where he served a number of terms as juror in the United States district court. He leaves a wife, two daughters and two sons. One son, Robert, lives on the old homestead, the other, Hon. John De Barry, resides in Ironwood, Mich.

William A. Dryer.—William A. Dryer, whose death occurred Sunday, May 31, 1896, was one of the oldest living residents of the city of Lansing. He was born in Cazenovia, N. Y., March 9, 1813. His family came from New England to New York. He removed from New York to Michigan in 1836, bringing with him his wife and his oldest daughter, now Mrs. J. E. Warner. The family settled in White Oak in this county, and Mr. Dryer resided in Ingham county during all the rest of his life, except three years, when he was in Livingston county. In 1848 he came to Lansing and took up his residence on Center street, where he carried on the business of wagon making and afterwards started a general merchandise business. In a few years his health failed him and he returned to the business of farming. He bought a farm just west of the city limits and remained there until seven years ago, when his health again broke down and he retired from active life. He has lived in the city since that time. He leaves a widow and five children, Mrs. J. E. Warner, Mrs. E. M. Johnson, of Owosso, E. A. Dryer, of Lansing township, Dr. N. A. Dryer, of Bath, and W. F. Dryer, of Bath. A brother and sister, David P. Dryer, of Bath, and Margaret P. Dryer, of Lansing, also survive him. Mr. Dryer was a fine type of the class of men who make pioneers. He was a man of strong intellectual gifts and also a man fully capable of doing useful work with his hands. He was present at the first political

convention ever held for the nomination of county officers in this county. He assisted in the organization of the First Methodist church of Lansing, that being the first church organized there. During his residence in Livingston county he built the first wagon ever built there. He was a charter member and the first president of the Central Michigan Agricultural Society. The first Merino sheep that were brought to this county he imported. These are a few of many illustrations that might be cited of his usefulness and influence in the early days of Central Michigan. Mr. Dryer was a Republican in politics and was present at the organization of that party at Jackson. Though steadfast to the principles of republicanism he was never bigoted or uncharitable of the opinions of others. He was a member of the board of supervisors for nine years and chairman of the board seven years. No man was better informed about the organization and growth of this county than Mr. Dryer, and in his later years he was a veritable mine of history and reminiscence.

Mrs. Sarah K. Gillett.—Mrs. Sarah K. Gillett, wife of Israel Gillett, died December 19, 1895, after a lingering illness extending over several years. Mrs. Gillett was born at Schroon Lake, Essex county, N. Y., July 31, 1830. Her maiden name was Seaman. Of her father's family only one child, Mrs. Celia Phetteplace, of Glen Falls, N. Y., remains. Mr. and Mrs. Gillett were married at her home in 1851 and removed to Lansing in 1854. Two children were born to Mrs. Gillett; they are Charles B. Gillett and Mrs. W. B. Kirby, both of Lansing.

Shubael Rowland Greene.—Shubael Rowland Greene died Tuesday evening, September 24, 1895, at his home on Grand street, located on the lot which, nearly fifty years ago, he bought and cleared of stumps and bushes. He was one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Lansing, and his death removes from the sight of the people of Lansing a constant example of the love and respect that always attaches to those who live simple, honest lives, and are faithful to all the work entrusted to them. He was born February 5, 1810, in New Lebanon, Conn. He came from an old New England family. His father was Nathan Greene, a farmer, and his grandfather was Capt. John Greene, who was in Canada under Gen. Amherst in the French and Indian war, and afterward in the revolution. His mother was Julia Strong, of Lebanon, Conn. In 1814 Nathan Greene moved with his family to Northfield, Vt. In 1833, having grown to manhood, Shubael Greene came to this State and settled in Clinton, Lenawee county. He was married in 1836 to Polly S. Skinner. He worked there at the trade of carpentering and building, and in the summer of 1847 he came to Lansing. He bought the ground where he lived at the time of his death, and also the adjoining lot. He

built on it a little house which answered the purpose of both a home and a workshop. This building still stands on Kalamazoo street in the rear of Bertch's market. His family followed him in February, 1848. At the time of his coming he was a member of the First Presbyterian church of Clinton, and in the church record of the First Presbyterian church of Lansing, there appears in 1849 a record of the fact that Shubael R. Greene and his wife were received into the church on their letters from Clinton. The entry begins "at a meeting of the church held at the schoolhouse in the lower village." It is the first entry in the church record after the entry of the organization of the church and the confession of faith. From that time until his death Deacon Greene, as he was always called, though his proper title was elder, was an active member of the church and was an elder during all the time except a few months following his admission to membership. He was also clerk of the session during the entire history of the church. He and Capt. John R. Price built what is now known as the old Presbyterian church in 1852. His steady devotion to the cause of religion was remarkable. He supplied the pulpit in the absence of regular pastors, reading the sermons. During his forty-six years of membership of the Presbyterian church here he missed but two communion services, one because of absence from the city, another because of sickness. He attended his last communion service on the 8th of September, only a little more than two weeks before his death, but was too weak to take part in the service. During the early part of his residence here he was active as a builder and cabinet-maker. He had a shop at one time on the site of the building now occupied by the Republican office. He afterwards had a store south of the New Grand hotel, where he made and sold furniture, and later served several years as justice of the peace. During the last fifteen years of his life he was not in active business, the condition of his health not permitting it. The family of the deceased consisted of his wife, who died in 1890, two daughters, Mrs. C. P. Everett and Miss Julia D. Greene, who survive him, and two sons, Daniel S. Greene, who died when about 6 years old, and Lieut. W. M. Greene, who was killed in the last war at Horseshoe Bend in Kentucky. He also leaves a brother, Daniel B. Greene, of Ypsilanti, who attended the funeral, and a sister, Mrs. Mary Weeks, of New Jersey, who was too feeble to come.

Mrs. Betsey Hammond.—Mrs. Betsey Hammond, widow of William Hammond, died at her home in Wheatfield, one mile south of the village of Williamston, Friday, September 6, 1895, aged 82 years. She was a pioneer of Wheatfield township, having lived 56 years in the same neighborhood. She and her husband first settled on the farm now owned by George Beeman's heirs, but soon sold it and removed to the farm where she spent the remainder of her life. She was the last survivor of the

first Methodist class formed here, and in the early days endured many hardships common to the pioneer. Soon after coming to Wheatfield one of her children died. A neighbor made a coffin for it and there were only five persons to attend its burial, so sparsely settled was the country. She has been a widow many years, and leaves one daughter, Mrs. Miles Gibson, to mourn the loss of a devoted mother. No higher tribute can be paid to her memory than that she was one of the best and noblest of Christian women.

Samuel W. Hammond.—Samuel W. Hammond was born in Ontario county, N. Y., June 30, 1824. He came to Michigan May 15, 1837, and located in Hanover, Jackson county. Here he began the study of medicine and afterward attended the medical college at Cleveland, Ohio, where he graduated in the regular practice. After receiving his diploma he located at Charlotte and practiced two years. Here he married Miss Mary Linderman, who has been his helpmate all these years and survives him. In 1852 Mr. Hammond went to California, and during his stay of two years his family moved to Mason, remaining until he should decide where to locate. He came back, however, and located in Okemos, where he practiced his profession until the breaking out of the war, when he joined the army, being appointed by Gov. Blair as assistant surgeon of the 22d Michigan infantry. He was with that regiment until the close of the war, and participated in numerous battles in his capacity as surgeon. During his army life he suffered a severe spell of sickness, which left him with spasmodic asthma. This disease he has had to contend with ever since, and for the past fourteen years has not been able to lie down at all, having to sit in a chair to sleep, and death visited him in this position August 3, 1895. Mr. Hammond moved to Mason in 1870 and was justice of the peace there continually for twenty years. His first vote was cast in 1844, for Henry Clay, but since the formation of the Republican party he has always been a voter and a worker in its welfare. He leaves a wife and three children, the eldest being the wife of Dr. Ferguson, of Okemos; Eugene, a printer, who is thought to be in Princeton, N. J., and Hon. Charles F., who practices his profession of law at Lansing.

Orien Austin Jenison.—Orien Austin Jenison died at his home Aug. 6, 1895, after a continued residence in Lansing dating from the year 1847. There are men who, through a life of fidelity to principle and scrupulous exactness of dealing, even in the heart of things, gain a reputation for honesty so that no one hesitates to trust them. Mr. Jenison was one of these. He was more than this He was a kind-hearted, genial, loving man, who sometimes concealed under an off-hand brusqueness of manner, a gentle heart. Children knew him and loved him. A

generation of them years ago learned to call him "Uncle Jen" and growing to manhood and womanhood have continued to call him so until the whole city has learned to use the name. As became the man and his life, his end was peaceful and painless. He was born in Watertown, N. Y., May 22, 1823. His father died ten weeks before his birth, leaving his mother with eight children dependent upon her. His schooling ended when he was twelve years old. He then went away to a distant town and began to support himself as a clerk in a store, and from that time was self-supporting. He remained away from home a year and then returned to work in a store. He continued to live in and about Watertown for several years. During this time he practiced artistic penmanship and became expert in the use of a pen. He then maintained himself until he was 21 as a writing master. During all this time he contributed to the extent of his power to the support of his mother. The day after reaching his majority he started away from home with just a sixpence in his pocket, bound for St. Lawrence county, N. Y. He made his way from place to place, earning what he got to eat by "setting copies" for the farmers' children along his route. Published writing books were unknown in those days, and the beautiful examples of penmanship which he wrote for children to copy when learning to write were highly prized. Reaching St. Lawrence county, he remained there two years, following his business as a teacher of writing. From thence he started west, and reached Detroit, August 28, 1846. He had nine silver dollars in his pocket when he landed. The family has one of them yet. Within three days he had secured a position in the private land office of Macey & Driggs. The capitol was located at Lansing the next year and Mr. Jenison was sent by his firm to establish a branch office here. This fixed his residence and he never changed it. He arrived here on Christmas day after having walked a large part of the way from Jackson on account of the miserable condition of the stage road. As most residents of Lansing know, the town consisted then of a cluster of buildings at the foot of Main street, and another around the dam at North Lansing. Mr. Jenison spent his first three weeks in Lansing at the National hotel on Main street. The town was so crowded that during that time there was not an available bed in the city for Mr. Jenison to sleep in. A wooden building was being built on the present site of the Baird & Hudson block. Quarters were secured there for Macey & Driggs, and after getting their business into shape he resigned his position with them and went into the Auditor General's department, where he held a clerkship for twelve years. After these long years, during which writing of some sort had been Mr. Jenison's means of support, he abandoned the pen and went into the mercantile business with the late S. S. Coryell. This business continued until 1868, when

he began his long connection with the State Republican. John A. Kerr & Co. were then State Printers and proprietors of the State Republican, and Mr. Jenison was bookkeeper in their office and of the other proprietors of the paper until 1886. The succeeding four years of Mr. Jenison's life were variously employed, but in 1890 Robert Smith secured the State printing contract and recalled Mr. Jenison to his old position as bookkeeper in the State printing office. In October, 1893, while preparing to go to the world's fair, he was taken sick. From that time his health declined and his life shaded gradually, almost imperceptibly, into death. He resigned his position with Robert Smith, September 3, 1894, hoping that rest would recuperate him. It was not until within a month that he was confined to his bed. Mr. Jenison was married in Lansing, January 20, 1851, to Helen M. Butler. Mrs. Jenison is still living, and two sons, Frank H. and Orien A. Jenison, mourn the loss of their father. Of his brothers and sisters, two survive him, Rufus, of Austin, Texas, and Mrs. S. B. Grenell, of Jefferson county, New York. The brother Rufus was supposed to be dead by Mr. Jenison for fifty years, but within a year and a half his whereabouts were discovered. The character of O. A. Jenison has already been briefly touched on, but no sketch would be complete without mentioning his remarkable instinct for collecting quaint, curious and valuable things. Indian relics at one time formed a large and valuable part of his collection. Bows and arrows, articles of apparel, stone implements, pipes, and other Indian curiosities to the number of 700 were collected by him, mostly around Lansing. These, with 3,000 coins and medals, were sold by him in New York city a number of years ago. Local history and the collection of documents and books relating to it were almost a passion with him. He had every State Manual ever published. He had the autograph of every Governor of Michigan. Documents innumerable were pasted by him in scrap books and preserved. Nothing relative to the history of the city was too trivial, and two large scrap books were devoted to the preservation of posters and handbills announcing elections, caucuses, political speeches. Public announcements of all kinds were kept by him. The capitol books, as he called them, were a series of scrap books containing clippings relative to the building of the State capitol. A history of the building from day to day could be made from the books. The capitol books, the manuals, and numerous other books and documents belonging to Mr. Jenison which refer to the history of Michigan, were bought recently by the State Librarian, and will occupy a separate case in the library and be known as the Jenison collection. He also studied the history of the Jenison family, tracing his ancestry back to the time of the landing of the first Jenison in America off the ship Arbella in 1630. A pocketbook which this founder of the family brought to America is in the possession of the Jenison family.

Edwin Randolph Merrifield.—Edwin Randolph Merrifield passed away Sunday afternoon, September 1, 1895, at 4 o'clock, at the family residence, corner of Ionia and Seymour streets, Lansing, after a painful illness covering a period of two years. By the death of Edwin Randolph Merrifield the city loses another of its oldest and best known citizens, who came to this locality when Lansing was but an infant, and where now stands handsome business blocks and wide streets, an unbroken forest marked the site of a thriving city. He was born at Jefferson, Greene county, N. Y., December 13, 1826, and was consequently 69 years of age, lacking 4 months. His boyhood days were spent at his birthplace, and he removed with his parents to Macomb county, this State, when he was 16 years of age. At the age of 21 he enlisted in the volunteer service for the Mexican war, serving throughout. In 1847 he received the appointment of second lieutenant of the fifteenth regiment, United States Infantry, his commission, now in possession of his family, being signed by W. L. Marcy, secretary of war, and James K. Polk, president of the United States. In 1851 he returned to Lansing and accepted a position in the Auditor General's department under Auditor General Swegles, remaining in the department seven years, or until the Republicans came into power. In 1855 he was tendered the appointment of second lieutenant in the second regiment, U. S. Cavalry, and later the appointment of first lieutenant in the ninth regiment, U. S. Infantry, both of which offers were declined, Mr. Merrifield preferring the life of a private citizen. The first papers are signed by Jefferson Davis, who was then Secretary of war. On his retirement from the Auditor General's department, Mr. Merrifield established the Merrifield Life and Fire Insurance Agency, which was conducted with unvarying success until agout two years before his death. Mr. Merrifield was married December 11, 1851, to Miss Sarah Thomas, daughter of the late John Thomas, who established the first dry-goods store in the city. Three children blessed the union; two sons and a daughter, the latter dying when but two years of age. The widow and sons, Robert of Detroit and Douglas of Lansing, survive the deceased. Mr. Merrifield had been in failing health for several years, and four weeks before his death suffered a stroke of paralysis, which left him almost helpless. The direct cause of death was blood poisoning. He had always taken an active interest in the city's welfare, and his friends and acquaintances were without number. He had several times been importuned to accept the nomination for mayor and other minor offices, but always declined. He was an unswerving democrat, and for a great many years was one of the leading counselors of his party in local politics.

Mrs. Catharine Morehouse.—Mrs. Catharine Morehouse, who died August 27, 1895, was justly entitled to the term pioneer of both the State

and city. She was born at Newark, N. J., October 7, 1808, where she grew to womanhood. She was married to Harvey Morehouse (who died May 9, 1891), September 18, 1831. Six years later they moved to New York city, and the same year moved to Ohio, and October 14, 1848, pushed on to Michigan, then a wilderness, settling in Lansing, which has since been her home. She is survived by four children, Stephen and Thomas H. B. Morehouse, Mrs. J. A. Melius and Mrs. Lee Cook, also six grandchildren and two great-grandchildren. For the past four years, or since the death of her husband, she has resided with her grandson, B. E. Morehouse. When Mrs. Morehouse was 16 years of age, with her husband, who was then 17, she stood in line at Newark and shook hands with Gen. Lafayette. Early in life Mrs. Morehouse united with the Methodist Episcopal church at Newark, and Rev. Louis Grosenbaugh, a former pastor of the Central M. E. church, conducted the funeral services.

Solomon D. Newbro.—Solomon D. Newbro, whose death occurred March 12, 1896, was one of the few remaining landmarks of the early history of Lansing. He was one of the very first settlers here and a pioneer in every sense of the word. Mr. Newbro was born June 23, 1822, at Mohican, Ashland county, Ohio, where his early life was spent. He came to Lansing in 1849, when it was a forest, and did his share towards hewing out the fine city that has been reared during his lifetime. He employed his first year here in teaching school, when he returend to Cincinnati and studied medicine, graduating with high honors. He returned to Lansing and for several years practiced medicine at North Lansing, where he was also engaged in the drug business, and his death occurred in the same building where he had conducted business for so many years. Dr. Newbro was a man of many attainments, despite his eccentricities, and possessed literary ability to a remarkable degree. He had published several poems in leading magazines, and for a great many years was a regular contributor to the columns of the Toledo Blade. He was a stalwart Republican, and had held the office of alderman and for several terms was justice of the peace. Deceased leaves a wife and three children to mourn his loss, two daughters, Mrs. D. M. Greene, of Grand Rapids, and Miss Ollie, of Lansing, and "Doc" Newbro, of Butte, Montana.

Capt. John R. Price.—Capt. John R. Price, an old and respected citizent of Lansing, died at his home on Cedar street north, July 11, 1895, of dropsy, aged 79 years. Mr. Price was taken sick in October, and after that was confined to the house, though about two months before was able to be about and take short walks on the street, but later was unable to leave the house, and was a patient sufferer until death came to his relief. He was born July 5, 1816, at South Washington, N. J. In

1843 he came to Michigan and was married to Miss Jane Powell in Marengo, Calhoun county, after which he came to Lansing and located the site of his late home, 524 Cedar street north, clearing the land and building a house. In 1861 at the call for volunteers he organized Company G, Third Michigan Infantry, and as its captain took the company to the front, being one of the first to leave Lansing. Capt. Price did not take active part in many battles, as he returned shortly after on account of sickness. Allan Shattuck, John Broad and Lawrence Croix are the only surviving members of this company. March 15, 1893, Mr. and Mrs. Price celebrated their golden wedding, and at the time of his death had been married over 52 years, and lived continuously at their home on Cedar street north. Mr. Price was one of Lansing's oldest and most respected citizens and well known by all. A wife and three children survive him, Mrs. Price, aged 77 years; Mrs. J. W. Twaits, Mrs. J. J. Wood and William R. Price, all residents of North Lansing.

Jason St. John.—Jason St. John, father of Supt. St. John, of the Industrial School, died July 2, 1895, at 9 o'clock, at the age of almost 91 years. He was born at Ridgebury, Conn., August 18, 1804. His father was in the war of 1812. Mr. St. John was the youngest of a large family of children, all of whom he has survived by several years. He left home when quite young, teaching school for a while, then going to New York, where he remained for several years working in a flour store. Before he reached the age of 25 years he was sent as supercargo to Mexico by the firm for whom he was working. He made several very successful trips and was finally shipwrecked off the coast of Mexico. In 1833 he married Miss Mary Bennet Cheshire, of New York. A daughter was born to them who survives them and is living in New York city. Losing his wife in 1836, in 1839 he married Minerva Ann Clark, also of New York. This woman only lived two years. After her death Mr. St. John removed to Michigan, settling in the southern part of the State. In 1843 he married Lucy Ann Strong, of Somerset, Hillsdale county, Mich., where he lived until her death, which occurred in 1851. Having two children by this marriage, Florence A. St. John and J. Edgar St. John, he provided for them and then went to California, where he spent only a few years, returning to Michigan, in which State he has been a resident until his death. Mr. St. John was a very genial man, always finding friends wherever he went. At a very early age he was baptized and joined the Baptist church in New York city under the preaching of Dr. Spencer H. Cone. He has always been a consistent and earnest Christian man, occupying nearly all the official positions in the churches to which he belonged. In all his varied affairs of business, politics or social life he has been fearless and ever ready to defend the right. During the last twenty-four years he has lived with his son, being a resident of Lansing

nearly all those years, where he has been so well known by his white hair and genial countenance. At the time of his death he was a member of the First Baptist church of Lansing, being a retired member of the board of deacons. In church work he has always been very active. He was buried at Napoleon, Jackson county, Friday afternoon, July 5, where the remains of his three wives are resting.

C. W. STAFFORD.—C. W. Stafford peacefully breathed his last, after a ten day's sickness of sleeping paralysis, August 12, 1895. He was born May 24, 1833, in Wayne, N. Y. Twenty-one years later, Aug. 11, 1854, he wedded Miss Caroline Williams, with whom deceased lived happily to the end of his days. Mr. Stafford moved to Lansing some time in the early fifties, and has ever since been connected with Lansing. Deceased was a member of the I. O. O. F., also of the G. A. R. He served his country gallantly in company G, Third Michigan Cavalry, from beginning to end. He is mourned by a wife and four married children, three sons and one daughter.

IONIA COUNTY.

BY ALBERT F. MOREHOUSE.

Name.	Date of death.	Place of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Daniel P. Aldrich	Jan. 11, 1896	Saranac	71	One of the first residents of Saranac.
John Cameron	Dec. 13, 1895	Portland	76	
Lydia N. Dickinson	Dec. 16, 1895	Portland	78	
Walter Goodenough	Mar. 2; 1896	Orange	80	
Jennie Griffin	Dec. 15, 1895	Portland	56	
Julia A. Hall	Jan. 29, 1896	Orleans	82	
Lucinda Hayes	Nov. 1895	Ionia	90	
Calvin Leach	Feb. 14, 1896	Aston	80	
Ann Mathews	Nov. 1, 1895	Portland	79	
Frederick N. Newman	Nov. 7, 1895	Portland	58	
William G. Phillips	Dec. 13, 1895	Danby	65	
William Slauson	Mar. 2, 1896	Belding	81	Resident of county since 1859.
Stephen Steele	May 25, 1896	Orange	97	Born in 1799.
Corodon C. Stoddard	Mar. 14, 1896	Hubbardston	70	
H. H. Worden	Apr. 2, 1896	Ionia	80	

Hon. Alexander F. Bell.—Hon. Alexander F. Bell, who has been for three years confined to his home from an attack of paralysis, which affected his brain as well as his body, died at the home of his son-in-law, S. B. Gorham, in Ionia, at 2:30 o'clock, March 12, 1896. For forty-eight hours he had been *in extremis*, and he passed away as quietly and painlessly as if going to sleep. Alexander F. Bell was born August 5, 1812, in Charlton, Saratoga county, New York, of Scotch parentage. He graduated from Union college in 1836, and came to Michigan the same year, arriving at Jackson in August. From Jackson he, in company with the late Adam L. Roof, took a boat and floated down Grand River till he reached Lyons, then a village of three log houses. They camped over night, the third night out, in an unbroken wilderness where is now the capitol of the State. They also camped over night in Portland, a village of four log houses. Pleased with the picturesque appearance of the country around Lyons the two adventurers concluded to settle there. Mr. Roof was already a lawyer. He started a law office and Mr. Bell became his student. In 1839 he married Miss Elizabeth Boyer, of Portland. In 1840 he was admitted to the bar and the same year removed to the county seat, Ionia, where he has resided for 56 years, except for a short residence in Grand Rapids in 1847, and in Detroit in 1859-60. In 1846 he was elected as a democrat to the State legislature, and in 1853 was appointed by President Pierce register of the United States Land Office. He was the first president of the village of Ionia, being elected on a non-partisan ticket. As a lawyer Mr. Bell always stood at the head of his profession in this part of the State, particularly as a counsellor in civil cases. Indeed his ability was in the early days recognized throughout the State and there were few important cases hereabouts in which he was not employed on one side or the other. He narrowly escaped being a member of the supreme court, and he would have brought to that distinguished tribunal a well-trained mind, and a keen power of analysis, rarely equaled. It was, however, as a citizen, a neighbor and a friend that he will be best remembered. No man has rendered greater services to the town in which he lived and has less left in the way of worldly possessions to show for it. In all enterprises for the building up of Ionia and promoting its growth and prosperity he was a leading and influential spirit. He was a particularly potent factor in the work of bringing railroads into the town and so managing it as to derive the greatest good to the community to whose interests he was devotedly attached. He was one of the original founders of the Presbyterian church here and always a faithful, earnest and loyal supporter of that society. As a neighbor he was generous and sympathetic; in his family he was indulgent and kind. Few husbands and fathers could recall the incidents of so long a domestic life and find so little to

regret. Faultless he was not, as it is human to err, but his faults were of the kind that are easily forgotten and forgiven, and his virtues and rare good traits were immeasurably greater. Mr. Bell was a man of commanding personality. Of iron frame and unusual powers of endurance he was easily a leader among the hardy pioneers who willingly faced hardships and privations. He was a genial companion, a warm friend, a sturdy enemy, a loving father and a devoted husband. Witty, well-read, with a mind disciplined by study and experience, he was a man whom it was always a pleasure to meet. There was a charm about his conversation and an unaffected simplicity in his manners that it was hard to resist. Mrs. Bell died some years since. Of the seven children born to their union, only two survive, viz.: Mrs. Seymour B. Gorham and Mrs. J. C. Jennings, both of Ionia. Appropriate resolutions were adopted by the Ionia county bar.

LEVI C. GOODWIN.—Levi C. Goodwin was born in Monroe county, N. Y., March 18, 1814, and died in Easton, Ionia county, April 3, 1896, aged 82 years, 16 days. He was married to Ann Curtis, January 11, 1836. To this union were born two sons and two daughters. The living daughter is married to Peter Slaybaugh. The boys, Burdette and Marcellus, are living in Easton. Mr. Goodwin moved into Michigan in 1852. In 1855 he moved on to the farm from which he was buried. His remains now rest in the Easton cemetery by the side of his wife who died about seven years before. Mr. Goodwin was one of the pioneers who helped to open the forest roads, and clear the country for the happiness of others, his heart was open to help the afflicted and needy. He accumulated a nice fortune, and paid his honest debts.

JACKSON COUNTY.

BY JOSIAH B. FROST.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mrs. Zina Allen	Jackson	Feb. 21, 1895	79	Came to Michigan in 1836.
Mrs. Malinda Anderson	Rives	Mar. 17, 1894	70	An old resident.
Mrs. George A. Baldwin	Jackson	Nov. 14, 1893	73	
Mrs John Baldwin	Concord	Mar. 22, 1895	88	Had lived in Michigan 50 years.
Palmer Barlow	Jackson	May 17, 1894	80	Came to Michigan in 1832.
Ira Batchelder	Blackman	Jan. 14, 1896	84	His father, John, lived to be 102.
Mrs. Mary Beebe	Jackson	Nov. 19, 1894	82	Had resided at Leoni and Burlington.
Giles Bloomfield	Jackson	July 29, 1893	85	

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mrs. Eliza Jane Bradford	Spring Arbor	Dec. 31, 1895	80	Had resided in Spring Arbor 40 years.
Joseph Brenk	Jackson	Dec. 29, 1895	67	Resident of Jackson since 1862.
Mrs. Elizabeth Brewer	Sandstone	Apr. 16, 1895	95	
Mrs. William Bronson	Parma	Mar. 25, 1896	81	An old resident.
Mrs. Margaret Graham Carlton	Jackson	Sept. 10, 1895	52	Resident of Jackson all her life.
Mrs. John B. Carter	Jackson	Aug. 3, 1893	50	Killed in a runaway accident.
Mrs. Roswell Chamberlain	Jackson	Aug. 22, 1893	79	Resident of Jackson 50 years.
Mrs. Oliver Chappell	Parma	Aug. 22, 1893	76	An old resident.
Alexander Cockburn	Jackson	June 23, 1895	71	Resident of Jackson since 1836.
Horace G. Cole	Rives	Dec. 29, 1893	89	
Mrs. Caroline Cook	Jackson	June 16, 1895	75	Resident of Jackson 33 years.
William S. Crego	Liberty	Jan. 4, 1896	79	Resident of Liberty 60 years.
Henry H. Crittenden	Leoni	Jan. 11, 1896	61	Resident in county 40 years.
Jonas Davis	Springport	Feb. 8, 1895	77	One of the oldest residents.
Noah Dodge	Spring Arbor	Dec. 16, 1893	85	Resident 35 years.
Mrs. Noah Dodge	Spring Arbor	Dec. 16, 1894	70	
Edmond Dorr	Norvell	July 14, 1893	79	Came to Michigan in 1835.
James P. Dresser	Brooklyn	Apr. 17, 1894	76	A pioneer of the county.
Mrs. Delos Fisher	Jackson	Dec. 23, 1895	77	Taught the first school in Blackman.
Chauncey Gaylord	Jackson	Mar. 26, 1894	82	
Judge Aaron T. Gorton	Waterloo	Apr. 10, 1894		One of the early judges.
William Grant	Spring Arbor	Mar. 6, 1895		An old resident.
Mrs. Nelson Green	Jackson	May 8, 1895	59	Born in Dexter, Sept. 4, 1836.
Mrs. Martha Hadden	Jackson	Dec. 28, 1893	73	Wife of George Hadden, an old resident.
Jacob Hammer	Rives	Sept. 16, 1895	68	A resident 35 years.
Thomas C. Handy	Jackson	Sept. 20, 1895	59	An old resident.
Mrs. Nancy Harris	Jackson	Mar. 31, 1895	81	One of the earliest settlers
Mrs. Esther Darrah Hibbard	Jackson	May 17, 1894	75	Widow of Daniel B. Hibbard.
Mrs. Almira L. Higgins	Jackson	Mar. 19, 1896	94	Resident of county 52 years.
Shed Holland	Pulaski	Feb. 9, 1895	85	An old resident.
Mrs. Roxanna Holmes	Sandstone	Oct. 5, 1895	91	Widow of Alonzo Holmes.
Mrs. Sarah J. Howe	Sandstone	Jan. 7, 1894	50	Came to Michigan in 1855.
Jonathan Hunsicker	Spring Arbor	Dec. 16, 1895	76	Had resided in Jackson county 44 years.
Harriet Johnson	Jackson	Apr. 11, 1894	67	Widow of Benjamin G. Johnson.
William Johnson	Horton	Nov. 6, 1893	80	Came to Michigan in 1836.
Mrs. Lucinda Keilman	Jackson	May 16, 1894	57	An old resident.
Mrs. Clarissa J. Ketchum	Jackson	Apr. 24, 1895	63	Came to Jackson in 1838.
John Kimball	Spring Arbor	Feb. 11, 1895	91	Resident of the town 36 years.
Charles W. King	Jackson	Feb. 24, 1896	62	Resident of Jackson 46 years.
Mrs. Oscar H. McConnell	Jackson	Aug. 31, 1895	52	Maiden name, Hattie Burdick.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Mrs. Mary E. McWilliams	Jackson	Dec. 20, 1893	.....	Resident of Jackson 30 years.
Mrs. William D. Martin	Henrietta	Mar. 5, 1896	.....	An old resident.
Charles Meserell	Jackson	June 10, 1895	76	Came to Jackson in 1857.
Albert W. Miller	Grass Lake	Aug. 4, 1895	64	Came to Michigan in 1839.
William H. Monroe	Jackson	June 16, 1895	66	Came to Jackson in 1835.
Alexander W. Morey	Waterloo	Mar. 13, 1894	70	Resident 40 years.
Samuel C. Mosier	Jackson	Mar. 22, 1896	64	Lived in Jackson 46 years.
Solomon Musliner	Jackson	May 10, 1894	64	Came to Michigan in 1855.
Mrs. L. C. Nash	Jackson	Jan. 14, 1894	84	Came to Michigan in 1837.
Mrs. John Norris	Jackson	Oct. 24, 1893	72	Resident of Jackson 40 years.
Ansel Norton	Leoni	Apr. 24, 1894	93	Had resided in county 51 years.
Mrs. Catherine O'Neill	Jackson	Apr. 25, 1894	80	Resident of Jackson 56 years.
Mrs. Augusta Case Palmer	Napoleon	May 21, 1895	53	Resident of Napoleon 43 years.
Russell D Palmer	Brooklyn	May 16, 1895	76	Resident of Michigan 41 years.
Mrs. Abbie J. Parmeter	Concord	Apr. 2, 1896	67	Resident of Concord 50 years.
Mrs. Lewis H. Pierson	Jackson	June, 1895	74	Resident of Jackson 45 years.
Mrs. J. B. Pitts	Jackson	May 12, 1894	75	Resident of Jackson 45 years.
William Rathburn	Rives	Mar. 26, 1896	80	An old resident.
Mrs. Ellen Ray	Concord	July 1, 1895	56	Died very suddenly.
Cyrus G. Raymond, Sr.	Grass Lake	Feb. 9, 1896	87	Came to Grass Lake in 1839.
Mrs. Katherine Redmond	Jackson	Jan. 25, 1896	89	Interment at Hillsdale.
Daniel Remington	Jackson	Apr. 29, 1896	72	Came to Michigan in 1854.
Col. Hugh Richards	Jackson	Aug. 3, 1893	69	Formerly of Tecumseh.
Mrs. Catherine Ryan	Waterloo	Mar. 13, 1894	74	Among the early settlers of county.
Dr. Peet Selee	Jackson	Aug. 7, 1895	64	Resident of Jackson 41 years.
William D. Shafer	Liberty	Mar. 23, 1895	.....	Came to Michigan in 1838.
Mrs. Julia M. Sharpe	Horton	July 17, 1894	57	A daughter of Charles S. Stone.
Mrs. Sophia Shepperd	Jackson	Mar. 23, 1895	83	
Mrs. Rachel Silsbee	Parma	Mar. 9, 1895	80	Came to Michigan in 1843.
Mrs. Charlotte Snyder	Jackson	Dec. 5, 1895.	73	Resident of Jackson 40 years.
Erastus Sparks	Leoni	Apr. 9, 1895	74	Resident of Leoni 39 years.
Benjamin Stevens	Parma	Sept. 15, 1895	81	Settled in Parma in 1831.
Mrs. Nancy Stevens	Blackman	June 25, 1895	80	Resident of Blackman 50 years.
Libbie C. Upton	Parma	Dec. 4, 1893	50	Born in Parma, Oct., 1843.
Mrs. Nellie Van Derveer	Rives	Aug. 3, 1893	80	Resided in Rives 60 years.
Harvey Wakeman	Jackson	Jan. 9, 1893	72	Came to Jackson in 1837.
Mrs. Rachel Wall	Sandstone	Jan. 29, 1896	78	Widow of Capt. Chester Wall.
William West	Liberty	Apr. 4, 1895	67	Resident of Liberty 35 years.
A. W. Westgate	Jackson	Feb. 1, 1896	54	An old resident.
Bernard Wolff	Jackson	Nov. 30, 1895	74	Resident of Jackson 45 years.
Mrs. Sarah Ann Wood	Blackman	Nov. 24, 1893	68	An old resident.
Mrs. Andrew Young	Concord	May 3, 1894	82	An early settler in the county.

JAMES ZUILL BALLARD.—James Zuill Ballard died at his residence, 207 Second street, Jackson, Saturday, Nov. 23, 1895, after a long illness from Bright's disease, aged 67 years. He was born at Wendell, Franklin county, Mass., Aug. 8, 1828. When 15 years of age he, with his family, removed to Houlton, Me., where he remained several years, then going to Buffalo. In the spring of 1852 he came to Jackson county, where he has since resided. In 1854 he was united in marriage with Amanda R. Fitch, of Michigan Centre. Besides the widow he leaves two children, Fitch Zuill and Jeannie Dayton Ballard. In 1856, with his brother, J. D. Ballard, he engaged in the livery and staging business in Jackson, and during the war worked over 40 horses. Since 1873 he has given his attention mostly to professional detective work, and became very prominent in that line at the time of the Crouch murders. In 1854 Mr. Ballard became a member of Jackson Lodge No. 17, F. & A. M. He was a great sufferer during his last illness.

CHARLES H. BENNETT.—Charles H. Bennett died at his home, 306 First street, Sunday morning, June 16, 1895, of disease of the heart and stomach, from which malady he had suffered for eight months. He was born in Jackson, February 28, 1842, the son of Chester and Polly Bennett, who were among the early settlers of this county. Here his boyhood days were passed. At an early age he gave marked inclinations of a desire for learning and was a student all his life. He graduated at the east side high school, and afterward was among the graduates of the west side, in each school standing at the head of his class. He continued his studies at the State Agricultural College, and graduated with high honors. It was intended that he should study for the ministry, but owing to his father's death that design was not fulfilled. He had a wonderful liking for mathematics, and entered Eastman's college at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where he was soon among the most advanced scholars. Just as he received his diploma Sumter was fired on, and Mr. Bennett felt it his duty to serve his country, and at once entered the army, enlisting in Company B, Berdan's Sharpshooters, and was with that command in its hard battles and sieges. He was a good soldier, meeting all demands of duty, which he filled with patriotic devotion. When his time of enlistment ended he returned to Jackson, where he has since resided. For a time he was engaged in the Citizen office, afterward with Bostwick & Gould, and for 20 years he had been cashier of R. H. Emerson & Co., continuing in that responsible place up to his fatal illness. He was also treasurer of the Jackson Bridge and Iron Co. since its organization. He was a man of superior education and culture. He was a student all his life, and loved literature and science, devoting all his spare moments to these studies. He was a graceful and forcible writer. He was the author of many articles published in eastern journals, and

he was a frequent contributor to the city press. His writings were thoughtful and convincing, the ideas clothed in polished, neatly rounded sentences. Mr. Bennett was married to Miss Mary O'Donnell in 1867. The widow and three children survive him, James O'Donnell Bennett and Charles Hall Bennett, of Chicago, and a daughter, Edith. He also leaves two sisters, Mrs. P. C. Ayres of Jackson, and Mrs. Harriet Truesdell, of Coldwater. His stepmother, Mrs. Rachael Bennett, a venerable lady 91 years of age, survives him; a son's tender care has always been extended to her by Mr. Bennett. As a husband and father he was ever affectionate, loving and tenderly regardful of the happiness of his family. He was a Christian gentleman—a citizen who adorned citizenship; he loved the country and its institutions, which he served on the field of battle. Through the weary weeks of acute suffering he bore the agonies of his malady with Christian fortitude. He was scrupulously just, honorable and fair in all things, and leaves his widow and children that noblest heritage—the honored name of an honest man. Charles H. Bennett lived the life of the just and the world is better for the half century he shared its activities. Loving, kind and true in all the relations of life, his memory is fragrant with so many acts of kindly, generous interest for the happiness of others that the volume of his useful existence is filled with records of unostentatious deeds of kindness. He was a regular attendant at St. Paul's church. The blameless, unselfish and useful life, which sought only to make others better and happier, is ended. Of him it can be said, "he never caused a tear save when he died."

William M. Bennett.—William M. Bennett, the pioneer merchant of Jackson, died very suddeuly at his home of neuralgia of the chest and heart, Thursday, December 5, 1895. He was born at Bethany, Genesee county, N. Y., May 21, 1822. He was the eldest son of James and Alta Maria Bennett, and made himself useful on the pioneer farm. He attended the district school mostly during the winter seasons, and later was a student of Genesee Wesleyan seminary at Lima, N. Y; for a time engaging in teaching during the winter and laboring on the farm in summer. He remained under the home roof until reaching his majority, for which he received $100, having given his father his entire earnings from his teaching besides. In 1845, Mr. Bennett, with the sum of money above mentioned and which comprised his entire wealth, started for the west. He proceeded via the lakes from Buffalo to Cleveland and thence made his way across the Buckeye State to the Ohio river, journeying afterwards to Beardstown, Ill. He taught school for a time during the winter in Bernadotte, Ill., then engaged as a clerk in a store in the same village a few months, and finally returned home. He spent a year there, then, in October, 1847, started once more westward and landed in Jackson with $5 in his pocket. He found the present flourishing city a town of

2,500 inhabitants. There was little demand for labor, but he was determined to be employed, and finally succeeded in being engaged as man of all work in the store of S. W. Whitwell. At the end of three months Mr. Bennett was engaged as clerk at a salary of $15 a week. He served four years in the store, and with such faithfulness and good report that at the end of that time he was taken in as a partner, and a branch of the establishment being determined upon at Kalamazoo he went to that place, and conducted the business successfully (under the name of W. M. Bennett & Co.) until 1852, when he returned to Jackson. In 1855 he purchased the interest of Mr. Whitwell and became sole proprietor, his business rapidly increasing and enlarging as the result of his close application, his excellent judgment and his shrewd interpretation of the wants of his neighbors. The store was where the People's bank is now located. In 1861, on the completion of the Durand block, he removed there, and the business extended in magnitude. After conducting the business for many years he retired for three years, having sold his stock to Camp, Morrill & Camp. In 1875 a new store was opened at the corner of Main and Jackson streets, known as W. M. Bennett & Son, his son, Clarence H., becoming a partner. We do not exaggerate in speaking of Mr. Bennett's abilities. He had rare merits as a business man. It is safe to say that there were few men capable of enduring, even for a short time, what he passed through in the daily routine of business. He possessed a memory clear and tenacious, even to smallest details, and his perceptions were quick and vivid, while he was always strictly honorable. At the same time, while the pressure of an immense business was upon his shoulders, he showed that but half of his capacities were brought into requisition. He did not devote himself entirely to money getting, nor in getting money to hoard it away. He was a public spirited citizen, contributing to the wealth and prosperity, to the adornment and good repute of his city, in ways which it is scarcely necessary to mention. He also found time to cultivate the graces of social intercourse, the delights of friendship and the dearer and more enduring pleasures of home, surrounding that charmed spot with all that can delight the eye, gratify the heart, or minister to the comfort of its inmates and possessors. Men like William M. Bennett were bound to make their way in the world. One instance of his regard for the poor is worthy of record. On New Year's day, 1864, that cold, relentless day, he, having in mind the sufferings of the needy, took upon himself (quietly and without parade) to visit the poor and minister to their wants; nearly all that day he occupied himself in providing wood, provisions, and articles of necessity for such as required them, and in seeing that their sufferings were, in a measure at least, lessened. He served the city two terms as mayor, and was a member of the board of public works for a number of years. March

15, 1852, he was married to Miss Laura J. Hubbard, who was born in Kalamazoo. She became the mother of three children, and died at her home in Jackson March 28, 1858. The eldest child was Clarence H.; Lizzie D. died February 5, 1858; the third child died in infancy. November 8, 1860, he was married to Miss Kate C. Winnie, and there was born to them one child, who is deceased. Mr. Bennett politically was a democrat, and was appointed postmaster by President Cleveland to fill the vacancy caused by the death of W. W. Van Antwerp. He served in this capacity until 1889, and was an excellent officer. He was also a member of Jackson Commandery No. 9, Knights Templar. He was the pioneer merchant of Jackson, and for years stood at the head of the successful business men of the city, transacting a trade of great magnitude. Prosperity came to him, which he deserved, for he won it, and while in the zenith of his successful career he did much to aid the progress of Jackson. At the close of the war he assisted in establishing the rolling mill, which stood where the Purifier shops were erected, in the western part of the city. He served on the board of public works, and was very efficient in attending to its duties. In 1869 he was elected mayor, and his first term saw much progress in city matters. The water works were put in, and the system of cement walks was begun, streets improved, and the city took on new enterprise and development. In 1870 he was reelected and his administration continued in the line of progress. Advancement in every way was the result of his incumbency of the place of executive of Jackson. He was proud of the Central City and labored to promote its growth. Few men have done more to aid the development of Jackson. His young manhood was passed here and all his active business life was in Jackson. After a career of success, gained by rare talent and large executive ability, he retired from the cares of trade to his handsome home and the beautiful grounds, where many contented years were passed. Floriculture and horticulture were his delight, and his vegetable farm and flowers occupied his attention. In the cultivation of these he was proud of his efforts in that field. With his energy and intimate knowledge of affairs he won success; he was industrious, and with his method, clearness and excellent judgment was among the prominent business men of central Michigan. In the 73 years of his life of struggle and triumph he was ever the good citizen, the enterprising man of affairs, and the friend of progress; generous and charitable in his nature, as many will gratefully recollect. He will be remembered for acts of generosity and kindness, and for what he has done for the advancement of the city which he largely helped to build. The pioneers of Jackson are passing away; they are answering the final summons so rapidly. William M. Bennett is the last of a large number whose demise in sorrow we mourn.

HENRY H. BINGHAM.—Henry H. Bingham, another of the early pioneers of Michigan, died at his home, 208 First street, at 12:30, January 10, 1896, after a long illness. He was born in Camillus, Onondaga county, New York, on January 7, 1814, and was a brother of Gov. Kinsley S. Bingham. His parents, Calvin and Betsey (Scott) Bingham, were pioneers from Bennington, Vt. He came to Michigan in 1836, fixing upon Leoni as his abode, where he located two years after and established the second store in the village. Four years later he removed to Grass Lake where he continued in business until early in 1852, when he removed to Jackson as assistant keeper at the prison, holding that position until chosen clerk in 1855, being finally appointed warden of the institution, which he filled with excellent success for five years. Mr. Bingham introduced many important improvements into the penitentiary and under his management it was self-supporting for the first time in its history. In 1848 Mr. Bingham represented this district in the legislature, where he served very acceptably to his constituency. In October, 1843, he was united in marriage with Miss Amelia Wells, a native of Geneseo, New York, who survives him. The surviving children are Henry S. of Jackson, Albert W. of Washington, D. C.; Miss Mary W. Bingham and Mrs. E. A. Sumner, who is now a resident of Detroit. Mr. Bingham was a man of strong personality and convictions, and during his forty-four years residence in Jackson had gained a firm place in the hearts of all men for his sterling honesty and rugged earnestness of character. He was for several years secretary of the county pioneer society. He was also a member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. During the later years of his life, Mr. Bingham has given his attention to his property interests in the city and to the management of his farm in Blackman township. Among the older residents of the city, with whom he was more closely affiliated, Mr. Bingham will not be the less missed than those other pioneer residents for whose deaths the badge of mourning is yet being worn.

REV. FR. THEOPHILUS BUYSE.—Rev. Fr. Theophilus Buyse, pastor of St. John's parish, Jackson, died Tuesday, April 2, 1895, at the Sacred Heart Sanitarium, conducted by the Franciscan Sisters, at Milwaukee, Wis., where he had been about six weeks for treatment. He was born at Rumbeke, East Flanders, Belgium, June 7, 1832, and was consequently 63 years of age. He received his early education in a school in the city of Roulers, Belgium, and at the age of 13 entered a seminary, which he attended for ten years, making a specialty of and thoroughly mastering six distinct languages. In 1856 he came to America, and after stopping for a brief period at Detroit, entered Mt. St. Mary's seminary at Cincinnati, where he finished his studies, the seminary then being under the charge of Bishop Quinlan. Completing his studies there,

he revisited Detroit, and after ordination was appointed assistant at St. Joseph's, Detroit. From that church he went to Ida, St. Clair county, Swan Creek and Anchorville, and in addition to regular pastoral work, attended to missions in Sanilac, Huron, Macomb, Tuscola and Lapeer counties, preaching in no less than four different languages. In this severe work the deceased priest laid the foundation of the disease which followed him through life and from which he suffered most severely, though uncomplaining. It was a new and wild country. In the rigors of winter and the oppressive heat of summer the missionary priest was obliged to walk for miles through woods, whose only paths were marked by blazed trees, across morasses and streams. In performing his great missionary work, Fr. Buyse was more or less exposed. In one of his winter journeys his feet became severely frosted, and subsequently gangrene set in, and from which he suffered for many years, despite the efforts of physicians to effect a cure. He came to Jackson in 1871, and assumed charge of St. John's parish. At that time St. John's was the only Catholic church in Jackson and had a congregation of 250 families. Under Fr. Buyse's ministrations the church flourished. The church edifice was enlarged and remodeled, and the interior beautified. He established an excellent parochial school soon after coming to Jackson, which institution of learning has grown so rapidly a second school building was erected two years since. He also established a church at Leslie and a mission at Bunker Hill. The church edifice at Leslie he erected at his personal expense. The advantages which were bestowed upon Fr. Buyse in his earlier life were used not only in the acquirement of the languages, of which he made a specialty, but of another branch of learning, the result being a degree of erudition which enabled him to cull from past ages and from different climes the knowledge gleaned by others in various fields of thought, and to pursue investigations unknown to those of less extended knowledge. His nature was a most genial and kindly one, and the care which he exercised over his congregation was indeed a fatherly one, while the ardor of his belief in the tenets of his own religion did not prevent a feeling of good will to all mankind.

Samuel Chapel.—Samuel Chapel, A. M., one of the best known pioneers of Jackson county, died at his home in Sandstone, May 16, 1895, after an illness lasting about a week. He was born on the farm where he died in 1833, December 10. Until 12 years of age he attended the district school, and then studied at Albion college two years, when he went to the Spring Arbor seminary and remained two years. From that institution of learning he went to the Michigan University, taking a four years' course, graduating in 1857 with high honors. Later he

studied civil engineering at that institution. Completing his education he returned to the farm where he has since resided. He represented Sandstone on the board of supervisors one term. He leaves four children, his wife dying in 1881. Deceased was always a staunch Democrat. His farm comprised 300 acres, and was one of the finest in Jackson county. He was one of the organizers of the Old Settlers' Association and at one time was its vice president. He was a member of Parma Lodge, F. & A. M., and of Jackson Commandery No. 9, Knights Templar. In 1876 the University of Michigan conferred upon Mr. Chapel the degree of A. M., an honor justly earned and cheerfully accorded by the University. He was buried with Masonic honors by his lodge, the commandery acting as escort. An unusual incident in connection with Mr. Chapel's death is the fact his body was buried on the farm where he was born and where he resided constantly all his life, a period of 62 years. The farm, a magnificent plantation of 300 acres, never belonged to anyone outside of the Chapel family. It was taken up from the government by Hon. Caleb M. Chapel, father of the deceased, and passed into Samuel Chapel's hands many years since.

Franklin S. Clarke.—Saturday afternoon, June 15, 1895, at 3 o'clock, Franklin S. Clarke died at his home on W. Clinton street, at the advanced age of 83 years. He was born in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, April 17, 1812, and after residing some years in New York state, came to Michigan in 1843, settling in Calhoun county. In early life he was a merchant and manufacturer. In 1853 he received an appointment to a position in the general offices of the M. C. R. R. at New York city, where he remained some time. Returning to Michigan he was for two years freight agent for the M. C. R. R. at Battle Creek. Mr. Clarke was elected register of deeds of Calhoun county in 1856, and reelected in 1858. In 1863 he entered the office of Adjutant General John Robertson at Lansing. In 1872 he was appointed clerk at the state prison. That position he filled many years, and from that year has resided in Jackson. After leaving the prison Mr. Clarke conducted a retail business; disposing of that he entered the office of the city recorder, as deputy, where he remained ten years, finally giving it up because of ill health. He had been married three times, his third wife, Mary E. Reed, of Marshall, whom he married in 1859, surviving. Mr. Clarke was a member of Michigan Lodge No. 50, F. &. A. M., Jackson Chapter No. 3, R. A. M., and Jackson Council No. 31, R. & A. M. Of each body he was secretary for many years, until old age forced him to retire. His children are Miss Fanny, of Marshall, Miss Lulu, Mrs. Grace Catlin and Mrs. Dolly Bailey, of Jackson, and Fred. H. Clarke, of Detroit.

JAMES DEPUY.—James DePuy, for many years a prominent resident of Jackson, and one of its best citizens, died at the family residence, No. 118 Third street, Jackson, July 23, 1895, after a long illness and the infirmities incident to old age. Deceased ranked among the oldest pioneers of Jackson county, the hardy, capable, far-seeing, industrious men, who rescued this country from a wilderness, and made it the fit home of an intelligent, cultured progressive people. He was born at Pompey, N. Y., October 20, 1815, and was consequently nearly 80 years old. In 1832 he came to Michigan at the age of 16 with his widowed mother, from Niagara county, N. Y., and settled in Spring Arbor. In 1866 he removed to his farm in Summit. In the fall of 1872 he came to Jackson. Mr. DePuy was well known throughout the county, and was honest and upright in all his dealings. He was a member of the First Congregtional church for many years. In the town of Spring Arbor he held the office of supervisor at different times for five years, and in 1855 was elected representative to the State legislature for the third district. In the same year he was married to Miss Anna Morse, of Jackson, who died October 26, 1857. He was again married to Miss Helen A. J. Reynolds, of Spring Arbor, in 1860. She, with a son, Clarence DePuy, and daughter, Miss Minnie DePuy, survive him.

TIMOTHY DEWEY.—Timothy Dewey was born at Rutland, Vermont, May 30, 1795, and died in Concord, Mich., aged 100 years and 50 days. At the age of 12 years he went with his people to Steuben county, N. Y. August 15, 1819, he was married to Sallie Flint. In 1836 they came to Michigan, then a territory, and settled in Concord, where the remainder of his life was spent. His wife died in 1882. They had twelve children—eight boys and four girls; seven of them are still living. Twelve grandchildren, five great-grandchildren. When 15 years old he was converted, and joined the M. E. church. For eighty-five years he has been an efficient member of the same. Father Dewey was one of the old "landmarks." When he first saw the light the capitol of the nation was at Philadelphia, and George Washington was serving his second term as president of the United States. He has lived to see all the developments of steam and electricity, lived under every administration, and was a citizen of Michigan when it became a State. The oldest church records bear the name of Timothy Dewey, setting forth that Timothy and Sallie Dewey joined by letter in 1836. In 1844 the first M. E. church was erected in Concord and T. Dewey was appointed one of the first trustees, by E. H. Pilcher, the presiding elder of Marshall district. Until within a few years, Father Dewey has been a familiar person in all the councils of the church, filling acceptably every trust imposed upon him—trustee, steward, chorister and class

leader. He has assisted in building three churches and two parsonages. During his connection with the Concord society, there have been thirty-eight pastors in these fifty-nine years.

Mrs. Lucena Dilley.—Mrs. Lucena Dilley, widow of William Dilley, Sr., of Napoleon, Mich., died of apoplexy Saturday, March 9, 1895, at 8:30 p. m., at the home of her grandson, Clarence M. Dilley, 308 Van Buren street, Jackson, Mich., aged 86 years, 5 months. She was born in Middlefield, Otsego county, N. Y., October 10, 1808, and was the daughter of John and Polly Gallup, *nee* Close. Her father was a native of Vermont and a soldier in the war of 1812. Her mother was a native of Ohio. She was the second of a family of seven children, four boys and three girls. One brother, Eliel Gallup, of Napoleon, survives her. She was twice married, having three children by her first marriage and seven by the last, six boys and four girls. Ira Hunt, her oldest son, and Delia A. Knight, of Battle Creek, Mich., survive her. After the death of her father in 1853 she, with husband and family, removed from Akron, Erie county, N. Y., to Napoleon, Mich., in April, 1854, on to the farm formerly owned by her father. With sad and yet courageous heart, she toiled on in the new home, associated with the sad memories of her late father's and stepmother's decease, and after years of persevering industry, succeeded in obtaining a good home and surrounding themselves with the comforts of life. A favorite proverbial saying with her, when she started out in life was, "That she would win the horse or lose the saddle," and with the courage and will of a stoic, she wrought until both were gained. In 1870 she united with the Baptist church in Napoleon, of which she remained a member until her death. Since the death of her husband, eight years ago, her home has been with her son, William Dilley, of Napoleon, now deceased, and her daughter, Mrs. Delia A. Knight, of Battle Creek, going from the latter place, November 15, to spend the winter with her grandson, Clarence M. Dilley, where she was stricken with apoplexy, living only two weeks, during which time she received all the ministrations that hands of affection could give.

Homer D. Fisher.—Homer D. Fisher died at his home, 915 Francis street, Jackson, Jan. 15, 1896, of chronic meningitis, after a long illness, commencing August 27. He was born in Jackson November 5, 1839. At the age of 16 he left school and engaged in clerking and followed that business for sixteen years, with the exception of a short time, when he was engaged in the drug business at Niles. He was afterwards identified in the grocery and bakery business, and for a number of years was connected with the Jackson Ice Company. In 1863 he married Miss Mary Babcock. To them were born two children, one of whom died

in 1878. Mr. Fisher for a number of years held the office of alderman from the fifth ward. His wife and one daughter, Isabel, survive him. Mr. Fisher had many friends in the city, where he was for several years prominently identified with the business interests of Jackson.

Dr. Frederick M. Foster.—Dr. Frederick M. Foster died at 11:30 Saturday forenoon, July 6, 1895, at the residence, 321 West Wesley street, Jackson, from dropsy of the heart, his illness having been of about a year's duration. He leaves two sons and two daughters. He was born at Bridgeport, Vermont, July 27, 1813, coming of a line of patriotic and reliable citizens, his grandfather having held a lieutenant's commission during the revolution and his father having fought in the war of 1812.

He learned the trade of an edge-tool maker early in life and worked at his trade in New York state until May, 1842, when, in company with his brother, the late Albert Foster, he came to where he has since resided. They engaged in the manufacture of pumps and later opened a machine shop, which they conducted for some years. Frederick sold his interest in the business to his brother in 1846 and opened a daguerreotype gallery. In 1849 he began the study of dentistry, beginning practice in that profession in Jackson in 1854 and continuing therein until a few years ago, since which time he has resided on West Wesley street in the substantial brick house built by him forty-five years ago. He was twice married, first in 1839 to Miss Lucinda Lumbard, who died five years later, the second time choosing as his bride Miss Harriet M. Cook of Madison, O., who died in July, 1881. He became a member of the Episcopal church early in life, throughout which he has made a record among his fellow citizens as an upright and honorable man. In 1844 he joined the Odd Fellows and at different times has held all the offices of the subordinate lodges; one year he was grand master of the grand lodge, one year grand patriarch and for seven years grand representative of the sovereign grand lodge of Michigan. About 1850 he joined the Masonic fraternity, becoming a Knight Templar a few years after, his heart being set, however, on the work of the Odd Fellows, in whose interests he was ever laboring and at whose hands he has received countless honors. He has held the offices in Jackson of supervisor, alderman, recorder and treasurer, retiring from each of them with the confidence and esteem of those he represented.

Hon. William F. Goodwin.—Hon. William F. Goodwin died at his home in Concord, September 26, 1895, aged 83 years. He was born at Canandaigua, Ontario county, N. Y., March 25, 1812. After he reached majority he attended a select school at Rochester, adding to the knowledge he had previously obtained in the common schools. At the

age of 30 he moved west and settled at Ann Arbor, where for two years he engaged in the manufacturing of machinery, when he moved to Concord and leased the mill at that place. After four years he purchased the mill and 200 acres of land. At this time the mill was rebuilt by Mr. Goodwin. This property remained in his possession until 1869, when it was purchased by the Smalley Brothers. He was interested in securing the M. C. R. R. and was a merchant at Concord village when ox teams drew freight from the main line, a distance of over four miles. He also bought stock and grain, but in 1870 retired to his farmlike home in the village of Concord. He owned about 600 acres of farm land, stock in the People's bank in Jackson, First National bank of Albion and Concord State bank, besides a large amount of personal property. In politics Mr. Goodwin was a Republican. He was a representative to the State legislature from 1857 to 1860, and was elected State senator in 1880, and also served in the extra session of 1882. He was also a member of the constitutional convention that met in 1867. In 1846 he was united in marriage with Miss Mary Granger, of Virgil, N. Y. She died in 1860, and in 1868 he married Miss Jennie Patten, who survives him, together with one son, Carroll, aged 18.

Mrs. John O. Gunnison.—At the residence, 607 S. Mechanic street, Wednesday evening, February 12, 1896, at 8 o'clock, occurred the death of Mrs. John O. Gunnison. Death was due to injuries received in a runaway accident New Year's day. Mrs. Mary Spencer Gunnison was born at Canandaigua, N. Y., February 20, 1831, the daughter of Lester Spencer and Lemira Fleming. She received her education at the Wesley seminary at Lima, N. Y. In April, 1856, she was united in marriage with John O. Gunnison, at Canandaigua. After a residence of three years in New York they moved to Michigan, arriving in Jackson, February 1, 1859, and at once secured control of the Hibbard house. They continued to manage the hotel for ten years, subsequently going to a farm east of the city, where they lived many years, after a time removing to the city where they have since resided. Deceased was a member of the Mosaic, Friday and Athena clubs, in which she always took a prominent part. She was also much interested in the work of all the literary clubs of the city and was always a welcome guest. The articles from her pen were always worthy productions. Many of her poems and short stories have appeared from time to time in the city press and many of her thoughts were expressed in beautiful language. She was also gifted as an artist.

Mrs. Julia A. Harrington.—Mrs. Julia A. Harrington died at the residence of her son, C. R. Harrington, Tuesday evening, September 12, 1893, of neuralgia of the heart, aged 80 years. Mrs. Harrington, *nee* God-

frey, was born at Batavia, N. Y., March 26, 1814, and in 1831 came to Michigan with her mother, settling in Summit township. In 1833 she was united in marriage to Chester R. Harrington, of Summit, and together fought the battle of life until Mr. Harrington's death in 1890. She was the mother of eight children, four of whom survive her: Jerome Harrington, of Jackson; Flavell Harrington, of Summit; Mrs. Byron Foote, of Summit, and C. R. Harrington, of Jackson. The funeral was held at the old home in Summit.

Hon. Henry A. Hayden.—At 1:50 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, December 4, 1895, Hon. Henry A. Hayden left his home on Blackstone street to walk down town. He had not been feeling as well as usual for a few days, but thought nothing of the slight indisposition. He had proceeded but a short distance toward Main street, when he stopped for a moment, then fell to the walk. He was found insensible and at once conveyed to his home. Dr. A. J. Roberts was summoned, and soon Dr. Cyrus Smith arrived. The physicians found him still unconscious; every method known to medical skill was employed to restore animation, but without avail, and at 2:20 the spirit passed away, death coming in less than an hour after the fall on the sidewalk. It was thought the fatal visitation was an attack of apoplexy. He was born March 28, 1817, in Otsego county, N. Y. His parents, Hezekiah and Hannah Hayden, were from Windsor, Conn., tracing their lineage to the first settlers of that town, in 1634. Mr. Hayden's parents died when he was 5 years old and the ensuing seven years of his life were passed under the care of a married sister. During this time he enjoyed the advantages of instruction at a district school, while his mind was directed in practical channels by association with his sister's husband, who was a fine mechanic and inventor. From 1829 to 1834 he was employed as salesman in a store in Buffalo, under an elder brother; but he had little relish for the business, and his subsequent career showed that he had capacity for a much broader field. Animated by a spirit of travel and adventure, he engaged as cabin boy on a lake schooner, at a salary of $7 per month, performing, also, the duties of supercargo; and in 1835 he shipped as royal yardsman on the "Indiana," the first brig that floated on the waters of Lake Erie. He had at that time fully made up his mind to enter the navy, but accepted the proposal of an uncle at Cleveland to make his home with him and attend school. Entering a private school, then under the charge of Hon. Franklin T. Backus, he conceived a preference for the profession of civil engineering, and pursued a course of study with that end in view. He remained at this school until the spring of 1837; and upon leaving it was highly complimented by his teacher for his proficiency in mathematics and general scholarship. He immediately entered the office of the city surveyor of Cleveland, where

he spent a short time in practical work. The internal improvement fever was then epidemic throughout the west. Michigan had just negotiated her historical "five million loan," and extended explorations and surveys, for various works of internal improvement, which were to be immediately entered upon. Mr. Hayden felt that the field he had long desired for, the display of his energy and knowledge had opened before him; and with letters of credence from friends and from his former teacher at Cleveland, he reached Detroit in June, 1837, prepared to accept the first available position that offered. At Detroit Mr. Hayden found a party already formed for the survey of the route of the M. C. R. R., then projected from Detroit to the mouth of the St. Joseph river, and that the only place unfilled was that of axman. This place Mr. Hayden accepted, and the company, which consisted of 16 men, started on its mission. The second day out one of the rod men was taken ill and Mr. Hayden was promoted to the vacant place. Nearly three days were consumed in traveling from Detroit to Ann Arbor, 40 miles, and about four months in running the entire line to the mouth of the St. Joseph. Jackson was then a little hamlet of not more than 300 inhabitants. Before the survey was completed the entire party, except Mr. Hayden, had succumbed to the disease then so prevalent in the state—fever and ague. Upon the completion of the preliminary survey, they were released from further duty. Mr. Hayden alone was retained, on account of his practical knowledge and skill as a surveyor, and for his energy and endurance in prosecuting the work then necessarily carried on through an unbroken wilderness, in an unfavorable climate. He continued his connection with what was, at first, a purely embryonic enterprise, until 1844, when it had become an actual working railroad from Detroit to Jackson; and filled various positions, up to that of general superintendent of repairs, and paymaster, to which he was appointed in 1842. Mr. Hayden then resigned his position and engaged in the storage and commission business in Jackson, of which place he had been a resident since 1838. To this, in the following year, he added the manufacture of flour. In 1851 Wiley R. Reynolds became associated with him, and they bought what was known as the "water mill," adding, in 1853, the steam flour mill; the combined capacity of the two being from 80,000 to 100,000 barrels of flour per year. This flour had a wide reputation as the best of Michigan brands. He has held the office of county surveyor, supervisor and chief engineer of the Jackson fire department. He was chosen president of the People's National bank of Jackson at the time of its organization, in 1865, and served, as such, four years. He was elected a representative in the State legislature for the term 1863-4. The principal public measures at that time related to the prosecution of the war, and they received his cordial support. Among the local measures of

importance at this time, however, was that of local aid in building railways. It was during Mr. Hayden's legislative term that steps were taken which insured the construction of the J., L. & S. R. R. Mr. Hayden introduced a bill in the house authorizing the city of Jackson to vote aid to the amount of $50,000. This bill passed without material opposition. The organization of the company for constructing the road was perfected during the winter of 1863-4, and Mr. Hayden was elected its president, which position he held for several years. In 1872 he, with his family, made an extended tour to Europe, visiting all of the British Islands, and the principal countries and cities of the continent. This tour was to Mr. Hayden a necessary rest and relaxation from his continuous labor of so many years of active life. He brought with him on his return from Italy a large collection of rare and costly paintings and statuary. In the spring of 1874 he yielded to the written request of more than 300 of his fellow citizens of both political parties, and consented to become an independent candidate for the office of mayor. He was elected by a majority of 500 votes over the highest of the opposing political candidates and he was reelected for the second term by an almost unanimous vote. Among his first acts as mayor was the preparation of a revised city charter. The charter having been enacted by the legislature, Mr. Hayden, after two years of careful and earnest devotion to the public interests, retired from office leaving an honorable record behind him. His political sympathies had always been with the Democratic party. He was an earnest supporter of the government during the war, and at the first call for troops testified his patriotism by a voluntary contribution of $1,500, which he placed in the hands of Gov. Blair, to aid the Union cause. He became a member of St. Paul's Episcopal church March 28, 1842. For fifty-three years he was a member of the vestry, and a long period one of the wardens. He was a delegate to the diocesan convention every year until the meeting in June, 1895, when, owing to ill health, he was unable to be present. The convention passed a resolution of regret at his absence. He has also represented his diocese in general conventions of his church. In 1843 Mr. Hayden was united in marriage to Miss Mary E. Aldrich, of Genesee county, New York. Mrs. Hayden died March 15, 1862. They had seven children, four of whom are now living, they are Mrs. John D. Clark, Mrs. A. B. Robinson, Henry Hayden, of Jackson, and Mrs. F. L. Bliss, of Detroit. The others were Mrs. C. E. Bennett, who died in 1872; William Henry, who died in 1852, and Kate, who died in 1856. He has one brother living, William Hayden, of Tecumseh. In December, 1862, he was united in marriage with Mary Powers Stevens, of Jackson, and to them was born one daughter, Mrs. C. C. Ames, of Jackson.

Francis G. Larzelere.—The death of Francis G. Larzelere, at his home in the village of Grass Lake, on Tuesday, April 24, 1894, was the occasion of sorrow among the large circle of friends and acquaintances, who held Mr. Larzelere in high esteem for his many admirable qualities. It is nearly fifty years since he located in Jackson county, and, with the exception of four years, he remained a resident of this county. He was an upright man, a good citizen, a tender husband and father, and a true friend. His many fine qualities won him warm friends. The close of his useful life is the cause of deep regret to those who regarded him so highly as a friend, neighbor and citizen. Francis G. Larzelere was born October 3, 1830, at Seneca Falls, N. Y. He came to Michigan with his parents, in the year 1835, and settled in Clinton, Lenawee county. He came to Grass Lake when about 16 years of age, and commenced work for his brother, Daniel Larzelere, as a clerk in a general store, where he remained about four years. He then went to Jackson and engaged as a clerk in the dry goods store of Whitwell & Bennett, where he remained nearly four years. In 1855 he removed to Dowagiac, where he opened a general store in September of that year. He was married to Miss Louise Babbitt, October 3, of the same year. On the night of October 29, 1859, his store was entered by burglars; he discovered them and in the melee he was shot through the right lung. It was thought for a long time that the wound would prove fatal. His life seemed to hang by only a thread for months. In consequence of poor health, the result of his injury, he closed up his business in Dowagiac and returned to Grass Lake, which has since been his home. In the spring of 1861 he purchased the grist mill at Leoni, which he carried on until the spring of 1892, when, on account of poor health caused by his gunshot wound of the lung, he sold to Edgar Larzelere and retired from the business. He has since contented himself with managing his large farm in the township of Leoni and living a quiet and retired life.

David H. Lockwood.—David H. Lockwood died at the city hospital, Jackson, Tuesday, August 14, 1895, aged 71 years. He was born four miles north of Auburn, Cayuga county, N. Y., March 3, 1824. In March, 1836, he removed from New York state with his parents, who settled on a farm in Leoni. There being no schools in this place at this time Mr. Lockwood was sent to school in Blackman township. Later he attended school in Leoni. In 1841 he returned to New York state, where he attended school winters. In 1844 he returned to Michigan and assumed charge of his father's farm, which he owned up to his death, and where he always lived, except when he occupied the office of sheriff. He was always very industrious and possessed good judgment, and he has been very successful. His estate now comprises 320 acres, all located in Leoni and Napoleon townships. Mr. Lockwood had been married

twice. In 1850 he was united in marriage with Miss Elizabeth Watkins. She died in 1862, leaving three children, Bingham W., Clarence E. and William H. In 1864 he was married to Miss Hilah A. Austin. This marriage was blessed by the birth of seven children, Stanley L., Amy, Hattie, Joseph B., Floyd A., Alta, and one that died in infancy. Mr. Lockwood was formerly an Abolitionist, and joined the Republican party at the time of its formation and was always a firm adherent. He has filled various offices of trust. He has been delegate to many of the county, district and State conventions; served as constable in Leoni township nine years; township treasurer six years, and was deputy United States marshal four years. He was elected sheriff in 1864, serving two years; failing health caused him to decline a second term; he was again elected to the same office in 1880, serving two years. He was a very useful man in the community, where his counsel was often sought, and was called upon many times to settle the estates of deceased friends. He attended two presidential conventions, in 1860 when Lincoln was nominated, and again in 1880, when Garfield was chosen.

Mr. Lockwood had been in poor health for about two years and it was decided to have an operation performed. He was taken to the city hospital and the operation was performed, but owing to his age he did not recover.

George Peppet.—The first question asked by George Peppet, engineer of the North Shore limited, which was wrecked at Marshall, September 13, 1895, when found pinned under the monstrous locomotive by trainmen, was, "Are any of the passengers injured?" In his pain, the only thought of the noble man was for the welfare of the people committed to his charge. When he was assured everyone, including his fireman, were uninjured, he expressed himself as pleased. That question is an example of the engineer's devotion to duty; the agony the man endured is known to himself only; his cheery voice was heard amid the hissing of escaping steam, and it was his voice which caused his rescuers to work with more than human energy to extricate him from beneath the mountain of iron and steel which held him firmly to the earth. He was taken to the home of his sister in Marshall, Mrs. W. J. Gregg, where, after five days suffering, he died, September 18, 1895. George Peppet was born in England in 1845. At an early age he came to this country, and with his people settled in Homer, Calhoun county. When President Lincoln called for volunteers to assist in putting down the rebellion, George Peppet, a boy of 15 years, enlisted as drummer in Co. I, Sixth Michigan Infantry. He served in that capacity until his age entitled him to carry a rifle. He was with the army in the east and with Butler at the occupation of New Orleans. George Peppet returned to his home at the conclusion of hostilities with the record of a gallant

and faithful soldier. In 1868 he entered the employ of the M. C. R. R. as locomotive fireman, taking up his residence in Marshall. When division headquarters were established in Jackson he came here, and has since been an honorable and representative citizen. During his quarter-century residence in Jackson George Peppet drew close to him by his kindly disposition and agreeable companionship a host of friends, over whom there rests a cloud of sorrow on account of his death. Deceased was a member of Michigan Lodge No. 50, F. & A. M.; Jackson Chapter No. 3, R. A. M.; Jackson Council No. 32, R. & S. M.; Jackson Commandery No. 9, K. T.; Fernleaf Chapter No. 66, O. E. S.; Moslem Temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; Jackson Lodge No. 72, A. O. U. W.; Edward Pomeroy Post No. 48, G. A. R.; Jackson Division No. 2, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the First Baptist church. As soon as the officers of these organizations were informed of the death of Mr. Peppet, arrangements began making for the funeral. Eminent Commander A. C. Northrup at once communicated to the eminent commander of Marshall Commandery in reference to arrangements. In 1872 Mr. Peppet was united in marriage to Miss Sarah Henderson, of Homer, who survives him, as do four children, Miss Fanny, Frederick, Edward and George. The family, in their bereavement, have the heartfelt sympathy of all. The wife and children were with the husband and father when he passed away. Mr. Peppet was 49 years of age. The remains were taken to Jackson and the funeral held from the First Baptist church Sunday, September 22, 1895.

Mrs. Margaret Sampson.—Mrs. Margaret Sampson (colored), died September 28, 1893, at the advanced and unusual age of 108 years. She had lived in Michigan many years, and at her home in Summit, just outside of the city of Jackson, for a long time. She is well known throughout the county. She was born in Virginia, and when a small child was sold and taken to South Carolina by her new master. Her exact age is unknown, but the fact she often recounted incidents well known in history which occurred a hundred years ago, particularly events of 1792, it has been figured her age at that time was at least 8 or 9 years. She was a well preserved woman, having been active up to within a week of her death. Up to the time of death her mind was clear and distinct. She could read without the aid of glasses. Mrs. Sampson was always a hard-working woman, and kept busy up to a few days before her death. She leaves but one daughter, Mrs. Reynard, with whom she lived. Mrs. Reynard is well along in years herself.

William B. Taylor.—William B. Taylor died at his home near Grass Lake, Monday, November 12, 1894. He was born in New York, July 24, 1807, and was 87 years old at the time of his death. On June 12, 1834,

he was married to Miss Mary Ladu, of Canandaigua, N. Y., and the next day started for Michigan. The trip was made overland with a team of horses and occupied 15 days. Mr. Taylor bought a farm near Leoni, where he lived several years. He afterwards sold this farm and bought a tract of land near Grass Lake. The deceased was the father of 10 children, Mrs. Jerusha Morgan, of Wheeler, Wis.; Harrison M., of Mason, Ingham county; Milburn A., of Grass Lake township; Mrs. Clarissa J. Miller, of White Oak, Mich.; Mrs. Melvina Shelly, of Grass Lake village; Dr. William H., of Ludington, Mich., and Mrs. Eva I. Sanford, of Grass Lake township. Three of the children are dead. Besides the living children Mr. Taylor's aged wife (who was born February 1, 1817), and 33 grandchildren and 10 great-grandchildren, survive him. The funeral was held at the M. E. church at Grass Lake, Thursday.

Phares Thorp.—Phares Thorp was born in the township of Newburg, in the county of Cuyahoga, Ohio, on the 12th day of May, 1808, and about this time his parents moved to Buffalo, N. Y., and lived there until that city was destroyed by fire by the British during the war of 1812, and then returned to Cleveland, Ohio. At that time it contained only four log dwellings, and the father helped build the first frame house erected in that city, and some of his tools may be seen in the Historical society rooms in that city. He was married to Miss Mary A. Bell on the 6th of September, 1831, and settled on a farm in Orange township, in the same county, on which he resided until he purchased the farm in Rives township in 1861 and has resided there until his death on January 10, 1896, being almost 88 years of age. There was born unto them 13 children, 10 of whom are living. His married life has extended over half a century, his wife dying April 6, 1888. In his early life he joined the Methodist church and has been a consistent Christian, a kind neighbor and an indulgent father.

Joseph Townson.—Joseph Townson, one of the oldest residents of Brooklyn, died Friday morning, December 15, 1893, in his eighty-seventh year. He was born in Hartford, Washington county, N. Y., in August, 1806, coming to Michigan in 1835, and taking up land from the government on section 19, in Columbia township. He was a constant resident of that place until his death. He first voted for Andrew Jackson, but during later years he has been a Republican. He served one term as justice of the peace and for several years as township clerk.

Burnet Van Horn.—Burnet Van Horn died August 15, 1893, in Blackman, aged eighty-one years. He was one of the pioneers of Jackson county, coming into this county in the year 1833. He was the oldest of thirteen children. The only surviving ones are Ephraim Van Horn,

of Pleasant Lake, who has been very ill for some time and not expected to live; Jesse Van Horn, of Leslie; William Van Horn, of Blackman, and Mrs. Margaret Cole, of Blackman. Mr. Van Horn leaves a wife and one daughter, Mrs. Hiram Hastings, of Jackson. Mr. Van Horn was born in Schoharie county, N. Y., in 1812. He has lived on the farm where he died since 1869. Mr. Van Horn's sister, Mrs. Nellie Vanderveer, died at the home of her sister, Mrs. Margaret Cole, in Blackman, August 13, 1893, aged eighty years. The remains were taken to Greenville, Mich., for interment, Monday, at 5 p. m.

Ephraim Van Horn.—Ephraim Van Horn died at his residence, in Rives, August 21, 1893, at 4 o'clock, of cancer, at the age of seventy-five years. He was born in Montgomery county, N. Y., March 29, 1818. In 1836 he removed with his father to this State and settled in Rives. Philip Van Horn erected a log house, and kept an open house for about nine years, to accommodate the immigrants that were pouring in with great rapidity. In 1845 Mr. Van Horn died, and the property came into possession of his son, Ephraim, who had acquired a liking for the business, now took charge of the tavern, and his house was swarmed with immigrants, who had come to the new State to seek a home; but at last, after twenty-five years of hotel keeping, he sold his business, thus breaking the bonds that had fettered him for so many years. In 1837 he aided in the erection of the first log house on the east side of Grand River. Mr. Van Horn had been married three times. His first wife's name was Alvia True; his second, Mary A. Morrill, and his third, Mrs. Sarah F. Ellice, who survives him. He cast his first vote for Martin Van Buren. He was the father of eight children, four of whom, L. T., a physician at Rives Junction; Ephraim, Jr., of Blackman; Mrs. Cora Bolton, of Minnesota, and Boyd, of Rives, survive him. By the death of Mr. Van Horn Rives loses a prominent citizen, he being much respected by all who knew him.

Halsey Winans.—Halsey Winans was born in the township of Tyre, Seneca county, N. Y., October 3, 1828. In the spring of 1834, he, with his parents, migrated to this State, and settled in the township of Lodi, Washtenaw county. The eleventh of May he wedded Miss Mary Bartlett, and took her to his home on a farm in the township of Bridgewater, Washtenaw county. Five years after he sold out and bought a farm in Liberty, Jackson county, their present home, where they resided until the spring of 1893, when his failing health caused them to rent their farm. Then they moved to Somerset Center, where, on the evening of March 3, 1894, he passed peacefully away, after three weeks of severe illness. Mr. Winans was a good citizen, an obliging neighbor, and a devoted husband. He was one of the first pioneers, and has done much

to improve the State. He leaves a loving wife, and was one of nine children, three of whom survive him, two brothers and one sister, and a large circle of friends and acquaintances to mourn his loss.

CALVIN WING.—Calvin Wing died Friday night, July 12, 1895, at 11 o'clock, after an illness of three months of heart trouble and dropsy, at his home in Blackman, aged seventy-three years. Deceased was one of the best known farmers in Jackson county. He was born in the state of Maine, in 1822, moved to Jackson county with his parents in 1843, and located on a farm in Blackman, and has ever since been a resident of that township. In 1842 he married Miss Clarinda Reed, who died about twenty-three years ago, leaving three sons, Andrew S. Wing, Abram Wing, Levi Wing, and two daughters, Mrs. Nancy Mitchell, of Nebraska, and Mrs. Jessie Adelle Raymond, of Sandstone. Two years after the death of his first wife, Calvin Wing married Mrs. Ellen Knapp, of Lowell, Mass., who survives him. Out of a family of four brothers and two sisters, the only survivor now is B. O. Wing, of Jackson.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BY HENRY BISHOP.

Name.	Date of death.	Age.	Name.	Date of death.	Age.
Wyman H. Ainsworth	Oct. 19, 1895	88	Mary Coddington	Aug. 18, 1895	80
Mrs. E. B. Appledoom	Mar. 12, 1896	87	Alfred Cook	Aug. 5, 1895	79
Warren Baker	July 25, 1895	80	Meyor Cramer	Sept. 8, 1895	68
W. W. Bebee	April 30, 1896	85	B. F. Cummings	Mar. 30, 1896	83
Mrs. John Beck	Aug. 4, 1895	85	Elizabeth Darling	Mar. 25, 1896	78
Albert D. Boardman	April 29, 1896	60	George De Lano	April 27, 1896	91
Mrs. E. S. Bristol	Dec. 26, 1895	76	Miss M. A. Denslow	July 14, 1895	83
Nancy A. Brown	Feb. 8, 1896	74	Helen De Water	June 23, 1895	81
Minerson Buck	Dec. 7, 1895	86	Jeremiah Doyle	July 5, 1895	73
Harlow Burdick	April 23, 1896	81	John Dunning	Jan. 19, 1896	99
William M. Burt	Sept. 16, 1895	75	Hannah Fish	Aug. 26, 1895	91
George Burwell	March 7, 1896	78	Mrs. John Frazer	Sept. 24, 1895	85
Robert Campbell	May 13, 1896	77	James F. Gilchrist	June 30, 1895	52
John Carman	Nov. 15, 1895	79	Mrs. M. V. Horker	Sept. 30, 1895	86
Martha Bellows Chapin	June 8, 1895	81	A. H. Hubbard	Aug. 29, 1895	76
Thomas Clarage	Aug. 11, 1895	65	Charles W. Jones	Mar. 5. 1896	72
William E. Cock	Jan. 8, 1896	73	John A. Kendall	Feb. 2, 1896	74

Name.	Date of death.	Age.	Name.	Date of death.	Age.
James Kidder	Jan. 27, 1896	27	Charles Parker	April 1, 1896	84
Mrs. Anson La Barr	Nov. 9, 1895	77	Sheldon Peckham	Aug. 19, 1895	85
Nathan Lampkins	Mar. 10, 1896	90	Mrs. Hetty Ralph	July 26, 1895	94
Shubael A. Lincoln	June 29, 1895	90	Zenas Rhodes	Mar. 28, 1896	60
Dr. L. W. Lovell	Jan. 29, 1896	73	Charlotte Rice	Mar. 2, 1896	92
Peter Lucas	Aug. 10, 1895	79	George W. Russell	Nov. 10, 1895	73
Hugh McCall	June 2, 1895	65	Jonas Scramlin	Feb. 27, 1896	73
Fannie W. Mudget	Feb. 19, 1895	83	Orrin Starr	Nov. 2, 1895	83
William Nelson	Oct. 15, 1895	58	Cornelius Van Heusen	Oct. 29, 1895	70
Frederick F. Newell	July 27, 1895	59	David Vanwort	Sept. 19, 1895	76
Johannah Norton	Nov. 18, 1895	78	Mrs. Garret Yonkerman	Sept. 4, 1895	86
Caroline Parker	Feb. 21, 1896	86			

BENJAMIN MILLER AUSTIN.—Early Monday morning, January 20, 1896, Benjamin Miller Austin, for nearly sixty-three years a resident of Kalamazoo and vicinity, passed away from this life. Mr. Austin had been ill but a little more than a week, and though his condition was known to be serious, death came suddenly and unexpectedly. A complication of diseases, aggravated by heart failure, was the cause of his death. Mr. Austin was born in Colbrook, Conn., May 7, 1819. His father, Moses Austin, was a Connecticut shoemaker, and the year after his son's birth, moved with his family to Genesee county, N. Y., where he plied his trade successfully, until 1833, when the attractions of the new State of Michigan drew him West. It was on Benjamin Austin's fourteenth birthday that he first saw the town of Kalamazoo—then the little village of Bronson—after a long and tedious journey which the family had made from New York by wagon and water. Moses Austin and his wife, Sarah Gaylord Austin, with their two sons, Benjamin and William, entered land of the government in Portage township, made improvements, and established a hotel, which was for years the most delightful resort of the gay young people of Kalamazoo. "Austin's Lake" still keeps green the memory of the kind and hospitable couple for whom it was named. Moses Austin's free-handed generosity was so proverbial that one improvident neighbor said, "He didn't care whether he ever had anything or not, as long as he lived by Moses Austin." The genial bearing and hospitable, generous ways of the father were an inheritance of the son, who is the subject of this sketch, and endeared him to a very large circle of friends, both in Kalamazoo and elsewhere. Benjamin Austin first became a coppersmith and tinsmith, then he learned the watchmaker's trade, and still later he engaged in

the dry-goods business, which he prosecuted successfully for a number of years. In 1852 he became largely interested in the manufacture of Jackson wagons, the firm name being Davis, Austin & Co. In 1838 Mr. Austin returned to Genesee county, N. Y., to wed Miss Angeline Fitch. Coming to Kalamazoo the couple made their home here and built several residences, some of which are still among the handsomest of which the city can boast. The brick cottage which stood originally upon the present site of the Sill terrace, was the first, erected in 1846. The handsome Chapin House, recently destroyed by fire, Mr. Austin built in 1856. The Wilbur house was built in 1868, after returning from a European tour, where Mr. Austin was impressed by some features of English country homes. Later, what is now the Samuel Rosenbaum property, on Park street, was purchased and occupied by the Austins, and finally, in 1880, Mr. Austin rebuilt, in handsome style, the Babcock house, on the Territorial road, just at the edge of the city, where he and Mrs. Austin have long resided with their children, Mr. and Mrs. D. D. Streeter. Mr. Austin was the last of his family to depart this life, but he leaves many descendants to mourn his loss. Three children, Mrs. Frances A. Webster, of Jackson; Mrs. Amelia T. Streeter and William G. Austin, of Kalamazoo, and seven grandchildren, Mrs. Walter S. Shoemaker, of Cincinnati, Mrs. Charles M. Bush, of Detroit, Benjamin M. Austin, Jr., of Kalamazoo, and Mrs. Burr Loomis, and Messrs. Edward L., David B. and Benjamin A. Webster, of Jackson. He was blessed also with three little great-grandchildren, who renewed his youth by their frequent visits to the paternal home, and the greatest happiness of his later years seemed centered around these young lives. His last recognition and utterance were given to the little five-year-old, Frances, who ran up to his bed a few hours before his death. Mr. Austin is sincerely mourned by a family, in which he was ever a devoted husband and father, and his loss will be felt by a very great number of friends who have known and esteemed him more than half a century.

Rev. Milton Bradley.—Rev. Milton Bradley, for fifty-three years pastor of Richland Presbyterian church, died February 3, 1896. In an old log house in Stockholm, St. Lawrence county, N. Y., on the banks of the St. Regis, where the Indians hunted, fished and trapped at will, on March 13, 1812, was born of Truman and Sarah Bradley, the boy who afterward became the Rev. Milton Bradley. He attended the district school three months in the year until, at 17, he entered the St. Lawrence Academy at Potsdam. It was here that his mind showed its first strong religious bent, by his uniting with the Presbyterian church, which was then under the pastorate of Rev. O. P. Hoyt. Two years later, in 1831, he entered Middlebury College, graduating in 1835. Of the

same class in college with Mr. Bradley were Dr. Kitchel, of Detroit, and N. A. Balch, of Kalamazoo, while the preceding class had J. A. B. Stone for one of its members. From 1835 to 1837 Mr. Bradley had charge of the Fort Covington Academy, N. Y., but he was not satisfied. He felt as if he should be doing more active work in the spread of the Gospel, so he entered the Auburn Theological Seminary for preparation. In May, 1838, he was licensed to preach by the St. Lawrence Congregational consociation, and took charge of the Congregational church in Parishville, N. Y. On September 5, 1838, he was married to Miss Sarah Jones, and in 1839 was dismissed from the consociation and joined the Presbytery of St. Lawrence. He was immediately ordained by that body and installed as pastor at Parishville, where he ministered to a united and happy people for five years. But his wife's health was very poor and he was advised to change. So he hitched his horse to his buggy and started for the West, reaching Kalamazoo in the fall of 1843. Here, meeting his former pastor, the Rev. O. P. Hoyt, he was persuaded to go to Richland, where the church was without a pastor, the Rev. Calvin Clark having left in July. He arrived there in October, 1843, and preached to that small body of pioneers for six weeks, when he was called to be the pastor at a salary of $400. Mr. Bradley did not accept the call at once, but pushed on to Illinois to pass the winter. In May, of the following year, he accepted the call, and was installed July 10, 1844, by the Presbytery of Kalamazoo, Rev. O. P. Hoyt preaching the sermon, Rev. C. Clark delivering the charge to the people and Rev. J. McLaurin to the pastor. Here was spent the springtime and summer of his life, laboring among and ministering to an appreciative people, while his salary was increased until it reached $1,000 per year. Here, on September 11, 1871, Mrs. Bradley died and was buried, mourned and lamented by all who had ever known her. In 1877 Mr. Bradley was taken alarmingly ill, and his work was laid one side, rest being strictly enjoined by his physician. He was given a six months' vacation, but was still unable to work, and he resigned. His resignation was accepted, but he was unanimously chosen pastor emeritus. For over one-third of a century he was pastor at Richland, probably the longest continuous pastorate in the State. He attended and conducted over four hundred weddings and over six hundred funerals, often riding many miles into the country for that purpose. In politics Mr. Bradley was a Republican. In 1850 he was defeated by Samuel Clark of Kalamazoo as delegate to the Constitutional convention of Michigan by a very small margin. But he was elected to the Constitutional convention, held at Lansing, in 1867. For over thirty years he was township school inspector, and for several years trustee of the Michigan Female Seminary at Kalamazoo. Always deeply interested

in all educational projects, he was instrumental in the founding of the Gull Prairie Seminary, and for over thirty years served as director of that institution. His sermon was always a finished, cultured discourse, plain, direct and written for the listener. Brief, they never required more than one-half hour for the delivery, yet pointed and complete. In manner, genial, cordial and approachable with the same kind, unvarying smile and word for the lowly or the high, rich or poor, rejoicing in the prosperity of any or all and sympathizing with their sorrows. Where shall we find his like again? In 1893 all the people of Richland, both old and young, united in celebrating the semi-centennial of Mr. Bradley's arrival in this town. All felt toward him as children towards their father, knowing he felt toward them as a father toward his children. Always striving to elevate mankind socially, mentally and morally, he was ever active first, last and always in the service of his Master.

Mary Gilmore Campbell.—Mary Gilmore Campbell was born in County Down, near Belfast, Ireland, January 8, 1825, departed this life in Schoolcraft, February 11, 1896. Deceased was united in marriage to Hugh Campbell, in 1843. In 1845 they brought their united fortunes to America, and after resting a year in New York, they settled in the city of Kalamazoo, and her residence has been in this county from that time. In 1883 she was left a widow, and in that year took up her residence in the village of Schoolcraft. Mrs. Campbell was the mother of eleven children, seven of whom survive her, six sons and one daughter. She also leaves behind one brother and two sisters, who mourn her loss, John Gilmore, of Portage, Mich., Sarah Irving, of Queensland, Australia, and Margaret Lowry, of Pine Bush, N. Y. She united with the Presbyterian church early in life, and through all her years of labor and care, rejoiced as a child of the covenant. Hers was a finished life as well as a laborious and conscientious one. Let us think for a moment what her duty has been. Life in a farm house during those pioneer days was not easy, even when cares were reduced to the minimum or when help was abundant. What must it have been to her alone with the care of eleven children; but she was of that strong Scotch-Irish stock that has been hardened and toughened by the storms and vicissitudes of centuries. She was patient and courageous, and never flinched from obligations that would appall one in these days of comparative ease and luxury. Mrs. Campbell was one of those kind, loving, thoughtful souls, always looking out for some other heart to comfort instead of looking in, to find what her own heart might grieve over. What child that has ever known her will forget Grandma Campbell and her tokens of love. Her whole soul beamed from her rich face in one smile of kind benevolence.

JOHN MCKEE, SR.—John McKee, Sr., passed away February 15, 1896, at his home, corner of Stuart and Kalamazoo avenues. He had been in poor health for a number of years. Mr. McKee was born at Grey Abbey, near Belfast, Ireland, September 22, 1820. He was of Scotch-Irish parentage. He came to America in 1844, and located in New York, where he was married February 12, 1846, to Catherine McLaughlin, who died March 1, 1895. In 1848 Mr. and Mrs. McKee removed to Mount Morris, N. Y., where Mr. McKee was engaged for several years in the furniture business. He came to Michigan in 1855, and until 1859 he resided on his fruit farm in Portage township. After re-establishing his health he came to Kalamazoo and went into the furniture business, buying out the firm of Rice & Allen, then doing business on Burdick street. He afterwards became a member of the firm of Carder, Gilbert & Co., with whom he continued until 1870, when he bought the furniture stock of G. H. Gale, which business he continued until 1885, when he retired from active work. Mr. McKee was a devoted member of the Episcopal church, and was for many years senior warden and treasurer of St. John's Episcopal church of Kalamazoo, holding these offices until the union of St. John's and St. Luke's parishes. He was a generous giver to St. John's parish. He was an upright and honorable citizen and had a wide circle of acquaintances. He leaves four daughters and two sons, the Misses Marie, Elizabeth and Ellen and John McKee, Jr., all of Kalamazoo, Mrs. Edward H. Alling, of Rogers Park, Chicago, and David McKee, of Atlanta, Ga.

KENT COUNTY.

BY WM. N. COOK.

Names.	Date of death.	Age.		
		Years.	Mos.	Days.
Peter Beckwith	Apr. 1, 1896	90	2	9
James G. Beecher	Mar. 8, 1896	65	7	7
Henry Berrige	Feb. 2, 1896	78		1
Isaac W. Boynton	Mar. 26, 1896	65	9	11
Philip F. Covil	July 3, 1895	83	6	22
Emeline Cross	Nov. 26, 1895	77		
Alphin P. Eastman	Dec. 26, 1895	70	10	15
Henry A. Gill	Oct. 8, 1895	71		16
Sarah T. Haldane	Feb. 5, 1896	83	11	7
Charlotte L. Harlen	Aug. 4, 1895	75		13
Sarah A. Harrington	Oct. 16, 1895	80		
Elizabeth L. Kendall	Oct. 8, 1895	61	4	4
Lena Oom	Sept. 5, 1895	79		14
Jared L. Post	Mar. 28, 1896	72		
Ira H. Remington	Feb. 4, 1896	85	9	25
Thomas R. Renwick	Apr. 4, 1896	67	5	19
Abbie Sage	Dec. 27, 1895	78		
Harriet Smith	July 10, 1895	95	9	27
Marcus Tabor	July 20, 1895	62	6	19
Adam Toot	Aug. 22, 1895	83	4	11
Samuel M. Turner	Aug. 23, 1895	73	4	
Col. Benjamin Wait	Nov. 9, 1895	82		
Mrs. Rebecca H. Wait	Apr. 13, 1896	69	4	5
Sarah B. Walch	Apr. 29, 1896	85	11	19
Joseph Wonderly	Aug. 8, 1895	63	3	14

MRS. CATHERINE W. BOTSFORD.—Mrs. Catherine W. Botsford, the widow of Dr. Elva H. Botsford, died at 6 o'clock Monday morning, August 26, 1895, in her rooms at the Hotel Warwick, Grand Rapids, where she had made her home for the past eight years. She has been confined to her apartments for the past five years, where she has received as devoted care as though surrounded by blood relations. Mrs. Botsford had outlived, by many years, the allotment of human life. She was born in Rochester, N. Y. Her maiden name was Catherine Wynne. Her first husband was Samuel B. Ball. She came with her husband to

Grand Rapids, in 1840, and July 20, 1850, Mr. Ball died. In 1852 Mrs. Ball was married to Dr. Botsford, by whom she had one son, who died at the age of five years. Dr. Botsford died January 30, 1879. Her nearest living relative is a niece, Mrs. Jennie Seeley, of Marion, N. Y. Mrs. Botsford has been connected closely with the history of Grand Rapids. In 1844 her first husband built the Irving block on Monroe street. It was known as Irving hall and was the first brick block built in the city. It has since been replaced by the building now occupied by the firm of Eaton & Lyon. Mrs. Botsford owned several pieces of valuable property. She was a member of the Ladies' Literary Club and a benefactor of the Children's Home. She was generous with her friends, and until the days of her invalidism she was active in charitable enterprises and literary circles. She was a communicant of St. Mark's Episcopal church.

Marcus P. Brown.—The long and active life of Marcus P. Brown quietly closed Monday evening, Nov. 4, 1895, at the residence, 38 South Lafayette street, Grand Rapids, after many years of suffering, aged 76 years, 10 months and 19 days. The immediate cause of death was congestion of the brain, but this was only the culmination of diseases caused by rheumatism, from which he had suffered fifteen years. Miss Abbie M. Brown, an invalid daughter, and only child, was present when he died. Deceased was seventy-seven years old. He was born in Alabama, where he spent the early part of his life. Thirty-five years ago he settled in Grand Rapids and established the firm of M. P. Brown & Co., which still exists. During his business career here Mr. Brown accumulated a comfortable competency. Ten years ago he retired from active business, but continued to own stock in several Grand Rapids concerns, among them being the brush factory and the Haney School Furniture Company. Relatives of the family present were Mrs. W. S. Hovey, Mr. and Mrs. George C. Fitch, Mr. and Mrs. James O. Fitch and Sherwood Hall.

Mrs. Harriet Guild Burton.—Aunt Hattie Burton passed away at the Union Benevolent Association Home and Hospital at 1 o'clock Thursday afternoon, August 1, 1895, her death being the direct result of the burns she received Tuesday, July 30. She was sitting in front of a gas stove, which she had lighted to soften the chilling morning air, reading a paper, when she dropped to sleep. The paper slid down and caught fire from the blaze in the stove, which was communicated to her clothing. A little son of her grandniece, Mrs. J. A. McMillan, was in her room and gave the alarm and the flames were quickly extinguished by the matron, Miss Barrett, who happened to be near. Her burns were painful, but were not thought to be extensive enough to be con-

sidered dangerous. The shock, however, was too severe for her feeble condition. Her nerves were badly shattered and after suffering about twenty hours she lost consciousness and remained in a comatose state until she died.

Aunt Hattie Burton was the last of a family of Yankee pioneers who reached the "Rapids" in 1833. The family consisted of Joel Guild, who may be considered the first permanent white settler of the Valley City, his wife, six daughters and one son. The children ranged in age from three to twenty years, Harriet being the eldest. The son, Consider Guild, was in his eighteenth year. They had emigrated from West Winfield, Herkimer county, N. Y., and had made their way through the woods from Detroit to Ionia with a larger party of emigrants. From Ionia the Guild family came down the river on a float-boat and landed on the bank at the foot of Huron street, where the Butterworth & Lowe iron works are now located. Joel Guild bought from Uncle Louis Campau the lot on which the National City bank now stands and immediately set about building the first frame house in the valley. The site was in the woods at the base of Prospect hill, which rose to about the height of the third floor of the Ledyard block. Harriet Guild was twenty years old on the day that she first set her foot on the site of the city of Grand Rapids, June 23, 1833. On April 13, 1834, she was married to Barney Burton, a young pioneer who had "taken up" a homestead in Paris township. Theirs was the first wedding of white people in what is now Grand Rapids. It took place at the residence of the bride's parents and they immediately went to housekeeping in a log house that Mr. Burton had erected in the woods southeast of the "Rapids." Aunt Hattie leaves no near relatives. She had outlived her brother and all her sisters. Her husband died many years ago. They had no children and for several years she had a home with her niece and namesake, Mrs. Hattie Fisk, at the corner of Sheldon and Goodrich streets. She had a life membership in the Union Benevolent Association and found a pleasant home there during the last few years of her life. She was a woman of exuberant spirits, jolly and good-natured—traits which she inherited from her father—and made a friend of every acquaintance. She was known by a larger number of people than any other woman who ever lived in Grand Rapids, and had seen more of the growth and development of the city than any person now living—over sixty-two years. For many years she was the central figure at nearly all gatherings of the old settlers, her name occupies a prominent place in all histories of the city and the papers have published column after column on the incidents and events in her pioneer life and that of her father's family. Nearly all of Joel Guild's children spent their lives in or near the city and most of them left

children. Among Aunt Hattie's nieces are Mrs. S. G. Ketcham, Mrs. Hattie Fisk and Miss Abbie Weller, and among her grandnieces are Mrs. George E. Steketee and Mrs. J. A. McMillan.

William Cartwright.—William Cartwright, an old and honored resident of Grand Rapids, died at his home, 184 North Division street, December 13, 1895. Mr. Cartwright ranked with the old settlers of Grand Rapids, having settled here in 1858, and with the exception of two or or three years spent in the South had resided here continuously to the time of his death. About thirty years ago he became a partner in the firm of Cappon & Bertsch Leather Company, and when in 1870 the firm was merged into a stock company Mr. Cartwright was elected treasurer and manager of the Grand Rapids branch, which position he held until January, 1895, when failing health compelled him to give up active business. He has lived to see an institution small in its infancy grow into one of immense proportions and to his efforts the institution is largely indebted for its success. Mr. Cartwright was born in England about seventy years ago. His family emigrated to Canada when he was a youth, a few years later moving to East Aurora, N. Y. He was always active and liberal in promoting the interests of the city but never held office with the exception of one term as alderman from the Fourth ward. Of his immediate family he leaves a wife and three daughters, the oldest of whom is Mrs. J. F. Burns, of Santa Ynez, Cal. Beside a handsome competency he leaves to his family the record of an honorable and well-spent life.

Samuel O. Dishman.—An old resident passed away in the death of Samuel O. Dishman, Monday morning, April 6, 1896. From Kalamazoo before the days of the railroads, Mr. Dishman found his home in Grand Rapids in 1853. He was born in King George county, Virginia, sixty-six years ago. His family being of the slave-owning class, his political views did not accord with the growing Republican sentiments of this part of the country. At the time named, a Democrat of the intense type, his opinions were afterward gradually modified to the later views of the party. He represented the Seventh ward with Alderman Milmine in the city council from 1872 to 1876, during the terms of Mayor Peter R. L. Pierce and Julius Houseman all of whom are now dead. Personally courteous he was in like manner hospitable in his home and gentle and kind to his family. He was married in the year 1860 to Almira Wheeler and excepting a sister, Mrs. Wright, of Washington, was the survivor of fourteen children. He died leaving his wife and a daughter, Miss Effie Dishman, especially well known and highly regarded in musical circles. In the first year of Cleveland's administration he was appointed an officer of the Federal Court here. He was valuable and efficient, and

attentive to his duties, holding the respect and regard of those with whom he personally and officially associated. A sudden congestion of the kidneys, followed with much suffering for ten days, and the deceased, a Mason, a member of the Old Settlers' Association, an upright man, left his sorrowing family and friends. There was a large attendance at his funeral at St. Paul's church. The mayor and members of the city council and representatives of our oldest citizens were present. After the church services, Masons bore their brother to his last resting place.

PATRICK MCGURRIN.—Patrick McGurrin, one of the oldest pioneers of Kent county, died February 13, 1896, at his late residence, 157 Ellsworth avenue, Grand Rapids. Mr. McGurrin was born 85 years ago and in 1836 settled in Grand Rapids, which at that time was a flourishing trading post. The remainder of his days were spent here. He was always known as an industrious, progressive citizen. A stone mason by trade he helped to erect some of the most substantial buildings in the city and laid the foundation of many of the old landmarks here. Mr. McGurrin leaves an aged wife, one son and three daughters.

HENRY B. PORTER.—Henry B. Porter, of Alpine, died April 16, 1896, of valvular disease of the heart after an illness of one week. He died in the arms of Mrs. Frances Shear, his eldest daughter. He was a son of Curtis Porter, and was born at Hamilton, Madison county, N. Y., September 24, 1821. He married there Lucy M. Smith, a sister of Reuben H. Smith, secretary of the Old Residents' Association of the Grand River Valley. In the fall of 1843, with his wife and daughter Frances, he came to Grand Rapids and purchased eighty acres of land in the unbroken wilderness that is now Alpine and immediately settled on it. He had to cut his way to it from the settlement. Without experience in clearing land or farming, his industry and energy changed it into a farm under good cultivation and he lived and died on it. Although at times somewhat eccentric, he was strictly honest and truthful, his word being as good as his bond, and he had the confidence and respect of all with whom he had dealings. The community among which he lived sympathizes fully with his family in their bereavement. Of his five sons and five daughters, all but two of the sons survive him. His brothers, David C. Porter and Robert Porter and his father, Curtis Porter, all old residents coming here after him, died many years ago, here or in this vicinity. Another brother, the Hon. George Porter, is living in Ottawa county. His widow also survives him. His family, excepting a son and a daughter living in Chicago, reside in this vicinity and are among its highly respected, well-to-do citizens. GEO. H. WHITE.

Dr. Lemuel D. Putnam.—Another of our old residents has ceased from his labors. The struggle for existence is over and the pain of the poor body, weakened by years of service, is ended. Dr. Lemuel D. Putnam died July 22, 1895. He lived out the allotted time upon the earth. For almost half a century he lived among us. At the age of twenty-three he came to Grand Rapids, then only a village of only a few hundred people, and at once became an active, earnest participant in the thriving community where he was to spend his life. The writer well remembers the young men of the city at that early day; a goodly company, for in the early fifties there were no old men, no gray hairs, we were all young, the world was before us, and hopes and expectations were written on every face. Among them all, there was none more light-hearted, more industrious, more temperate, more frugal or more hopeful than Dr. Putnam, and it was in those early days that the foundations of a goodly competence were laid. Dr. Putnam was born in Herkimer, Herkimer county, N. Y., August 29, 1823, graduated from the Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1845, and came to Grand Rapids the following year. A college graduate at that day was a rare person in this border town. A sister, a woman whom all the people loved, the wife of Dr. Charles Shepard, had preceded him, and doubtless drew him westward. Possessed of a thorough medical education, he was well equipped for the work which he soon engaged in, in connection with Dr. Shepard, and the drug house of Shepard & Putnam will never cease to be remembered by the old residents as one of the familiar landmarks of the town. Later on, Dr. Putnam assumed the entire responsibility of the drug business of Shepard & Putnam and continued to be one of our progressive and prosperous merchants for many years. He had also served as one of the directors of the City National bank during several years, and at the time of his death was a director of the National City bank. It is only stating a fact that all who knew him will fully appreciate, namely that he was conscientiously faithful to all responsibilities that he assumed; of strictest integrity, unceasing in his devotion to business, and warmly attached to the circle of his friends that surrounded him, and in love with his "Alma Mater." In 1852 Dr. Putnam married Miss Caroline Williard Williams, daughter of Dr. Stephen West Williams, of Deerfield, Mass., who, with one daughter, Isabel Williams, survives to mourn the loss and cherish the memory of the husband and father. It is not without reflections of a sober character that we who were here in the early days part company with those who were a part of us then. We are lonesome when they go away.

Mrs. Eunice Utley.—Mrs. Eunice Utley, widow of Dwight R. Utley, died of heart failure, April 24, 1896, in the home of her son, Charles D. Utley, 626 Washington avenue, Chicago, aged seventy-four years. Mrs.

Utley was born in Bennington, Vt., and with her parents moved to Chautauqua county, New York, where she married Mr. Utley. They came here in 1855, and since then this has been her home. Mr. Utley died in 1887, and she has divided her time since with her children in Grand Rapids, Chicago and Minneapolis. Deceased had many rare qualities of heart and mind and was esteemed and loved by a large circle of friends who will sincerely mourn her death. Her children are J. D. Utley, of Grand Rapids, Charles D. Utley, of Chicago, and Mrs. F. G. Aldworth, of Minneapolis.

Edward Francis Ward.—Edward Francis Ward, who died January 27, 1896, at his home, 181 Crescent avenue, had been a prominent citizen of Grand Rapids for the past forty years. He was born in Orange, Mass., in 1818, and his death was the result of no specific disease, but of a gradual decline of the vital forces. He had always enjoyed excellent health, and until he retired from business a few years ago he was one of the most energetic business men of the city. When he first came to Grand Rapids he engaged in the lumber business and afterward was largely interested in the furniture trade and was one of the founders of the New England Furniture Company. He was known as a loyal citizen, greatly interested in the progress of the municipality, and was a generous and loyal friend. He was always kind and indulgent to his family, to whom he was never heard to speak a harsh word. He belonged to no church or fraternal organization, but was wont to say that his family was his church and fraternity. His religion consisted in doing good to others and in the exercise of a broad and forgiving charity toward his fellow men. The funeral services were conducted Thursday at the family residence by the Rev. Thomas W. Illman of All Soul's church and the burial was in Valley City cemetery. Mr. Ward's family who survive him are his wife and sons, Orin A. and Edward H., and his daughters, Anna J., Harriet and Ella, to whom he has left a competency.

Elias G. Young.—Elias G. Young was the son of George and Eliza Young. He was born in Albany, N. Y., in December, 1821, and died in Grand Rapids September 16, 1895. He came to Michigan with his parents in 1836, and settled on a tract of land near Reed's Lake, at which place some of the family have lived ever since. He taught the district school for many years and also practiced the profession of bookkeeping. In 1843 Mr. Young was married to Miss Caroline Blackney, and four children, two sons and two daughters, were the result of the union. The daughters, Mrs. Anna W. Clark, of Grand Rapids, and Mrs. Carrie E. Roberts of Kansas City, Mo., are still living. In 1869 Mrs. Young died and in 1870 Mr. Young was again married to Mrs. Melissa A. Bemis, who survives him. He also leaves a brother and two sisters. Mr. Young was a devout Christian gentleman, beloved and respected by all who knew him.

LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY BENJAMIN L. BAXTER.

MRS. MAHALA PADDOCK ADDIS.—Mahala Paddock was born in Sing Sing, N. Y., October 16, 1816. She came with her father's family, numbering thirteen children, to Michigan in 1836 and settled near Adrian, where she lived until September, 1841, when she was married to Lewis R. Addis, the remaining part of her life being spent in Raisin and Tecumseh. No children came to bless her home, so on the death of one of her sisters, Mrs. Amos Porter, they adopted her two children, Darius and Mary Porter; only Mary survived her, she being the wife of J. R. Haily. Much might be said of her generosity, but suffice it to say that she had an undying love for children and all classes of weak humanity. No one was ever turned from her door who came there in want of charity, she dividing with others that which ought to have been kept for herself. For many years she was a great sufferer from disease, but about one year and a half ago she received a severe injury from a fall, which resulted in her death July 7, 1895. Much credit is due her faithful husband, who for sixteen months never left her bedside for a day.

MRS. HANNAH M. BLOOD.—Mrs. Hannah M. Blood died July 9, 1895. Her maiden name was Hannah M. Stearns, daughter of Alpheus and Susan Stearns. She was born in Tecumseh, February 11, 1841, and lived with her parents until united in marriage to Charles Blood, October 25, 1865. Her father died July 4, 1886, but her mother, though advanced in age and very feeble, survives, bereft of a loving and beloved daughter. After her marriage she went with her husband to the home in which they lived for thirty years, and in which she died. Their marriage was blessed with three children, Albert, Mrs. Ina Howland, and Howard, all of whom survive to mourn the death of their dear mother. Her only brother was a soldier in the late war, but like many other brave heroes of that war, gave his life in defense of his country. Mrs. M. E. Conklin, so highly esteemed in Tecumseh, was an only sister. They were so inseparable in their life that this separation by death is sad indeed. She was converted under the ministry of Rev. E. R. Hascall, and united with the M. E. church, and was, ever after, devoted to its interests. Possessed of a generous nature, she entered heartily into the benevolent work of the church.

PHINEAS J. FARLEY.—Phineas J. Farley was born in Edinburgh, Saratoga county, N. Y., January 6, 1822, and died at his residence in Jackson, Mich., April 18, 1896. His early years were spent near the scene of

his birth and at the age of 16 he went to Troy, N. Y., where he served four years at the carpenter's trade. From there he immigrated to Jefferson, Ohio, making his home with his brother there for several years. Stirred by the gold fever, he spent six years in California during the pioneer life of that state. After returning to Ohio he responded to his country's call, enlisting in Co. F, Second Ohio Cavalry. After serving actively 18 months he was disabled and retired from the service. He had one brother, Philip Farley, and a sister, Mrs. John Wishart, then living in Tecumseh, and here he was married to Anna E. Gillespie in 1864. Here they resided until two years ago, when they removed to Jackson. The deceased was stricken with paralysis three years ago and had been an invalid since, and for many months almost helpless. Surviving him are a widow and three children, Richard E., of Tecumseh; May J., of Jackson, and Mrs. G. W. Stacy, of Buffalo, N. Y. Of his father's family only one remains, Mrs. Wishart, of New York city. The deceased was a very energetic, active man. He was a man of strict integrity and uprightness of character, public spirited and honorable. He united with the Episcopal church when a young man and was also closely identified with the Masonic and other secret organizations and an active member of Beers Post.

David H. Gregory.—David H. Gregory was born at Bath, Steuben county, N. Y., February 9, 1818, and died at his home in Macon, February 22, 1896, being 78 years and 13 days. He was married to Julia Ann Miller, June 7, 1857. He moved to Michigan March 5, 1867, and settled in Macon, where he died. His wife died March 17, 1878. To them were born ten children, seven daughters and three sons. Two sons died in infancy and one daughter preceded the father by only five days. Of the six daughters and one son left, two daughters are living in Antrim county, Mich., and one in Wells county, North Dakota; the remainder are living in Lenawee county, Mich. There were also thirty-two grandchildren and ten great-grandchildren.

Mrs. Mary Jane Kellogg.—Mrs. Mary Jane Kellogg, widow of the late George Kellogg, of Jackson, died at the residence of her brother, Benjamin L. Baxter, in Tecumseh, on Wednesday, February 10, 1896, in the 78th year of her age. The following tribute to her memory, taken from the Jackson Daily Citizen of February 22, graphically, yet most tenderly, expresses the appreciation of her worth and the high estimation in which she was held in the city of her long continued residence.

Few of the many friends of Mrs. Mary Kellogg have realized that her life was nearing its end, so that when Wednesday morning just at break of day, she quietly sank to rest, the news came with a shock even to her own loved ones. Ever cheerful and ready to find the bright side

of even the darkest days, she so often smiled in her illness that the approach of death was not discerned until "God touched her with His finger and she slept."

Seldom is it given to man to embody so beautiful a characteristic as was ever preeminent in the life of Mrs. Mary Kellogg. The spirit of cheerfulness seemed to have endowed her at birth with its own special gift. Perpetual sunshine radiated from her life, and only those who knew her best realized how never failing was this constant giving out of her bright spirit. Surely, if success in life can be measured by the amount of happiness we dispense, her life has been crowned with the greatest success.

"Not what we give but what we share,
For the gift without the giver is bare."

And she shared royally this one bright gift of her birth—a sunshiny heart. The loving, gentle life is ended, but the inspiration of her beautiful living will never end. It will grow and blossom with new life as the years go on. Peace be unto thee, gentle friend. As thou hast given freely in the past, so a loving God will give again to thee. Death to thee is life, the gateway to eternal joy.

Mrs. Julia Janette McRay Harding.—Julia Janette McRay, daughter of John S. and Sarah Ann McRay, was born in Raisin, June 5, 1844. When a young woman she joined the M. E. church of Tecumseh. She married Abel W. Harding, August 28, 1866, and the following year her husband joined the Detroit conference, in which they served several charges faithfully. To them were born three children, two of whom, Arthur and Anna, survive, the other being buried at Maryville, on the St. Clair river. After her husband's death she was again connected with the M. E. church in Tecumseh. She was devoted to the church of her choice and sought to advance all its interests, being a faithful Sunday school teacher and an earnest worker in the W. F. M. S. and other church societies. She was for many years recording secretary of the W. F. M. S. of Adrian District, which office she held at the time of her death, July 12, 1895. Her only brother, Joseph McRay, visited her during her last illness, but was unable to be present at the funeral on account of sickness. Her stepson, Rev. W. F. Harding, and wife, of Terre Haute, Ind., were present among the mourners.

Dr. Gideon D. Perry.—One by one the pioneers of Lenawee county are leaving to join their comrades of former years. Among them all, none will be more sincerely missed and mourned by the dear ones left here below than Dr. Gideon D. Perry, who died Wednesday, March 27, 1895. The deceased began his earthly journey in Palmyra, Wayne county, N. Y., October 25, 1811. His youth was passed on a farm, where

he received such rudiments of an education as the schools of those days afforded. At nineteen years of age he left the parental roof and for three years he engaged in teaching. He was then admitted to the Genesee conference of the Methodist church and was a faithful follower of the Master for eleven years thereafter, when by reason of failing health he relinquished active service as a regular minister. In 1843 he came to Michigan and settled upon a new farm on section 26, in the town of Franklin. This was his home for nearly forty years. Here he transformed the forest into a beautiful homestead and reared a family of children. In 1880 he sold his farm and moved to Tecumseh, where he had since resided. During his long and active life he filled many important official positions and always took a deep interest in public and religious affairs. In April, 1856, he was elected supervisor of Franklin, receiving every vote cast for that office. The same fall he was chosen a member of the lower house of the State Legislature, and in 1858 he was elected to the State Senate. During his residence in Franklin he frequently officiated at church services and at funerals without money and without price. During his residence in Tecumseh for the past fifteen years he has led a quiet life, enjoying to the utmost his happy domestic surroundings and always prepared to obey the Heavenly call when it came. He was a strong believer in the homeopathic theory of medicine and was the first man to introduce that system in Michigan. His efforts in this behalf he regarded with much satisfaction. In his personal relations with his family and with the world at large he was a model husband, father and citizen. A man of unimpeachable character and of the strictest probity and honor none knew him but to love him, none named him but to praise. He was twice married. His first wife lived only two years after the union and in 1843 he was united in marriage to Miss Margaret Osborn, a sister of William H. Osborn, of Tecumseh. Five children blessed this union, all of whom, besides the widow, survive him: Mrs. Alice Dickey, of Marshall; Thomas O. Perry of Chicago; Mrs. Maggie Heeney, of Franklin; Mrs. Jennie Norris, of Boston, Mass., and Mrs. Eva Satterthwaite, of Tecumseh. All the children were summoned in time to bid the father good bye in his earthly home and to witness his crossing over the threshold. The funeral obsequies were held at the M. E. church. A large concourse of neighbors assembled to pay their last tribute of respect to one who kept the faith and fought the good fight to the end. The best of legacies—the record of a life well spent, he leaves to his children which will be their guiding star and beacon light in their journey here below.

Mrs. Margaret Perry.—Mrs. Margaret Perry was born in New York state in 1816, and died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. F. W. Dickey, at Marshall, Mich., April 19, 1896. Her maiden name was Osborn. In

1843 she was married to Rev. Gideon D. Perry, who was at that time a member of the Genesee conference. Soon after he was compelled by poor health to quit the ministry, and they came to Michigan and settled on a farm, where they resided until 1880, when they came to Tecumseh. Mrs. Perry was preceded to the spirit land by her husband a little more than a year ago. Last August she went to Chicago to visit her son, T. O. Perry, and while there sustained an accident, from which she never fully recovered. A short time ago she returned as far as Marshall, stopped at her daughter's and from there she peacefully passed to her heavenly home. Mrs. Perry left five children, who will miss her greatly: T. O. Perry, of Chicago; Mrs. F. W. Dickey, of Marshall; Mrs. J. R. Keeney, of Tipton; Mrs. C. D. Norris, of Boston, and Mrs. J. N. Satterthwait, of Tecumseh. Wm. H. Osborn, of Tecumseh, and Mrs. Matilda Darling, of Syracuse, N. Y., are the only surviving members of her father's family. For more than half a century Sister Perry was a consistent member of the M. E. church. In the home, in the church and in society her life witnessed for the highest and best in morals and religion. Her remains were brought to the home of her daughter, Mrs. Satterthwait, where the funeral services were conducted by the writer.

J. P. VARNER.

From the Tecumseh Herald, Friday, December 13, 1895.

SCOVEL CONSIDER STACY.—Scovel Consider Stacy first saw the light of day in the house now occupied by Lucius Lilley, at the corner of Union and Pottawatamie streets, in the village of Tecumseh, Lenawee county, Mich., on the 2d day of August, 1841, and has been a resident of this village for the entire fifty-four years since that time. His childhood was spent here attending the public schools and finally, after finishing at the old University, he entered the State University at Ann Arbor, from which he graduated in the literary class of 1864 and law class of 1866 with the highest honors. After several more years of law study and practice in Tecumseh, he formed a partnership with his father under the firm name of C. A. & S. C. Stacy, in the city of Adrian. This was continued until November, 1874, when, on account of the infirmity of partial deafness, he was forced to give up the practice of law, and purchased the Tecumseh Herald, and for the past 21 years has conducted this establishment, which gives him the distinction of being the oldest newspaper editor, in continuous service, in Lenawee county. Sunday morning he was stricken with apoplexy. Medical aid and tender nursing were of no avail, and on Wednesday morning, December 11, 1895, at 1 o'clock, his breath simply stopped, leaving another place vacant in an already death-stricken family. Scovel Stacy lived much of his life for the good of the State. He was three terms justice of the peace; served one term of three, and another of twelve years, a member of and director of the school board and was twice sent to the county seat

to represent his town in the capacity of supervisor. In religious belief he was a Universalist, serving on the board of trustees that conducted the affairs of the Tecumseh church for many terms, and as superintendent of the Sunday school for twenty consecutive years. It is probably safe to say, that there was not a man in Lenawee county, who was personally known to so many people as the subject of this sketch, and he merited and received a kindly greeting from them all. In his private life, Mr. Stacy was a man of faultless habits and most indefatigable industry. In business he must be given the credit of the most indomitable energy and persistent endeavor, though these exertions, without fault of his, may have been sometimes misdirected. The persistence with which he pursued his plans was carried even to a degree which was often costly to success. His attainments were varied and scholarly and all contributed to a laudable professional pride which (it is within the bounds of modesty to say) always maintained his paper to the highest standard of local journalism. Since the death of his father, the care of mother and sister devolved largely upon him and their wish was performed to the utmost of his ability. Though the pleasures of the world, as ordinarily considered, were denied him to an extent which would have embittered the whole life of more fortunate men, his disposition was cheerful to a remarkable degree, and his very misfortunes seemed to be taken direct from the hand of unwilling fate and transformed into pleasantries and smiles for those he met. Outside the public and professional career which this sketch recites, Scoval Stacy was a unique character inseperably identified with the history and individual life of this community, and in this respect has spoken most eloquently for itself. His faults were always forgiven by his associates and are now forgotten. Only his genial nature, bright intellect and manly virtues remain a happy and lasting remembrance.

As it is peculiarly difficult for the writer to do justice to this task, under the circumstances, we feel justified in appending the following just and beautiful tribute from the Adrian Times of Wednesday:

"The death of our friend and coworker, Scovel C. Stacy, will leave a gap that cannot readily be filled in the active business life of the thriving community that has been the leading scene of his life's efforts, as boy and man, for so many well spent years. And the sad tidings that the active, genial, cheery spirit that bravely assaulted and overcame obstacles which would have daunted many more favored men, has at last succumbed to the inevitable and lain aside its earthly armor, will be received with sadness by scores of sympathizing friends, not only within the limits of Lenawee county, but throughout the whole wide expanse within the boun-

daries of his native commonwealth. His death makes, if we mistake not, the fourth break in a family chain that possessed many remarkable characteristics. His father, the late Judge Consider A. Stacy, was one of the most remarkable men in the annals of our local bar, and his genius and marked professional merits, gave him a reputation that placed him in the van of the many illustrious exponents of the law that lived to see their adopted scene of action burst from its territorial limitations into the power and regency of a sovereign state.

"The son just taken, student, orator, jurist, journalist, was the worthy descendant of so eminent a sire. The two younger brothers, who have preceded him—both cut short, it may be said, in the early promise of a useful manhood—possessed in a notable degree the mental acumen and versatility that mark almost indelibly the whole Stacy lineage—but more than all others, the senior brother seemed to have inherited the tireless activity, the intellectual tenacity and grasp, that so eminently distinguished their gifed progenitor.

"Could he have continued in the profession of law, he would undoubtedly today have ranked among the ablest of our local advocates; but compelled to abandon the chosen profession of his early life, by infirmity of hearing, and leave the forum for the tripod, he followed his accepted line of duty with a conscientious appreciation of its important responsibilities. While his unexpected taking must necessarily be a cause of regret, it brings with it the consolation that he met the unavoidable, it might be said, in the zenith of his achievement, and leaves behind a record of industry and unassuming usefulness and influence that must come as a grateful mitigation to the grief of the sorrowing mother, sister and brother."

Aaron K. Waldron.—Aaron K. Waldron was born in New York state, October 23, 1823, and died at his home near Tecumseh, Mich., April 13, 1896. He came to Michigan in the fall of 1845, and in the spring of 1846 bought the farm west of Tecumseh on which he has since lived. In 1846 he married Miss Sarah M. Gunderman, of New York. Six children were born into their home, all of whom still live, namely, Lewis M., William J., Charles A., Clara and Sarah H., of Tecumseh, and Mrs. Adah Payne, of New York.

Mr. Waldron was widely known among the farmers, having been a farmer himself he was especially interested in that class of men. He was always ready to assist in anything that would advance their interests. At the early age of 18 years he became a Christian and a member of the Methodist church, where he remained until the time of his death.

MACOMB COUNTY.

BY GEO. H. CANNON.

Name.	Date of death.	Age.	Remarks.
Royan Bacon	July 27, 1895	80	Born June 15, 1815.
Mrs. B. A. Burke	June 29, 1895	83	Resident of county since 1833.
Mrs. Nathan Eldred	July 24, 1895	75	Resident of county since 1833.
Mary T. Farr	Aug. 10, 1895	76	Born April 4, 1819.
Jacob Homer, Sr.	Dec. 20, 1895	92	Resident of county 55 years.
Stephen S. Wells	July —, 1895	82	Resident of county 67 years.
Meldrum Welts	July 10, 1895	69	Resident of county since 1835.

MRS. MARY B. AYRES.—Mrs. Mary B. Ayres died February 18, 1896, aged 75 years. She was born in Orange, N. J., in 1820, and came to Romeo with her husband, Jeremiah B. Ayres, in 1840, where she had resided continuously up to the time of her death. Mr. Ayres died in 1849.

CALVIN DAVIS.—Calvin Davis, born July 27, 1832, died April 30, 1895. He was born on the old homestead, where he spent 62 years of his life. He was secretary of the Macomb County Pioneer Society at the time of his death. A man greatly respected by all who ever knew him.

CHARLES E. DAVIS.—Charles E. Davis died May 26, 1896; was born in Genesee county, N. Y., in October, 1826, came with his parents to Michigan in 1833, settling with them when seven years old on the farm he owned at his death. A resident of the county sixty-three years.

MRS. EMILY DE GROFF.—Mrs. Emily De Groff died February 29, 1896, aged 90 years. She with her husband, the late Hezekiah DeGroff, settled on section 34 in Ray over sixty years ago when a wilderness, and underwent all the privations and hardships of the early pioneers, but with work and rigid economy, they obtained enough of this world's goods so they could live with ease and comfort in their declining years. Her husband died some eight years ago, since which time she has been living with her youngest son, Albert DeGroff.

DANIEL DUNCAN.—Daniel Duncan died October 9, 1895, aged 85 years. A resident of Macomb county twenty-five years and of Oakland county since 1863. His widow, with whom he lived 63 years, survives him, and one son, Marshall, a resident of Ovid.

PHILANDER EWELL.—Philander Ewell died August 17, 1895, aged 86 years. A highly esteemed and well-known resident of the county for 66 years. He represented four generations of New England forefathers.

The first two were soldiers in the war for independence, and his father fought on the right side in the war of 1812. Mr. Ewell was married in 1831 and raised a family of eight children. He was a man of integrity, a good neighbor and ever ready to help the unfortunate. Mr. Ewell was a subscriber of the Free Press from the day it was first published, has a copy of the first number and kept a file of the tri-weekly for many years.

Oran Freeman.—Oran Freeman died April 11, 1896, in his 78th year. He was born in Onondaga county, N. Y., June 14, 1818, at the age of four years, in 1822, he moved to Ontario, N. Y., where he resided two years. On the 1st of June, 1824, he moved to Romeo, and, in the fall of the same year he moved on section 5 of Ray township, on what is now known as the Gray farm. Here he lived in a house which represented pioneer times, the roof being constructed of peeled bark, until he was married, on the 31st day of October, 1843, to Mrs. Catherine Arnold, when he moved to the farm where he has since resided. Although not a member of any local church he has always been an active worker in all religious movements. He was one of the eight trustees of the first religious society of Ray, organized February 16, 1869. He has been an active worker in Sunday school for over 30 years, having had charge of two successive generations of the juvenile class. He was well known at pioneer meetings, being almost always present. He was an enthusiastic Mason, being the oldest member of the Macomb lodge. The family consisted of seven boys and three girls, of whom four brothers and two sisters survive. The oldest and youngest represent the family today. Of his immediate family an invalid wife and one daughter remain. Although he had passed his 77th birthday, his mental faculties were yet good, having made all arrangements relative to his death and funeral. And by his appointment a meeting of the Ray and Armada cemetery association was called, which met upon the day of his death, April 11, 1896.

Mrs. Oran Freeman.—Mrs. Oran Freeman died April 29, 1896, aged 83 years. Catherine N. Freeman was the daughter of Ozni Miller, born in Otis, Mass., December 9, 1812. Left Massachusetts in 1818 and located in Monroe county, N. Y., ten miles south of Rochester. In 1832 the family settled in Ray township, Macomb county, Michigan. In 1829 she was married to Mr. Arnold. She had one son by this marriage, who died some years ago. October 31, 1843, she was united in marriage to Oran Freeman, whose death occurred only 18 days previous to that of his wife, thus this aged couple traveled life's journey nearly 53 years together.

Mrs. Charlotte Inwood.—Mrs. Charlotte (Remnent) Inwood died August 28, 1895, aged 96 years. Her husband served under Wellington in the British army and was present at the battle of Waterloo. Mrs.

Inwood was born in Frensam Surrey, England, August 29, 1799. She was married to William Inwood in 1820, and they came to this country in 1837 and settled five miles southwest of Romeo, at Clifton, Macomb county. Her husband died March 20, 1882. She was the mother of ten children of whom seven survive her; she had 39 grandchildren and 31 great-grandchildren. She was a devoted wife and mother, and had a kind and cheerful way and was respected by all. Coming to this country at an early day, she endured hardships which very few have the constitution to endure. She retained her faculties to the last. Mrs. Inwood united with the Mt. Vernon Baptist church in 1881.

Dr. Watson Loud.—Dr. Watson Loud died December 25, 1895. He was born July 3, 1806, in Westhampton, Hampshire county, Mass., and was consequently in the 90th year of his age at the time of his death. Mary Ann, his wife, was born in Easthampton, Mass., in 1808; early in life, with her parents, she removed to Northampton, where she was married in 1835, and after a long and severe illness, died in Romeo, February 8, 1876. The subject of this sketch, early in life, had only the advantage of a common school education. From the age of 12 to 18, he worked out by the month on a farm, or in his father's carpenter shop; having the privilege of school during the winter. During the years from 1826 to 1828, he fitted for college in the academies at Hadley and Westfield, Mass. In January, 1829, he entered the office of Drs. Hunt & Barrett, as a medical student. The winter of 1830-31, he attended a course of lectures in the medical department of Harvard University, Boston. In 1833 was graduated from the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. In the winter of 1834-5 he located himself in Hadley, Mass., where he remained in the practice of his profession until the summer of 1840. Dr. Loud was a man of very genial disposition, prominent and active in all the benevolent operations of the day, and leader in all the reforms of church and State, and greatly beloved and highly respected by everyone. He was superintendent of the First Congregational Sabbath school for eight years, having united with this church in May, 1847; deacon of the church nineteen years, secretary and treasurer thirty-six years, and was elected by the Eastern Conference, Michigan delegate to the National Council at New Haven, Conn., in 1874.

Mrs. Clarissa Lyons.—Mrs. Clarissa Lyons died November 23, 1895, aged 75 years. She married Sanford E. Lyons over fifty years ago, and settled on the farm where she continuously lived until her death. She was the youngest daughter of John Gass, father of the celebrated "Gass family," where thirteen children settled on adjoining farms in Ray, only two of whom are still living, viz., Geo. W. Gass and Mrs. E. W. Lyons.

ROBERT MCKAY.—Robert McKay died February 1, 1896, aged 83 years. He was born March 4, 1813, in Renfewshire, fourteen miles from Glasgow, Scotland. He was one of a family of six sons and three daughters, three of whom are yet alive. He came to America in 1830, and spent the first three years in the city of Baltimore, Md., engaging in mercantile pursuits. From there he moved to Nashville, Tenn., where he had charge of a large religious publishing house, conducted by the Presbyterians of the west. Here he spent three years. About this time his parents left Scotland and came to America, locating near Oxford, Oakland county. Mr. McKay came to meet them, was pleased with the country, and decided to remain in this State. In 1841 he moved into Macomb county, locating upon the farm where he lived until his death. Mr. McKay was in many respects a remarkable man. While all his life in Michigan was passed upon his farm he always took an active interest in business affairs for which he evinced a strong predilection, and was eminently successful. His farm, consisting of between six and seven hundred acres of excellent land was, however, the basis of his success. It was carefully and intelligently handled, and each year added to its fertility and value. His main crops for many years were wheat and wool, and his flock of Merinos numbering from 500 to 600, were noted for their good qualities. He bred them as carefully as though he was a breeder and not a wool grower. In his business affairs Mr. McKay was noted for his strict integrity and observance of his obligations. He had become associated with the Citizens' National Bank of Romeo, upon its organization, and was a director from that time until his death. When the Macomb County Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized he was elected each succeeding year for 18 years, finally resigning because increasing years and failing health admonished him that he was no longer able to give its affairs proper attention. In public affairs Mr. McKay always took a warm interest. Originally an Abolitionist, he allied himself with the Republican party at its inception, and never wavered in his allegiance to its principles so long as he lived. Declining public offices for himself, he was an earnest worker for the success of his party friends. At the first election in which the Republican party became a factor in public affairs Mr. McKay was elected justice of the peace, and this position he held up to the time of his death. No doubt he was the oldest incumbent of this office in the State.

HON. HARVEY MELLEN.—Hon. Harvey Mellen died August 8, 1895, aged 73 years. He was born in Middlebury, Genesee county, N. Y., April 3, 1822; he came to Michigan in 1837. In 1840 he entered the employment of the government as surveyor in the Upper Peninsula, working with and under the late Wm. A. Burt for seven years, until the Upper Peninsula township lines were established. He was appointed deputy

United States surveyor in 1848 by Lucius Lyon, from whom he received the first government contract for that year, and after completing the surveys of the Upper Peninsula, he was engaged three years on surveys in the Lower Peninsula, in that territory which now embraces the counties of Cheboygan, Otsego and Presque Isle, and later he surveyed running township lines in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Mr. Mellen had been a resident of the township of Bruce since 1848, and he was supervisor of that township for four years; was a member of the house of State representatives from the second district, from 1889 to 1892, inclusive, serving two terms, and was elected State senator for the term of 1893 to 1894, inclusive. He was an old time Jacksonian Democrat, and could trace relationship to that old war-horse whom Mr. Mellen greatly resembled in his vigor and push, keeping fully in touch with the times up to the time of his death.

Amos Palmer.—Amos Palmer died September 26, 1895. He was born at Granville, N. Y., January 26, 1810, and was therefore in the 86th year of his age at the time of his death. Deceased spent the first 25 years of his life at Granville, and in the autumn of 1833 located at Romeo, having been a resident of that village for 62 years.

Judge Sidney Preston.—Judge Sidney Preston, born January 6, 1831, died February 18, 1896, aged 65 years, one month and one day. Mr. Preston was born and brought up on the farm where he lived. He was married November 1, 1853, to Miss Caroline A. Bartlett, to whom five children were born, four of which are living. Mr. Preston in 1854 received the farm, where he lived, of his father, who then owned four eighties and has the signature of President Jackson on his deed.

Mrs. Robert Warner.—Mrs. Robert Warner died at Almont, October 11, 1895. She was over 92 years of age, and with her husband were among the first settlers of Macomb county, settling on a farm in Sterling township in 1835, where they resided until 1870, when they sold the farm and moved to Mt. Clemens, remaining there until Mr. Warner's death in 1884, at the age of 84 years.

Mrs. Jane Drake Winans.—Jane Drake Winans was born in Ovid, Seneca county, N. Y., in the year 1811, and died at her residence in Utica, Mich., October 13, 1895, in the 85th year of her age. From New York she moved to Michigan in 1833 and in 1834 was united in marriage to Louis Winans, of Wolcott, N. Y. Shortly after their marriage Mr. and Mrs. Winans moved into the house in Utica in which she had lived, with the exception of only a short time, for a period of over 62 years, and from which she was borne to her last resting place.

MONROE COUNTY.

BY JOHN DAVIS.

IGNATZ BITZ.—Another old pioneer has gone in the person of Ignatz Bitz, who died at his home in the township of Exeter, April 18, 1896, of heart failure, aged about 68 years. The deceased was born in Baden, Germany, and was married to Rosa Young and came to America 43 years ago, settling in the township of Exeter, where he has since lived. Mr. Bitz was the father of 10 children, of whom six survive, three daughters and three sons, with the aged wife and a host of friends mourn his death. He was an honest, upright man and a life-long democrat. He will be missed by many friends and neighbors. The funeral which was largely attended was held Monday, April 20, from St. Mary's church, Bluebush, Rev. Father Seybold, officiating.

ALEXANDER CALDWELL.—Alexander Caldwell died at Toledo on Thursday, October 24, 1895, in his 64th year. He was a brother of Charles Caldwell, of Monroe, and was born in Raisinville and lived in Monroe county until about four years ago, when he moved to Toledo. His father was Major Thomas Caldwell, a British officer in the war of 1812. His mother was Marie Antoinette Laselle, daughter of Jacques Laselle, the celebrated Indian trader, a native of Montreal, who settled on the River Raisin in Raisinville, about the year 1784. A widow, four daughters and two sons survive him. His remains were brought to Monroe Monday and buried from St. Mary's church.

MARY ESTEY COLE.—Mary Estey Cole, entered into rest Monday evening, September 30, 1895, at 10 o'clock, after a lingering illness, aged 86 years, 7 months and 17 days. Mrs. Cole was born in Dayton, Ohio. She was the daughter of Henry and Sarah Disbrow. She was married to the late Thomas G. Cole, in 1828, raising a family of seven children: Mrs. James A. Raynor, of New York; Mrs. George Armitage, Mrs. J. M. Bulkely, Mrs. H. F. Tyron, Henry T. Cole and Dan T. Cole, all of Monroe, and James L. Cole, who died in 1880. Her husband, Thomas G. Cole, died in 1862. He was one of the most enterprising citizens in the early times of Monroe, and was well known throughout the State, and remembered by many of Monroe. Mrs. Cole was associated with the early history of Monroe, living here seventy-eight years. She became a member of the Presbyterian church of Monroe, in 1832. Mrs. Maria Conant is now the only living person who, with her, united with the church at that time. Leading a quiet life Mrs. Cole was devoted to her family, and always took a great interest in church matters, and was much interested in the political situation of national affairs; a

woman of strong character, clear and precise in her manner and honesty of purpose. Her kindness and charity to the poor and helpless in her younger days, was one of her many virtues. The following extracts taken from a short history of her life, which was written by her, when she was 77 years old, may be found interesting: "When I was 3 years of age my father and mother went to Detroit from Dayton, O., taking me with them. Soon after our arrival the war of 1812 was declared, and we were detained two years. We were there during Hull's surrender. My father and a Mr. Kinsie were taken prisoners by the British and Indians, and confined at Malden, now Amherstburg. Guarded by 300 Indians, Mr. Kinsie was sent to Montreal in irons, and my father was soon after liberated. During his imprisonment at Malden the victory of Perry occurred on Lake Erie and from the former place the battle could be seen with spy glasses, and the firing of the guns heard. After two years' absence we returned to Dayton. In 1817, father moved to Monroe, Mich., bought the farm known afterwards as the Stewart farm, near the docks. At that time there were but three English families living on the river Raisin. There being only three farm houses between what is now called Waterloo, and the Stewart farm, on the south side of the river, and on the north side, two in the same distance, and only a foot bridge to cross the river. Father laid out and surveyed the town, now city of Monroe. My father and mother were born in New Jersey and married there; emigrating to Kentucky in wagons, went into the wilderness, lived in a log house without windows or doors and hung up blankets to protect them from the weather. After enduring many hardships such as pioneers in those days met with, they returned to Cincinnati and from there came to Michigan."

Maria Stewart Conant.—Maria Stewart Conant was born in Shaftsbury, Vt., October 26, 1804. Her earlier years were passed at Pompey, N. Y., from whence, with her mother and uncle, she removed to the frontier village of Monroe, in the then almost unsettled territory of Michigan, in 1819. Two years afterward, when a little more than 16 years of age, on June 4, 1821, she married Dr. Harry Conant, one of the earliest physicians of Michigan, and prominent as a professional, a mercantile and a public man in the early history of this part of the State. They began housekeeping in a dwelling then standing on the southwest corner of First and Macomb streets, where the residence of her daughter, Mrs. James Armitage now stands. In 1831, ten years afterward, her husband built her late residence, in the same lot, and immediately west of their first home, and they removed to it—the only removal which occurred after her marriage—and in that house, which had been her home for 65 years, she died on December 5, 1895, and from it was borne to her last

resting place. Ten children were born to them, of whom four died in infancy. One, Mrs. Harriet Pierce Armitage, passed away in early womanhood, March 25, 1844. Five are left to mourn her loss: Mrs. Alpheus S. Williams, of Detroit, widow of the brave general, whom his soldiers lovingly called "Pap Williams," during the war of 1861-65, and who was afterward member of congress from the first district; John S. Conant, of Detroit; Mrs. James Armitage, of Monroe; Mrs. John P. Hogarth, of Monroe, and Harry A. Conant, of Monroe, formerly United States consul at Naples, Italy, and ex-Secretary of State. Dr. Conant died in 1851, but his wife, during all the remaining years of her life, maintained her home. In it many of her children had been born, and nearly all had been reared; from it they were married; to it they brought their wives and husbands, and they have ever looked upon the old home as a harbor of consolation when sorrow came. Her life has not been simply to witness the dead fruits of fugitive years, yet it is seldom that so gracious and gentle length of life falls to the lot of any. The mention of her age—91 years—hardly recalls the changes which passed before her eyes. She was a playful child when the first steamboat disturbed the waters of the Hudson, near her birthplace. She was a wife and mother before the first railroad was laid, or the first friction match invented. She was past middle age when the first telegraphic message was sent. She had passed more than a half century of life ere the first cablegram sped under the Atlantic waves. She had reached the allotted three score and ten of human years before the typewriter, the telephone or the electric car were evolved from the inventor's busy brain. She heard the bugle call of every war of the nineteenth century, and the roll of Perry's artillery across the waters of the lake as it bore upon its waves tidings of his victory. She lived under the administration of every president but Washington. She found the west a wilderness, and lived to see it blossom as a rose. In 1832 she united with the Presbyterian church of Monroe, and retained an unbroken connection with it to her death, a period of over sixty years. Domestic in her tastes, her home was ever her chief delight, and her children and friends knew best the earnest and kindly depths of her nature. Her charities were many, but unostentatious, and there are many sad hearts to grieve the loss of their sympathetic benefactor. Redolent of kindness and good deeds, her life was serene; "and the end of such is peace." The funeral was from her late residence on Saturday, at 2 p. m., Rev. L. B. Bissell officiating.

Sylvanus W. Curtiss.—After being in failing health for about a year, a few days since Major Sylvanus W. Curtiss was stricken with apoplexy from which he lingered until Sunday morning, November 3, 1895, when at about 9 o'clock, he breathed his last. Sylvanus W. Curtiss was

born in Genesee county, N. Y., January 1, 1831. He was the son of Dr. Norman Curtiss. The family removed to Michigan when he was about 10 years old and settled in Monroe, living in the old Custer house. At the age of 23 he was married at Detroit to Emily Howe and removed to the village of Petersburgh, where he lived for about two years, returning thence to Monroe some four years prior to the beginning of the civil war and has since made Monroe his home. Previous to 1861 he was first lieutenant of the old State military organization known as the "City Guards," which at the outbreak of the war was incorporated into a post of the Seventh Michigan Infantry. Lieut. Curtiss went to the front with this regiment in 1861 as lieutenant and served 40 months, during a large portion of which he was in actual command of the regiment, he having early been promoted to major and Col. Hall being absent on other service. He was with the regiment during some of the fiercest battles of the war—notably the Peninsular campaigns, Antietam and Gettysburg. He was seven times wounded and at his death still carried an open wound. He was a man of uncompromising integrity and held numerous positions of public trust. He was largely instrumental in ferreting out the ditch frauds of a quarter of a century ago; was county drain commissioner, alderman of the Fourth ward for two terms, supervisor for three terms, a member of the board of education for 12 years and at his death was serving as county commissioner of the poor. His wife died December 1, 1894, and of four children three survive him, Walter S., Sylvanus W., Jr., of Detroit, and Mary H., of Monroe. Funeral services on Tuesday afternoon were conducted by the G. A. R., of which he was first post commander and by the Masonic fraternity, he having been one of the two surviving charter members of Eureka Lodge F. & A. M.

John H. Dennison.—At the home of his son, Z. H. Dennison, of Marshall, Thursday, February 6, 1896, occurred the death of John H. Dennison, aged 82 years and 4 months. The funeral took place on Saturday and was conducted by Rev. George F. Hunting, of the Presbyterian church. The deceased was one of Monroe's old pioneers. He came to Monroe in the spring of 1836. The greater part of his life was spent in Monroe up to two years ago when he went to Marshall to make his home with his son. Mr. Dennison was a universal favorite with young people and was the life of many a church social. He was a man of sterling integrity and a public spirited citizen. The news of his death will be regretted by a large circle of friends in Monroe.

William Durkee.—Sunday, March 29, 1896, at his home in Monroetown occurred the death of William Durkee. Mr. Durkee was born August 28, 1830, at Conneaut, Asthabula county, Ohio. When a young man he settled on a farm in Monroetown, and here spent the remainder

of his life as he died at the home he purchased about 30 years ago. Mr. Durkee was sitting at the breakfast table, having finished the meal, and shoved his chair back and began to converse with his son when he expired. Medical aid was summoned but his death had been instant, and was due to rheumatism of the heart. He leaves one son to mourn his death. Funeral services were held from the house Wednesday, Rev. Steininger, of Ida, officiating.

Isaac W. Farwell.—Isaac W. Farwell, another of Monroe county's oldest and most highly respected citizens, has been called to the great unknown. He has been a resident here for more than 63 years. He moved to Monroe with his parents in 1832 and settled in the township of Raisinville, where he aided in transforming the dense wilderness into a beautiful farm. Here he lived until about four years ago when he moved to Monroe. He was born at Springfield, Clark county, O., May 11, 1815. The most of his life was spent in agricultural pursuits. He was a man of the strictest integrity and honesty, beloved by all who knew him. He leaves one brother, John Farwell, in Monroe, a widow, two sons and two daughters to mourn his departure. His last illness dates back to an accident about five weeks before. He fell from a step ladder while picking cherries at his home on Third street and was severely injured. He improved until he was supposed to be out of danger; but Saturday he became worse and gradually failed, until the end came about 5 o'clock Tuesday afternoon, August 20, 1895.

Sister M. Felicitas.—After a lingering illness with heart trouble, Sister M. Felicitas, died at St. Mary's convent in Monroe, Friday, August 16, 1895, aged 49 years. Her worldly name was Miss Margaret Behen and her home was at Adrian. She was a sister of Mrs. John Tarsney, of Kansas City, Mo. The deceased entered the convent here in 1864 and has since been an untiring worker. She was for many years engaged in teaching in Holy Trinity and St. Vincent's parochial schools at Detroit and was the superior in each of them. She was much beloved by all who knew her, particularly by her pupils. Funeral services were held Monday morning, Rev. James Savage sang the requiem. He was assisted by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joos, Very Rev. Baumgartner, Rev. Fr. O'Rorke and Fr. Crowe. Rev. M. Dempsey delivered the sermon.

Mrs. Mary Golden.—Mrs. Mary Golden, relict of the late Patrick Golden, died at her home on Anderson street at 6 p. m. Monday evening, September 30, 1895, of acute pneumonia, aged 76 years. Mrs. Golden had been suffering from a nervous trouble for over a year which finally concentrated in her lungs, resulting in death. Her funeral took place at St. John's Church, Thursday morning, Rev. Fr. Crowe officiating.

Mary McDonough was born in County Roscommon, Ireland, in 1819, and emigrated to America and settled in Monroe in 1835. She has resided here since that time, 60 years, with the exception of about two years spent in Hillsdale county in 1839-40, when her late husband had a contract in constructing the old Michigan Southern R. R. In 1838 she married Patrick Golden. Nine children were born of this union, five of whom still remain, Charles A. Golden, our well-known attorney, and Mrs. John J. McCormick, of Monroe, and William, Joseph and A. C. Golden, farmers of Frenchtown.

Capt. Edward Lawrence Haff.—The bowed form and halting step of a once commanding and conspicuous figure, familiar in Monroe for a period covering more than the life of two generations, will be seen no more. Capt. Edward Lawrence Haff died at his residence on Scott street, Tuesday morning, October 8, 1895, having passed the age of 89 years. Born of a race of seamen—his ancestors for generations having been sea captains and sailors, Captain Haff, at the age of 15, following in the steps of his father, a sea captain, began life as a sailor. He was born in New York City, August 24, 1806, and for many years sailed the ocean as commander of some of the largest American merchantmen that in the earlier days plowed the world's waters, visiting the Indies, South America and Europe. In 1837 he came to Monroe and sailed various noted lake craft, among them the old famous Constitution, whose wreck now lies at the bottom of the river near Willow Island. During the war he commanded the "Lookout," a transport carrying troops between Chattanooga and other points controlled by the Union forces under Gen. Thomas. Prior to this date, however, he became a Lake Shore railroad conductor, when all that was then known of the now gigantic monopoly bore the modest name of "The Michigan Southern." His early runs were from Monroe to Hillsdale, over the wrought or "strap" rail, which was of about the width of a wagon-tire, and was spiked to wooden stringers laid lengthwise on the cross-ties. Few, indeed, who knew Conductor Haff in his palmy days, but will preserve a vivid remembrance of his tall, erect figure and bluff, blunt, fearless address. His strong personality and striking figure, stamped him as a man born to command. He continued in the service of the Lake Shore system till age and waning activity made his retirement from the position necessary, and he was given the position of baggageman, which position he filled thereafter, till seven years ago, when he was retired altogether from the service, May 5, 1888, as one of the company's pensioners, for long and faithful work. The weight of years with their attendant infirmities, bowed the stately form and shortened the steps of the old veteran, and his progress from his residence down town was slow, meas-

ured and laborious; but with rugged determination of spirit, he continued the battle of life and refused to surrender, till the vital spark was suddenly extinguished. The captain rose as usual, Saturday morning and started down town, but not feeling well, turned back. Sunday morning it was discovered that he had received a stroke of paralysis, which later was followed by apoplexy. Dr. Dawe, who was called, administered a powerful restorative, and for a short time the captain rallied a little and seemed conscious. The family grew hopeful, but the physician realized that the improvement was transient. The end soon came and a notable citizen had ceased from a long and active life. Captain Haff was married in New York at the age of 22 to Elizabeth Rodgers. Six children were born to them, of whom five are now living. They are: Margaret M., Mrs. R. D. Waters, and John Jacob Haff, of Monroe, and Mrs. Mary A. Jackson, of Detroit, and Edward Lawrence Haff, of Grand Rapids. Mrs. Haff died some years ago and Captain Haff had made his home with his son and daughter, John Jacob and Margaret Haff. Captain Haff was a cousin of Captain Henry Haff, who sailed the Defender and won the victory in the recent Defender-Valkyrie race. Funeral obsequies were held at the late residence, on Scott street, in charge of Monroe Lodge No. 19, I. O. O. F., of which order Captain Haff was many years a member.

Mrs. Susan Overdear Ilgenfritz.—Monroe is again called upon to mourn the loss of one of its pioneers. Susan Overdear was born at Little York, Pa., December 27, 1802. Her early life was spent in the east, when, in 1850, she married Jacob Ilgenfritz, and they immediately removed to Monroe, to reside. Mrs. Ilgenfritz's father made his home with them, living to the great age of 96. At her marriage she took charge of a large family, of which two step children survive her —William Ilgenfritz, of Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Ressler, of Chicago. For the past twenty-six years the deceased made her home at the residence of her stepson, the late I. E. Ilgenfritz. Soon after coming to Monroe she joined the Methodist church, of which, for nearly half a century, she has been a consistent member and a devoted Christian. Some two weeks before her death she received a fall, from which in her advanced age she was unable to rally and death came to her Monday evening, April 20, 1896, and was very peaceful and without a struggle. It was simply a running down of the vital machinery that had been faithful for nearly a hundred years. The funeral services were conducted from the home of Mrs. I. E. Ilgenfritz, Wednesday afternoon, at 4:30 p. m., Rev. Joseph Frazer conducting the services. Six step-grandsons acted as pall-bearers.

Mrs. Julia Cronenwett Itchner.—Sunday, April 19, 1896, after an illness of a few days, the reaper cut down another of Monroe county's pioneers. Julia Cronenwett was born in Baden, Germany, November 3, 1811. She came to America with her parents in August, 1830, and they settled in Monroetown, near where she died. She married Jacob Itchner in December, 1832, and was the mother of nine children, four of whom, with her husband, mourn her death. George, of Monroe; Mrs. Kate Dusing, of Raisinville, and two sons, who live on the old homestead—C. F. and Jacob, Jr.

Mrs. Katherine Blue Keegan.—Katherine Blue died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. W. J. Preece, in Jackson, on Saturday, October 6, 1895, in her 83d year. She was born in County Derry, Ireland, December 26, 1812. Emigrated with her parents to Albany, N. Y., when she was 12 years old. In 1831 the family moved to Monroe county, Michigan, and settled on the farm now owned by Philip Thoma, in Frenchtown. She was twice married—her first husband, Patrick McOskar, died three years after they were married, leaving her the care of three small children. In 1838, she was married to Oliver Keegan, who died in 1849. To them were born seven children. Four children survive her. Mrs. W. J. Preece, Jackson; Patrick McOskar, Colorado; Michael J. Keegan, Frazee City, Minn., and Thomas Keegan, of Monroe. Mrs. Keegan was a fine old lady. She belonged to a type of which the world has too few, and although she was privileged to so many years, her death is mourned by a large number of friends both young and old. Her remains were brought to Monroe and were buried from St. John's Church Tuesday morning.

John Kinnear.—In the death of John Kinnear, which occurred at his home, No. 221 Anderson street, on Friday, January 17, 1896, at noon, Monroe county and city is again called upon to mourn the loss of one of its sturdy pioneers; a man whose sterling integrity has been known by generations of our inhabitants and whose advanced age and the retention of his faculties have been wonderful. Mr. Kinnear was born in the Parish of Killmore, County of Cavan, Ireland, at the homestead Dummery, at 1 a. m., May 16, 1800. He was the last born of twin brothers, the other, Henry Kinnear, being still living at Picton, Ont., being in good health and the father of fourteen children. The twins have not met since 1865, when his brother Henry visited John at his home in Monroe. The death of John Kinnear breaks the tie of perhaps the oldest twins in the world. It is seldom that man attains the age of 95 years and wonderful that twin brothers should survive together, to reach almost the century mark. John Kinnear married Anna Ramsy in May, 1836, and their wedding journey was a stormy trip to America lasting sixty

days by sailing vessel. They landed at Quebec, going thence to Montreal, St. John's, N. B., and Albany, N. Y., visiting relatives for a few weeks. From Albany, in company with Charles Noble and wife, they started for Monroe, making the journey by canal-boat and steamer, reaching here after a journey of twenty-one days. Michigan was then but a territory and Monroe but a wooden hamlet, probably not much larger than the Ida of the present day, and having but one hotel—the Mansion House, standing on the sight where Dansard's bank now stands—where Mr. Kinnear and his wife put up, paying a dollar a day for accommodation. Their lives were the same as those of their pioneer neighbors, with but scant accommodation, meager facilities for travel and a wilderness to subdue. Game was plenty; Indians likewise, but the settlers were a scanty band. The entire population of the county, both Indians and whites, was but 1,500. There was a rival settlement at Brest, where in 1838 Mr. Kinnear bought a cook stove, paying $25.00 therefor. Two little railroads were projected soon after his arrival and built; one has almost faded from the records, the other has become a part of the great system of the Lake Shore. In his native land he was assistant secretary of Dean Fitzgerald's estate. When he came to America he was the first cashier of the old River Raisin bank under Mr. Charles Noble. After the failure of the bank he engaged in the milling business and later purchased a farm. He and his wife were members of the first class which presented itself for confirmation in Trinity Episcopal church of Monroe, and they were confirmed in 1837 by Bishop McCoskey, and have been members of Trinity church in Monroe continuously until their respective deaths. In 1854 Mr. Kinnear went upon a visit to Detroit on Captain Strong's steamboat, finding the present metropolis of Michigan then but a straggling village with three or four streets. Mr. Kinnear's wife preceded him in death, having passed away August 10, 1894, aged 84 years. They had eight children, seven of whom are living, Henry R., of Evart, Mich.; Charles W., of Galesburg, Ill.; Mrs. C. Mannassau, of Detroit, Mich.; John R., of Colorado Springs, Col.; Samuel R., of Detroit, and Elizabeth E. and E. James, of Monroe. There are fifteen grandchildren and four great-grandchildren. Funeral services were held from his late residence in the fourth ward, Sunday afternoon, at 2:30, Rev. Evans officiating.

Charles Kirchgessner.—At his late residence, No. 164 Hubble street, Monday, about noon, February 20, 1896, the reaper, death, came and relieved Charles Kirchgessner of his sufferings. The deceased was born in Buchen, Baden, Germany, February 26, 1826, and came alone to America in 1849, coming direct from his native land to Monroe. For a number of years he worked Robert Tolford's farm, in Raisinville, and was married October 28, 1852, to Miss Catherine Hane. He was the father of

eight children, seven of whom survive him: Joseph, Frank, Tillie and Ella, of Monroe, and Charles, Jr., Louise and Mrs. Matthew Elder, of Detroit. His three grandchildren were at his bedside when he passed away. Mr. Kirchgessner was a public spirited man and held the office of deputy sheriff for seventeen years, constable for nearly twenty years, supervisor of the first ward for eight years and was on his third term as justice of the peace at his death. He was a generous friend to a very large number of Germans, who looked upon his opinions and decisions in any of their personal troubles as final. Especially was he loved and honored in his family. Many of the needy poor relate the numerous kind acts that came from his hand. Mr. Kirchgessner was one of the charter members of the German Workingmen's Society and was local president for many years as well as state trustee of that organization. He was also an Odd Fellow for about forty-five years.

Mrs. Alice Knaggs.—One by one the pioneers of Monroe county are passing to the silence of the shoreless sea. Mrs. Alice Knaggs, another of the number, died at the residence of Mrs. John J. Stevens, August 2, 1895, in her 87th year. Alice Benson, the fifth and last surviving child of Peter Benson, Sr., was born in Lewis county, New York, November 22, 1808. Impressed by the glowing pictures of Michigan as an earthly paradise, which he heard from A. E. Wing, then on a visit to the neighboring city of Watertown, N. Y., her elder brother, Peter Benson, Jr., came to Monroe in 1824, settling on the Anderson farm north of the river. He was so favorably impressed with the outlook that the ensuing spring his father also came on with the family, including the daughter Alice, then 17 years of age. The Bensons at first went to Tecumseh, and after assisting in starting that village they went still farther west and opened a "tavern" on the Chicago road, near where the present village of Jonesville is situated. Here their nearest neighbor to the eastward was fifteen miles distant. Some two years later Alice returned to Monroe, making her home with her brother, and from his house she was married to Medore Couture on August 21, 1831. Couture was a son of Jean Baptiste Couture, one of the original French settlers, and both father and son had been involved in the Indian massacre of 1813. The father, J. B., was killed and scalped by the Indians. The son carried the blood-stained corpse of his father nearly half a mile and concealed it in a straw stack, intending to return at night and give it burial; but he himself was captured, and while bound to the stake, was only saved from death by being adopted as the son of an Indian chief. He was carried to Detroit, but afterward returned and gave his father's remains a decent burial. Medore had been originally intended for the priesthood and was well educated. He filled a large space in the early history of

Monroe city and county, having been almost continuously employed in some public capacity. He died, universally regretted, in December, 1857. Two years later, November 6, 1859, the widow married James Knaggs, also another well known historic character in Monroe county annals. Their married life was comparatively short, however, the husband dying in 1860, a few days after the first anniversary of their marriage. Mrs. Knaggs was the mother of four children, all of whom survive her—though but two were able to reach Monroe for her funeral—Mrs. Henry Dousman, of Fossil, Oregon; Samuel S. Couture, of Sacramento, Cal.; Edward C. Couture, of Toledo, O., and Mrs. Captain John J. Stevens, of Monroe. A woman of intense loyalty; both her sons and one son-in-law were soldiers in the war of the rebellion. To the last her memory was an unfailing storehouse of scenes and incidents of pioneer days in which she was a not inconspicuous actor. But few, if any, of the young women of the year of grace 1895 would care to take the trip she once did, going from Monroe to Tecumseh on horseback alone, through dense forest, peopled only by the bear and wolf, taking three days for the journey and camping beneath the trees at night. Owing to the adoption of her husband into an Indian tribe, the family were frequently visited during their early residence by the dusky red men, with whom they were universal favorites. She was a woman of kindly sympathies and Christian charity, and her gentle face has been familiar to many during the long and honorable years of her residence here. She was brought up in the Baptist faith, but for many years there was no Baptist church here, and she identified herself with the Methodists; but when the Baptists began the organization of a church here in the old court house, she united with them and for over thirty years has been a faithful member. Her funeral from that church, on Sunday, was largely attended.

John Henry Kurz.—John Henry Kurz was born in the county of Monroe, December 7, 1843. Some years previously, his father, Henry Kurz, had emigrated from Bavaria to the then infant State of Michigan, settling first in the township of Lasalle, removing later to Raisinville, and finally into the city of Monroe, where, some years ago, he passed away at a ripe old age. The boyhood of John Henry Kurz was passed in the city of Monroe, and his education was begun in the parochial school connected with the Trinity Lutheran church, on Scott street, at that time, and, indeed, for many years before and after, under the charge of the forceful and zealous Rev. William Hattstaedt. After his confirmation in the church he pursued English studies for a time; and later, having a predilection for the "art preservative," he sought and obtained from Thomas S. Clark, then proprietor of the Monroe Commercial, the exceedingly useful, but generally unappreciated position of "printer's

devil" upon that paper. He was apt and studious, steady and reliable, and soon went to the case as a compositor, perfecting himself in "book and job" work as well. In 1863, thoroughly equipped with a knowledge of his craft, he left Monroe and traveled, working upon papers in Detroit, Mich.; St. Louis, Mo., and in Illinois. In 1868 he returned to Monroe and entered the employ of the Commercial, then published by Milo D. Hamilton. Later he was employed on the Monitor, under Edward G. Morton, then the leading Democratic weekly in southeastern Michigan. The failing health of Mr. Morton caused a reorganization of the paper in 1872, and Mr. Kurz purchased an interest in it, and it was thereafter published by Morton, Lee & Kurz. Three years later Mr. Morton died, necessitating another reorganization, and Mr. Kurz purchased the remaining stock of the Monitor, becoming its sole proprietor, Mr. Lee being employed as editor. In February, 1880, the Democrat Printing & Publishing Company was incorporated, Mr. Kurz being one of the corporators, and on March 17 of that year was issued No. 1 of Vol. 1 of the Monroe Democrat. The Monitor plant went to the new corporation and the Monitor was merged into it; large additions of material were made, and the paper at once took the prominent and commanding position which it has ever since maintained in the journalistic field. Upon its inception D. R. Crampton became its business manager —a position he still retains—and Mr. Kurz was secretary and treasurer of the organization continuously to the date of his death, assuming charge of the mechanical department of the office and plant. From that time to the present the history of the Democrat has been the life history of Mr. Kurz. Nearly forty years have passed since Mr. Kurz took his first lesson as a printer, and excepting his few years of travel, the entire time has been passed in newspaper work in Monroe. It is seldom, indeed, that so long and useful a career in such an honorable avocation is vouchsafed to any community. Mr. Kurz was married on July 18, 1873, to Miss Lydia Mohr, of Monroe. Three children have come to them: Martha, born 1874, now the wife of Prof. T. P. Bauer, of the High School; Henry W., born 1876, now a student at the University of Michigan in the classical course, and Edward C., born 1879. All have been spared to be with him in his last moments here, and with his wife, two brothers and two sisters, to deplore his untimely death. Though an earnest and able advocate of the political principles which he professed, and eminently fitted by his upright nature and his unswerving probity for political preferment, he was never an office-seeker. Twice he was called upon to serve his fellow citizens, once as alderman of the second ward, and for a number of years as chief engineer of the fire department. In each capacity his services were valuable and acceptable. His church had chosen him as one of its trustees

and a member of its board of education, and he was one of the trustees of the magnificent charity of Altenheim until his failing health warned him to lay down the burden. In all his relations of life it was his characteristic to do with all his might what his hand found to do. Thus sped in peace and honor the calm current of his useful life. Blessed in his occupation, blessed in his happy home, blessed in the multitude of friends his manly nature had drawn to him, it seemed as if, looking into the vista of the future, many happy years of life were before him ere the final close. But while it was yet day, the night came. Pain and infirmity—appointed guests of age—met him while yet in his prime. At the close of last winter he found himself seriously ill, yet with his hopeful nature he was certain that it was but a temporary ailment which had fastened upon him. He sought medical advice, and, for a time, tried the springs at Mt. Clemens. There seemed to be a partial improvement, but it proved only temporary, and day by day his vitality lessened. Still maintaining his cheerful spirit, it was but a brief time before the final scene that he would pain the loving hearts who watched him by admitting that

"For the weariness that comes of living,
There is no cure but death."

and then, when he felt the end so nigh, and the necessity of being brave, to avoid long sorrow to his loved ones, no longer upon him, upon the early morning of Friday, August 30, 1895,

"God's finger touched him and he slept."

John Loeffler, Sr. John Loeffler, Sr., died at his home in Monroe, January 14, 1896. He was born at Auernheim, Bavaria, Germany, September 10, 1820. When 14 years old he had learned the shoemaking trade in Germany and he followed it for sixty-five years. At about 22 years of age he came to America and settled in Monroe in 1843. He was favorably impressed with the location and sent to his old home in Germany for his bride, *nee* Margaret Lippenberger, and a colony of thirty-two sailed for America, and Monroe as the objective place, Mr. Loeffler's father paying the entire expense of bringing the colony to America. Soon after his arrival in Monroe he began to follow the trade of his choice and met with fair success. Later, with N. P. Newell, he formed a partnership which lasted eighteen years. Nine children blessed his home, six of whom survive him. They are: John C. Loeffler, Jr., Monroe; Mrs. Mary Thorn, Wyandotte; Elizabeth Scherltz, Toledo; Betty Zink, of Monroe, and Wm. N. Loeffler, of Fort Wayne, Ind. Some years ago Mr. Loeffler gave up active business and only worked a very little, taking the comforts of life after many years of labor. He was confined to his bed about six weeks with a general breaking down of the whole system.

MRS. CONSTANT C. LUCE. Eliza C., wife of Col. Constant C. Luce, Tuesday night, October 30, 1895, entered into that peaceful sleep,

"From which none ever wakes to weep,"

and a shadow rests on the Scott street home, and in the heart of the husband, to whom this dispensation comes with especial grief. It takes from him the devoted companion of many years and the last immediate member of the family, the only child—a son—having died some years ago. Eliza C. Eycleshimer was born near Syracuse in April, 1821, and came west with her parents, who settled in Lasalle township about the year 1835. She became the wife of Constant C. Luce in April, 1843, and resided in Monroe from that date till the time of her death. She was a lady whose life was spent in doing good, and many were the deeds of charity and generosity that came from her willing hand and sympathetic heart to those who had need. She was domestic in her tastes and loved her home; firm in her religious convictions and a farsighted, intelligent discerner of the affairs of life. Fifty years she had been a member of the Presbyterian church. During the period of the rebellion Mrs. Luce was active in efforts to procure means for the purchase of flags and other gifts to Michigan defenders of the Union. Never weary in well doing she was one of those who "rest from their labors and their works follow them."

MRS. MATILDA MCELDOWNEY.—At the residence of her son-in-law, E. W. Hilton, of Erie, February 22, 1896, Mrs. Matilda McEldowney, aged 81 years, 4 months and 23 days. Matilda Schaffer was born in Ayer, Bedford county, Pa., September 29, 1814. Was married to Andrew McEldowney in 1830. Three years later they came to Michigan, making the whole distance by wagon, and settled in Erie township, where they have since lived, until the husband and father died some twelve years ago. Mrs. McEldowney died in full Christian faith, having lived the same, always. She leaves four daughters and two sons—Mrs. D. C. Pierce, of Ipswich, S. Dak.; Mrs. E. W. Hilton, of Erie, who has cared for her mother for many years; Mrs. Albert Smith, of Belding, Mich.; Mrs. Hattie Johnson, of Ipswich, S. Dak.; Augustus, of S. Dak., and O. S. McEldowney, of Raisinville.

MRS. PHILLIP MCBRIEN.—Early Sunday morning, January 12, 1896, occurred the death of Mrs. Phillip McBrien at the home of her daughter, Mrs. J. F. Kane, at Elkhart, Ind. Mary Corrigan was born in Tyroon County, Ireland, August 15, 1818. When a young woman she came to America with her parents and settled in New York. At the age of 21 she was married to Phillip McBrien, and in the spring of 1842 came to Monroe, where she resided until some eighteen months ago, when she

went to Elkhart to live with her daughter. Mrs. McBrien had been failing and about three months ago she had an attack of pneumonia, which proved fatal. Two sons and four daughters live to mourn her loss: Michael McBrien, of Royal Center, Ind.; Charles McBrien, of Toledo; Mrs. Anna Gafney, of Chicago; Mrs. J. F. Kane, Libbie and Philomena McBrien, of Elkhart, Ind. The remains arrived on the morning train from the west Tuesday and funeral services were held at St. John's church, Rev. Crowe, officiating. Mrs. McBrien was a loving mother and neighbor, who will be missed by her many friends in Monroe and vicinity.

Patrick McGowan.—Another old pioneer has gone, in the person of Patrick McGowan, who died at his home in Exeter, March 28, 1896, of paralysis, aged about 80 years. The deceased was born in the County of Roscommon, Ireland, and came to America forty-five years ago, settling in the township of Exeter, where he has since lived. Mr. McGowan leaves an aged wife, three sons and two daughters, besides a host of friends, to mourn his death. He was an honest, upright man and a life-long Democrat who will be missed by many friends and neighbors.

Mrs. Mary Ford Manning. Silently and suddenly, while the pleasant converse enjoyed with friends was yet fresh on her lips, our well beloved townswoman, Mrs. Mary Ford Manning, passed away Monday, July 15, 1895. For sixty-two years the graceful form of this attractive woman has been seen on the streets of Monroe in the flush and beauty of early wedded life, in the following but none the less significant years that mark the half way home, making a grand total by the mature and mellowed rounding out of the last quarter century. She was in every respect 82 years young; no subject was too abstruse for her well trained intellect; the questions of the day, the complex and various topics arising for discussion were always thoughtfully considered and an opinion given in clear, concise terms that showed an active brain dominated every thought. With deft fingers she fashioned beautiful and dainty work, and was a true artist in taste and conception. Her penmanship to the last was exquisitely beautiful, and was a type of the hand that fashioned it. The world as represented in different stages with regard to age, found pleasant sympathy of reciprocal enjoyment in her much sought society—a remarkable factor that we remember was always an accompaniment of her daily avocations, an accomplishment vouchsafed to few. Her birthplace was Fairfield, Herkimer county, N. Y. She was the only and much admired daughter of the celebrated jurist, Judge William D. Ford, and immediately after her marriage to William H. Manning (who died in 1854) came to Monroe and adapted herself with her charming inborn tact to the atmosphere of a western life. She was the oldest

living communicant of Trinity Episcopal church, having been confirmed in the first class, so that the interests of the church were closely interwoven with her life. Seven children were born to her, two only of whom survive her—Mrs. William DeLand, of Chicago, and Mrs. Frank S. Sill, of Monroe. For years the loving attention of these daughters has been a living poem, a well-spring of such tender solicitude that they seemed to combine the love and watchfulness of daughter and protector in one. These then are the sweetest thoughts to remember, the pleasant duty that brought its own reward, in an aftermath that will abide with these her loved ones as a daily benediction until the journey of life is ended and they join this mother, gone before them to the abode of the blessed.

Gouverneur Morris.—Among those who in 1840 left their quiet homes on the hillsides and in the valleys of New England to cast their lots with the then sparse population of Michigan and the great unsettled west was Gouverneur Morris, the subject of this sketch. He was born in Springfield, Windsor county, Vermont, February 1, 1809, and was named for his great uncle, Gouverneur Morris, the statesman to whom President Madison gave the credit of clothing the Constitution of the United States in its present form of words; who afterwards received from President Washington the appointment of Minister to France, where, through all the bloody scenes of the French revolution he was the only representative of a foreign government who remained faithfully at his post of duty. Gen. Lewis R. Morris, the father of Judge Morris, was a son of Richard Morris (at one time Chief Justice of the State of New York, and whose tablet, with that of his wife, is still seen in Trinity churchyard, at the head of Wall street), was born in Wall street, in the city of New York. He joined the Revolutionary Army at 17 years of age as a lieutenant, continuing in service during the remainder of the war, at one time on the staff of Gen. Schuyler, and later on the staff of Gen. Clinton. While still holding his commission in the army (1781 and 1782) he acted as first assistant in the State Department of the Government, then known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, and in that position during the necessary absence of the secretary, Chancellor Livingston, many of the negotiations with the various European courts in relation to our peace with Great Britain and the recognition of our independence by other powers were carried on under his supervision. Removing to Vermont, he was one of two delegates sent by that territory to secure its admission as a state into the Union; received from President Washington the appointment of its first United States Marshal; was for thirteen sessions Speaker of the Vermont House of Representatives, and for six years member of Congress from that State. Judge Morris' mother, a woman of culture and refinement, was a daughter of Lieutenant Governor Jonathan Hunt, of Vermont. The first steps in the education of

Judge Morris were taken under the supervision of a governess. Rapidly outgrowing this form of instruction, he attended academies in Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire until his seventeenth year, when he entered Dartmouth College, graduating therefrom in the class of 1830. After one year of close application at the New Haven Law School he left on account of ill health and traveled through the southern states. Partially recovering his health, he entered the law office of King, Chase & Walker, of Cincinnati, and was a member of the first class of what was afterwards known as the Cincinnati Law School, where he completed his studies. Here a friendship commenced between Judge Chase (afterwards Chief Justice) and himself, which was continued in a correspondence for many years. He was first admitted to the bar in Kentucky; afterwards returning to Vermont, he settled in Brattleboro and commenced the practice of his profession. In 1834 he was married to Frances V. Hunt, of Vermont, and three years later removed to New York city. In 1840 he came to Michigan, settling at Brest, Monroe county, at that time a stirring village with all prospects of becoming a prosperous city; but the growth of Detroit and Monroe usurping its brilliant future, he, with others, turned his attention to farming. In 1855 he removed to Monroe city, where he spent the remainder of his days. In 1860 he was elected county treasurer. At the expiration of his term of office he formed a copartnership with the late Roderick O'Connor, then a leading dry-goods merchant of Monroe, retaining an interest in the mercantile business in connection with the practice of law. During his residence in Monroe county he held the offices of supervisor, city treasurer, county treasurer, alderman, member of the school board, circuit court commissioner, judge of probate, and finally circuit judge for the first term of the twenty-second judicial circuit, composed of Monroe and Washtenaw counties. The fidelity with which he discharged the duties of these various offices may be inferred from the fact that in his election for circuit judge he received a plurality of over 1,200 in Monroe county, in a triangular contest with two well known and prominent gentlemen, lawyers of recognized ability. He was a lifelong Democrat, zealous for the success of his party, yet he was never an office seeker. All the offices which he held came to him without effort on his part. He was a man of strong prejudices, always ready to do a kind act for his friends and equally ready to punish his enemies. It was his desire to gratify his friends rather than to appease the wrath of his enemies. While he respected one who honestly and openly opposed him, he despised a fawning hypocrite. In his youth he saw President Monroe during his official tour of the Eastern States; was present at a reception given Lafayette in 1824; conversed with Daniel Webster while a guest in his father's house; saw Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the great Napoleon and ex-King of

Naples and Spain in 1829, at his (Bonaparte's) home in Bordentown, N. J., Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, John Jacob Astor, Noah Webster, and other prominent and noted men of their day; had listened to sermons delivered by the father of Henry Ward Beecher; had attended lectures of the first Professor Silliman, and was familiar with and had a clear recollection of important events which to most of us are known only in history. He was a man of fine intellect and classical education, who found his enjoyment in books rather than people; he was gifted with a wonderful memory, combined with an ardent desire for information upon all subjects that interest the world of today. He was descended from one of the oldest and most illustrious families of the United States, and was related by blood or connected by marriage with the Hamiltons, Schuylers, Bleekers, Ludlows, Lorillards, Hunts, and many others whose names are prominent in history. Still he recognized no aristocracy in this land, and was ready to accord to every one such consideration as their own conduct and qualifications merited. He died at Monroe, May 12, 1894, aged 85 years.

William Morrison.—William Morrison died at the home of his son, Clarence Morrison, Saturday morning, November 16, 1895, aged 95 years. In number of years he was the oldest resident of Dundee township. Came to Dundee forty-seven years ago last summer, removed from Morris county, New Jersey, and located upon the farm which he has since occupied and where he died—two miles south of the village, on Petersburg road. His wife died twenty-nine years ago; she was the mother of ten children, only three of whom are now living—Clarence Morrison and Mrs. Ezra Ellis, of Dundee, and Josiah Morrison, now living in California. He had continued to enjoy good health until within a few years, and was lively and a worker. The last time that he was in the village was to attend the election of 1892, but has been about the home premises until the past year, during which he has been obliged to remain within the house on account of increasing feebleness. "Uncle Billy," as he was generally called, was known by all the community, was social and intelligent. Was a Democrat in politics, and was always on hand at elections to cast his vote for that party. Funeral was held at the home, Monday forenoon, Rev. Perrin officiating, and remains buried in Oakwood Cemetery.

Daniel C. Mulhollen.—Daniel C. Mulhollen died at his home in Monroetown August 17, 1895, after an illness of three weeks with heart trouble. He was born March 3, 1841, on the farm where he spent his entire life and recently passed to his reward. The homestead was purchased by his grandfather from the government about eighty-three years

ago, and has been in the possession of the family ever since. Mr. Mulhollen was married to Miss Selena Iveson November 25, 1869. To them two children were born, Allen and Miss Gertrude. Both survive him with their mother. Mr. Mulhollen's mother, aged 82, three sisters and one brother also survive him. The deceased united with the M. E. church of Monroe about twenty-six years ago and has been a devoted and consistent member, and at the time of his death was a trustee of the church. Mr. Mulhollen pursued the vocation of a farmer, and his beautiful home a few miles south of the city is a convincing evidence of his success. He was honest and conscientious in all his dealings with his fellowmen. His friends were numbered with his acquaintances and many are deeply mourned at his death. Rev. Frazer conducted the funeral services at the residence and the remains were buried in the Monroetown cemetery.

Mrs. Daniel C. Mulhollen.—The sudden death of Mrs. Daniel C. Mulhollen occurred at her home in Monroetown Friday evening, April 17, 1896. The deceased had been sick but a short time with pneumonia and her sudden death was unexpected. The death of her husband occurred but a few months since. Mrs. Mulhollen was born March 7, 1841, and leaves a son and daughter to mourn her death. Funeral services were conducted by Rev. Joseph Frazer, Monday afternoon, at 3 p. m.

John R. Rauch.—John R. Rauch was born in Harrisburg, Pa., in 1832, and died in Monroe, Mich., September 15, 1895. He was the son of John Rauch and Anna Maria Ulrich. He removed to Lasalle, May 11, 1846, and spent his early life in Michigan on a farm. He was educated at Heidelberg College, at Tiffin, Ohio, and graduated in 1856 in the classical course. Later he entered the law office of Col. Grosvenor, read law, was admitted to the bar, and became the partner of Col. Grosvenor in his extensive law practice. Subsequently he opened an office of his own and continued the practice of his profession with success. He was married October 6, 1864, to Francis C. Mattoon, daughter of Rev. Charles N. Mattoon, D. D. One child, a daughter, Mary Mattoon Rauch, was born to them, and resides at the family home. Two brothers of Mr. Rauch—Edward and Jacob—reside respectively at Gettysburg, Pa., and Toledo, Ohio. There are five sisters—Mrs. R. G. Kelley and Mrs. W. W. Delphey, of Erie, Mich.; Mrs. Honsberger and Mrs. Nicholson, of Toledo, Ohio, and Mrs. Dodd, of Iron Junction, Minn. Mr. Rauch, early in life, became a member of the Presbyterian church, and was one of the trustees of the church of Monroe. He was also, for fifteen years, superintendent of the Sunday school. The Masonic fraternity claimed in him a faithful and exemplary brother. His illness, which was of eighteen months duration, was the result of a fall, received some years before.

JOHN MICHAEL SCHOBER.—John Michael Schober was born in Bavaria, Germany, March 5, 1805. In 1851 he and his wife and family, consisting of eight children, emigrated to America and settled in Ida township in what was then a primitive forest, and set about clearing the land for a farm, on which he has always resided. Mr. Schober was a man of intelligence and retained his mental faculties up to his death. He contracted a severe cold some months ago, but seemed to regain his former vigor and Saturday, April 18, 1896, was out in his orchard with his grandchildren when he fell forward on the ground. His daughters seeing him fall, hastened to his side, but being unable to raise him, summoned aid. Two neighbors responded and Mr. Schober was carried into the house, where he shortly expired of heart failure. He leaves six children—Mrs. Charles Gruner, of Monroe; Leonard, of Toledo; Rev. Lewis, of Ottawa Lake; Mrs. Jacob Kratz, of Ida, and Martin, who remained on the old homestead. Mr. Schober was a decided and ardent Lutheran, and did much to organize and maintain his religion in the locality in which he lived.

JOHN SORTOR.—John Sortor was born in Ovid, Seneca county, New York, May 17, 1818, and died July 20, 1895, in his 78th year. He sprang from an old Pennsylvania Dutch family, who trace their origin back many generations and include in them a number of New York's noted men and honored women. His father was George Sortor, a soldier in the Revolutionary army. This family possess the acquisitive faculty to a marked degree, all of its men and many of its women being endowed with large business instincts. John Sortor left his widow and five children a fair unencumbered inheritance. He was a tender father, a charitable neighbor, a respected citizen and a resident of Monroe county for more than sixty years.

MRS. WM. STONER.—Sunday morning, November 17, 1895, at about 6 o'clock, occurred the death of Mrs. Wm. Stoner. Ellen Cooney was born in Roscommon county, Ireland, July 8, 1828. When about 10 years old she and her parents came to America and settled in Lasalle township, where she lived until 1848, when, on December 3, she was married to Wm. Stoner. She was the mother of seven children, six of whom live to mourn her death—Jefferson, of Monroe; Frank, of Toledo; Mrs. A. E. Sancrant, of Monroe; Mrs. T. B. Abbott and Mrs. A. E. Cicott, of Detroit, and Mrs. E. T. Horn, of West Superior, Wis. Mrs. Stoner was a loving, affectionate wife and mother, a friend to the needy and a Christian woman. Nine grandchildren mourn her death.

STEPHEN B. WAKEFIELD.—Stephen B. Wakefield, one of Monroe's pioneers, died Sunday morning, March 1, 1896. He was born at Williston, Vt., July 29, 1814. He remained with his father and worked on the farm until he was of age. He then went to Cleveland, Ohio, and

remained there until 1838 when he moved to Monroe. In 1840 he was united in marriage to Victoria Shovar, to whom six children were born. Mrs. Wakefield died of cholera in 1854. In 1860 Mr. Wakefield married Mrs. Esther Moore, who died some two years since. Mr. Wakefield was an industrious and progressive citizen, ever willing to do all he could for the advancement of Monroe. When he first came here he was interested in the livery and stage business and for over a third of a century had the contract for carrying the United States mail between Toledo and Detroit by stage. Later he became a contractor for the construction of plank and rail roads. He built and had an interest in the plank roads from Saline to Milan, and the Erie, Monroe and Flat Rock plank roads. He then began to construct railroads as a contractor. In 1870 he built a part of the Monroe, Wayne & Holly, now a part of the F. &. P. M. Ry, and the Canada Southern between Detroit and Toledo. He built the Butler road, now a part of the Wabash, and the "Nickle Plate" from Springfield, Pa., to Madison, Ohio. This was the main grade. In late years he built the M. & O. from Tecumseh to Dundee, now a part of the C. J. & M.; also, an extension on C. M. & St. P., between Ottumwa, Iowa, to Chillicothe, Wis., a distance of 110 miles; also fulfilled a contract with the Santa Fé route. He was one of the leaders and ardent fighters for our present Union school, and his efforts were successful. He leaves four children, George, Frank and Stephen B., Jr., and Mrs. B. F. Alford, to mourn his death. He was buried from the Episcopal church, Tuesday afternoon, at 3 p. m., Rector Evans officiating. After the religious service the Masonic fraternity, of which he was a member, took charge of the remains. The funeral was very largely attended.

MUSKEGON COUNTY.

BY HENRY H. HOLT.

Mrs. Susan Bohne.—Mrs. Susan Bohne was born in the state of New York, June 23, 1809. When but 3 years of age one of her parents died, followed within a week by the other one. Arriving at the age of 15 years, Mrs. Bohne went to Paris, Ill., where at the age of 17 she married Thomas W. Dill. In 1837 they boarded the steamer Columbus at Chicago and went to Grand Haven. From there they attempted to come to Muskegon in a small canoe by way of Lake Michigan. Before proceeding very far the canoe was swamped by the huge waves and they were compelled to walk the rest of the way. Stopping over night at a house in what was the principal locality on Muskegon lake, they con-

tinued their way up the river in a canoe to Newaygo. They lived one year there and then returned to "Mill Iron Point," a place eight miles up the Grand river and for one whole year they were not favored with even a glimpse at the face of a white person. Shortly after moving to "Mill Iron Point" a daughter was born to them. She is now Mrs. John A. Curray, living at 5 W. Muskegon avenue, and was the first white child born within miles of Muskegon. She was born June 10, 1837. A few years later they came to Muskegon and have lived here ever since. In 1840 they started the first hotel ever kept here, it being known at that time as the Muskegon house. It was located near the site now occupied by the Rodgers Mfg. Co.'s factory, and was built by Louis Baddeau, an Indian trader who made the first land purchase from the government. Mr. Dill died in 1854 and she married Louis Bohne, who died the same year and she remained a widow since. Mrs. Susan Bohne died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Emily Penny, 46 Walton street, Muskegon, Mich., February 17, 1895. She was 85 years and 8 months of age and what a history went with her passing. She who gave birth to the first white child in or for miles about Muskegon, she who came to Muskegon the year the great State of Michigan joined the union, the same year that the first of Muskegon's many sawmills started that subsequently made her the queen lumber city of the west, she who has lived in Muskegon since its infancy, has at last joined the great majority and has taken with her, no doubt, more of the real early history of Muskegon than has ever been recorded.

Albion A. Bullock.—Albion A. Bullock died June 9, 1895, at his residence in Muskegon, aften an illness of four weeks, aged 72 years. He leaves a widow 69 years of age, and a daughter, Mrs. Robert T. Stanton, of Chicago. The funeral was held on the 12th, in charge of the Masonic fraternity, Rev. A. Hadden, officiating. Mr. Bullock was born in Grafton, New Hampshire, March 4, 1823. Nearly 45 years ago he married Miss Euda McMaster, in Stafford, Vt. In 1857 they removed to Muskegon, and have lived here continuously since. Mr. Bullock has been known as a worthy citizen, well thought of by all his acquaintances.

George E. Dowling.—George E. Dowling died suddenly of heart failure at his home in Montague, about 3 o'clock Monday morning, March 30, 1896. Mr. Dowling had been in poor health for two years, but had been on the street attending to business until a week before. He leaves a wife but no children. He was born in Bayham, Canada, February 26, 1839. The family moved to Grand Rapids in 1840 and the father yet resides on a farm in Alpine just out of the city. At the age of 17 Mr. Dowling went to Grand Haven and commenced clerking in the general store of Ferry & Son. During the years 1857 and 1858 he was employed

in the Chicago lumber yard of the same firm. He went to White River, in 1859, and assisted Maj. N. H. Ferry in his sawmill business, but the following year took a trip to Pike's Peak and then on to California. After a year he returned and assumed charge of Maj. Ferry's extensive business when the major entered the army. Upon the death of Maj. Ferry in 1865 the business was closed out at White River and Mr. Dowling moved four miles up White Lake to the present site of Montague. The firm of Ferry, Dowling & Co., composed of the Rev. William M. Ferry and E. P. Ferry, with Mr. Dowling as resident managing partner was formed. They platted the village of Montague and erected the first sawmills and store. Mr. Dowling was later a partner in the sawmill firm of F. H. White & Co., and the mercantile firm of S. H. Lasley & Co. Ferry, Dowling & Co. also erected a large flouring mill, hotel, etc. They were in fact the founders of Montague and conducted a large and successful lumbering and general business which Mr. Dowling managed until 1883, when the firm was dissolved. Since then Mr. Dowling has given his time to banking and real estate. He organized the Muskegon County bank at Montague, a partnership in which H. H. Terwilliger and C. H. Cook were associated with him. He also built the Franklin house. Almost twenty years ago Mr. Dowling married Miss Anna Wilson. Their only child died a number of years ago. He leaves four brothers, William C., Henry P. and Mel Dowling, who live on or near the old home farm in Alpine. Another brother, C. D. Dowling, resides at Montague. He was one of the most prominent members of the Masonic order in Michigan. For many years he was master of the Montague lodge and in 1894 reached the exalted position of Grand Master for the State of Michigan. He was a man of remarkably strong character, great intelligence and wonderful business energy and tact, always noted for strict integrity, public spirit and benevolence. He will be mourned not only in Montague and Muskegon county, but throughout the entire State, of which he was so conspicuous and popular a citizen. A large delegation of Shriners and many other citizens from various parts of the State were in attendance at the funeral, which was conducted under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of the State.

George W. Friant.—George W. Friant has long been known as a pioneer of western Michigan, was born in Lyons, N. Y., May 16, 1828; removed with his father's family to Michigan when he was 6 years of age, reaching Lansing by ox teams, and from thence continued to Plainfield by canoe on the Grand river. Here he lived until old enough to do business for himself. He was married on Christmas, 1856, to Cynthia Pease, of Cannon, Mich., who died March 16, 1880. Soon after reaching Grand Haven he bought a dock and went into the docking business. Later he bought a saw mill and continued his mill business nearly as long as

he continued in business. He suffered the first stroke of paralysis about three years before his death, the second in two years and the third, which developed into creeping paralysis, caused his death. During these years he made his home with his daughter, where he died on the 11th of December, 1895. He leaves four children: Mrs. S. H. Mathews and Arthur E. Friant, of Muskegon; Morris Friant, of Chicago, and Dwight Friant, of Grand Rapids.

Henry Staples.—Henry Staples, a pioneer of the north part of Muskegon county, and the father of Hon. Hiram E. Staples, who represented the second district of Muskegon county in the legislature of 1885, died August 13, 1895, from the effects of a surgical operation, performed that day. Mr. Staples was born near Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in 1811. In 1848 he, with his family, removed to Ravenna, Ohio, and in 1851, he removed to Michigan, locating at Hillsdale. In 1857 he came to what was then known as White River country, now as Whitehall. Here he occupied a small farm. To the people of the village he was affectionately known as Grandpa Staples. He leaves a wife who is also well advanced in years, and a daughter, Mrs. Jennie Lake.

Mrs. Julia A. Witherell.—Among the early settlers identified with Muskegon and its development, few, if any, were better known than was Mrs. Julia A. Witherell, who died on August 7, 1895. She had been sick and blind since March 25, 1870. Mrs. Witherell was born in Aurora, Steuben county, N. Y., on the 24th of October, 1807. She came to Soulesville, Mich., fifty-six years ago, from thence with her husband to Grand Haven and thence to Mona Lake, where her husband built the first sawmill, making use of the small stream for water power. Mr. Witherell was a carpenter and assisted in building some of the first mills in Muskegon, particularly that of Wm. Lasley, the father of S. H. Lasley, now register of deeds. Mr. Witherell died in 1851.

OAKLAND COUNTY.

George Sellman.—George Sellman was born February 3, 1815, at Canadaigua, N. Y., and died at his home in Lyon township, January 2, 1893. He came to Michigan with his parents when he was 17 years old, they coming overland with three covered wagons to Ann Arbor in the fall of 1832, and in the spring of 1833 settled on the farm in Lyon, where he and his parents died. The patent to the land was executed by Gen. Andrew Jackson, then president of the United States. His father was Thomas Sellman, a native of Maryland, who died September 5, 1862,

and his mother, Ruth Harris, from Pennsylvania, died October 4, 1843. On January 1, 1845, he married Tabitha Appleton, who died December 15, 1863. Her father was William C. Appleton, and her mother was Margaret C. Bennett, both of New Jersey families. He became a member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society in 1884 and was highly esteemed by all who knew him.

SAGINAW COUNTY.

BY CHARLES W. GRANT.

Mrs. Peter C. Andre.—At 8:30 o'clock Thursday morning, April 30, 1896, Clarissa M., beloved wife of Hon. Peter C. Andre, responded to the final summons at her home on Court street, and one more of Saginaw's pioneers was at rest. For almost 50 years she had called Saginaw home, and though her household and her family were her kingdom, she had in that time made many warm friendships and won a warm place in many hearts that today mourn because she is no more with them. On June 19, Mr. and Mrs. Andre would have celebrated the 50th anniversary of their marriage, a golden event that each had looked forward to with hope and rejoicing, but this wish is denied, and the aged husband, who will be 79 this fall, is bereft of one who, for half a century, had shared his joys and sorrows, his triumphs and losses, and always proved a true helpmeet. Mrs. Andre was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Stark, and was born at Newfane, Niagara county, N. Y., May 19, 1826. In early life she came to Michigan, and June 19, 1846, was united in marriage with P. C. Andre at Detroit by Bishop Lefevre. After residing there but a few months they came to Saginaw, which has since been their home. She was the mother of four children, two of whom are living, Mrs. George S. Lockwood, of Saginaw, and Mrs. C. E. Buell, of Waterville, N. Y., who were with their mother at the time of her death. She also leaves four sisters and one brother, Mrs. O. M. Mead and Mrs. Jane Child, of Saginaw; Mrs. Sarah Pearl, of Grand Ledge; Mrs. Sophia Hunter, of Milletts, and Henry Stark, of Grand Ledge.

Richard Andrews.—At 10:05 o'clock Tuesday morning, August 6, 1895, the angel of death entered the home of Richard Andrews, 1122 Monroe street, and removed the venerable man from this vale of tears, to the bright beyond. For some years this home has been referred to as containing the three oldest people of one family in the county. Mr. Andrews was past 86, while his venerable partner is 76, and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Stickney, recently celebrated her 97th birthday. The mid-

dle link in this chain of remarkable ages is broken. Mr. Andrews was a native of Plymouth Rock, England, and was born April 18, 1809. In 1827 he came to America, and in 1834 to Saginaw. He worked on the first wagon road between here and Flint in 1835, and 1836, and afterwards went to New York state. His last work was as target tender at the Bristol street crossing of the M. C. R. R. Some 12 years ago he visited England. For the past seven or eight years he has been feeble from old age, and he has been confined to his bed for several weeks. He was married three times, and was the father of four children, only one of whom, George Andrews, survives him.

Mrs. Mercy Arnold.—Mrs. Mercy Arnold, widow of Frederick Louis Arnold, died at her residence Sunday, July 28, 1895, at 4 p. m., of heart failure. She was a pioneer resident of Saginaw, having lived there nearly 40 years, and was highly respected by the older residents of the city. Her maiden name was Forton and she was born in London, England, May 8, 1832, coming to America with her parents in 1836, the family locating in Detroit. Subsequently they removed to Flint, where she was married to F. L. Arnold, May 8, 1851, removing to Saginaw with her husband. Her husband died in the army July 27, 1863, and two children in 1856. She was a kind neighbor, a loving mother and a true friend, who will be deeply missed by many outside her immediate family circle. She leaves two sons, Fred L. and E. James Arnold, of Saginaw, and two daughters, Mrs. Diana Place, of West Duluth, and Mrs. Martha Zehner, of Saginaw. She also leaves five sisters and one brother, Mrs. Eliza Jackson, of Bay City; Ebenezer Forton and Mrs. Unity Boomer, of Flint; Mrs. C. A. Young and Mrs. Victoria Shattuck, of Corunna, and Mrs. Esther Winchester, of Detroit.

Harrison Cary.—Harrison Cary died June 29, 1895, after a residence in Saginaw of more than 35 years. He was known to many as a faithful, conscientious, unassuming, honest man. True in all the relations of life, attentive to every duty. Courteous as a public official, loyal as a friend, and without an enemy in the community, where more than half of his life had been spent. Even his intimate friends knew little of his early history. He was born in New York about 67 years ago. His family removed to Branch county, this State, when he was about 7 years of age. In the early sixties he came to Saginaw, and here his services as surveyor have been of value to many individuals, and the city and county have profited from his painstaking work as county and city surveyor and as assistant city engineer. From 1881 to 1883 Mr. Cary was chief engineer of the Saginaw, Tuscola & Huron railroad. For the last seven years of the old city of Saginaw's existence, he was city surveyor and since consolidation he has held the office of assistant city engineer.

LUTHER E. CUMMINGS.—Luther E. Cummings, an old and esteemed resident of Saginaw for 30 years, died at 1 o'clock Tuesday morning, January 21, 1896, at the residence, 444 South Tenth street. Mr. Cummings has followed the lumber business since early manhood and was one of the best known lumber and log scalers in the valley. He was born in Maine, November 18, 1819, and came to Saginaw in 1865. He leaves two children, J. A. Cummings, of Panther, West Virginia, and Mrs. F. E. Montney, of Saginaw. Of him it can truly be said he leaves no enemies and many sincere friends.

GEORGE H. DURAND, SR.—George H. Durand, Sr., died November 5, 1895, at the family residence on Bond street, which he has occupied 32 years. He was born in Schoharie county, N. Y., and was 83 years of age. He moved with his family to Michigan in 1856, settling on a farm in Genesee county, near Flint. In 1863 he removed to Saginaw and has resided there ever since. He leaves two sons, Judge George H. Durand, of Flint; Hon. L. T. Durand, of Saginaw, and one daughter, Mrs. John Williams, of Chicago. All of his children were with him when he died. His wife died November 19, 1880. He was a life member of the Episcopal church and also a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity, belonging to Saginaw Valley Lodge No. 154, F. & A. M., Joppa Chapter No. 63, R. A. M., and Saginaw Council No. 20, R. & S. M.

MRS. ELIZABETH T. EASTMAN.—Mrs. Elizabeth T. Eastman, widow of the late Loton H. Eastman, died at 7:15 o'clock Tuesday morning, February 11, 1896, at the family residence, 720 South Washington avenue, in her 77th year. Elizabeth Taplin was born in Corinth, N. Y., September 21, 1819, her parents, Elliot and Sarah Taplin, being New Englanders by birth. She was united in marriage August 9, 1843, to Loton H. Eastman, and in that year came to Michigan with her husband, they taking up their residence in Mt. Clemens. Here they lived until 1854, when they removed to Saginaw, which has been the family home ever since. She leaves a family of four sons, Elliott and Sidney, of Saginaw; Clarence and Edward, and two daughters, Mrs. Eugene Chapel and Mrs. James Cornwell, of Saginaw.

DANIEL ELLIS.—Daniel Ellis, one of Bridgeport's best known and most esteemed citizens, passed away at 9 o'clock Tuesday morning, November 26, 1895, of heart failure, caused by old age. Deceased had been in somewhat feeble health for two years past, and as usual laid down to take a nap. On going to call him it was found that he had indeed fallen asleep. Mr. Ellis was born in Vermont, November 22, 1812, and was, therefore, a few days over 83 years of age. He came to Saginaw in 1836, when Michigan was still a territory, and made his home for a few years on the east side of the river, Saginaw being then

but a small opening in the woods, round about a fort, where a number of soldiers were stationed. He assisted in cutting the first road through the woods, which afterwards became a part of what is now Washington avenue. He also aided in the construction of the first sawmill here, and could tell many an interesting story of early days experiences. After a residence of about five years in the city he purchased a farm in Bridgeport township. This farm he afterwards sold and purchased another on which he built a home, where he has resided continuously for 42 years. All his life he was a most exemplary Christian, and in the early days his house was the temporary sojourning place of clergymen passing through on their way to Saginaw. All were made welcome and hospitably entertained. He was much esteemed in the community and served the township as treasurer and held other offices of trust. He leaves a family of six sons and four daughters, George W. Ellis, of Kochville; Rev. C. D. Ellis, pastor of Immanuel Presbyterian church, Saginaw; Eugene, residing on the home farm; Mrs. John Herpel, Owatonna, Minn.; Mrs. Emma Gower, Odell, Ill.; Mrs. Anna Gower, Andover, South Dakota; Edwin Ellis, of Aurora, Ill.; Frederick Ellis, a soldier in the United States army, stationed at Fort Snelling, Minn.; Edith, residing at home.

James L. T. Fox.—James L. T. Fox, the oldest member of the Saginaw county bar, in point of residence, died at his home, 1548 Holland avenue, at 8 o'clock, December 26, 1895, aged 66 years. Mr. Fox has been a resident of Saginaw since 1850, and in the early days took a prominent part in the affairs of the thrifty town. Many are the interesting reminiscences he has told and written of days long since gone by. For the past two or three years he has contributed to several magazines and periodicals. He was possessed of many excellent traits of character, and always had a kindly greeting and pleasant word for the friends among whom he has so long resided, and by whom he will be remembered. He leaves a wife and one child.

John D. Frost.—John D. Frost, a resident of Thomastown for the past 42 years, died at his home at Frosts Corners, at 10:15 o'clock Thursday night, June 13, 1895, presumably of heart trouble. He seemed to be in perfect health all day, ate a hearty supper, and read during the evening. Shortly after 10 o'clock he was taken violently ill and in five minutes he was dead. He was born in Lucas county, Ohio, December 29, 1834. He came to Saginaw in 1853, and seven years later settled on the farm where he died. January 31, 1867, he was married to Sophia E. Beckley, who with five children, four sons and one daughter, survive him. A daughter 16 years of age died nine years ago.

August Henry Fuehr.—Among the type of German pioneers whose impress on this community will long be felt, the name of August Henry Fuehr should be recorded. He emigrated to America in 1852 when 35 years of age. Six years later he came to Saginaw and was for years a factor in the band of German pioneers who contributed so largely to the development and upbuilding of the city from what was then scarcely more than a hamlet. Industrious and saving in business, social in habits, lovers of music and literature, they contributed in many ways in laying the foundations for what has followed. Mr. Fuehr outlived many of his old-time associates. The final summons came to him at 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon, June 1, 1895. The immediate cause was dropsy, though since November, 1891, he has been helpless, at that time having suffered a stroke of paralysis which rendered his entire right side useless. During all the weary months that followed he maintained the cheerfulness that characterized his life. He retained full possession of his faculties up to the time of his death. He was a tanner by trade and followed that occupation here. Later he cultivated a small farm, which he owned, on the Mackinaw road. For some years he has been out of any active business. Mr. Fuehr was born in Melhausing, in the province of Deering, Germany, April 20, 1817, and was therefore past 78 years of age. He leaves a widow and five children, three sons and two daughters, all of Saginaw. One sister lives in Germany.

Mrs. Maria Barbara Hemmeter.—One by one, the pioneers, those who have assisted largely in making Saginaw socially and commercially what it is, are passing away, and the ranks of these sturdy old residents are rapidly becoming depleated. Friday, February 17, 1896, another pioneer passed beyond in the person of Mrs. Maria Barbara Hemmeter, wife of J. M. Hemmeter, passed away, of heart failure, at her residence on the cross road in Saginaw township two miles west of the city, after an illness of two years. In 1894 she underwent an operation for hernia and July 4, 1895, the operation was repeated. She was born May 15, 1822, in Bolcinzen, Bavaria, and was, therefore, nearly 74 years of age and emigrated to America in 1847, and in June of the same year she was married to Mr. Hemmeter at Frankenmuth, this county. In order to reach Frankenmuth they journeyed on foot from Detroit, there being no railroads at that time. In the fall of 1847, they came to Saginaw and entered the employ of the late Gardner D. Williams. In 1848 they purchased the place where she died, and have resided there ever since. She was the mother of 10 children, seven of whom survive her, five sons, Christian, Adam, George, John P., and William F., and two daughters, Mrs. W. J. Voorheis and Miss Maggie Hemmeter. All reside in Saginaw, William F. and Miss Maggie residing on the old homestead, with their parents. Mrs. Hemmeter was a devout Christian woman and

she and her husband were of the original six persons who organized the Lutheran church of the Holy Cross, and since its organization she has been a prominent and active member thereof. Her character was such that she made many friends.

JOHN INGLEDEW.—In the death of John Ingledew, which took place at 3 p. m., February 27, 1896, one of the early pioneers of Saginaw and a most highly esteemed citizen of the south side departed from this earth. For years he had been identified with the interests of that particular section of the city, occupying a prominent position both in a business and social way. John Ingledew was born on the Atlantic ocean in 1826, his parents being on their way to America. They both died before reaching the American side, and he was taken to Buffalo, N. Y., by an aunt, with whom he resided until 14 years of age, when he entered the world to battle for himself. When 16 years old he came to Michigan, locating at Marine City, where he worked in the saw mill of David Rust. He remained with the Rusts for 25 years, except the year of 1869, which he spent in California. He came to Saginaw in 1855, and in the following year became a member of the mill firm of Rust & Ingledew, which operated at the South Side for a number of years. Afterwards he was engaged in lumbering and getting out ship timber. For a number of years he represented his ward, the eighth, on the board of supervisors. Mr. Ingledew was married May 10, 1846, at China, St. Clair county, Mich., to Miss Maria McLellan, by whom he had three children, Mrs. C. S. Youmans, Mrs. D. Staring and W. Arthur Ingledew, all of whom, with their mother, survive him. He was a charter member of Salina Lodge No. 155, F. & A. M., under whose auspices the funeral was held at 2 p. m. on Sunday, March 1, from the family residence, 2521 South Washington avenue.

HON. DAVID HOWELL JEROME.—Hon. David Howell Jerome, the fifteenth governor of Michigan, is the only native of its soil who has filled the executive chair. He was born in Detroit, November 17, 1829, the youngest son of Horace and Elizabeth Hart Jerome, who had emigrated to the territory of Michigan the year before his birth, and the former of whom died a little more than a year after. From childhood until about the age of 23 the ex-governor had his home at St. Clair, receiving his education at public and private schools, and gaining a livelihood by diverse occupations on a farm, as deputy county clerk and register, and as a clerk on lake steamers, and in 1853 went to California, where, during a year's residence he located the claim of a mine which has since been productive of much wealth, and is known as the Live Yankee Tunnel mine. In 1854 he settled in Saginaw and conducted one of the largest hardware establishments in the Saginaw valley. In 1862

Gov. Jerome was charged by Gov. Blair with authority to organize and prepare for the field the twenty-third regiment of Michigan infantry, and as commandant of camp, with the rank of colonel, he lent valuable aid in adding to the service of the country one of the most efficient of Michigan regiments. For eight years, beginning in 1864, he was a member and for a large portion of the time president of the State military board. In the same year of 1862 he was elected to the State senate, and twice re-elected, serving the entire six years as chairman of the important committee of State affairs. He was prominent in shaping legislation made necessary by the war, and in opposition to schemes permitting municipal taxation in aid of railroads. The bill to provide a resort for soldiers at Harper's hospital in Detroit, was introduced by him and became a law under his guidance. When a commission to revise the constitution was created in 1873 he was appointed one of the 18 members composing it, and was chairman of its committee on finance. One of the incidents of Mr. Jerome's diversified career is his connection with the United States board of Indian commissioners. He was appointed a member of the board by President Grant in 1876, and remained in office until 1881. For the discharge of the duties he received marked expressions of satisfaction from both President Grant and President Hayes. Upon the commissioners devolved large responsibilities, growing out of the care of the Indians, and among them were the purchase and distribution of supplies amounting in value to between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000 annually. The commercial experience of Mr. Jerome became in this connection conspicuously useful. During Mr. Jerome's first year of service on this board he was chairman of a commission composed of three members of the board and two army officers, one of whom was Gen. O. O. Howard, charged with the duty of endeavoring to effect a settlement of the difficulties with Chief Joseph's band of Nez Perces Indians. While engaged in this and kindred missions among various tribes and reservations he visited the territories of Washington and Idaho, and the state of Oregon, traveling hundreds of miles on horseback and on wagon in a journey which extended to the straits of Fuca, off the Pacific. The next year he was sent on another mission to the Sioux Indians in Dakota, and aided in the selection of new homes for them on the Missouri river. Again, in 1879, Mr. Jerome was called on to assist in negotiations with the Indians, and at a long conference held at the Uncompahgre agency with Head Chief Ouray and 15 other chiefs, were laid the foundations for the purchase of 12,000,000 acres of land held by the Utes in Colorado. This consummation was not at once effected, however. Further troubles followed with lawless whites, and in seeking protection, a delegation of chiefs, headed by Ouray, visited Washington. In their intercourse with Mr. Jerome they had been impressed with his candor and evident friendliness toward them,

and on arriving at the capital they inquired for him and were informed that he was expected in Washington in a few days. "Then we will wait until he comes before we talk," they replied. When Mr. Jerome appeared, the chiefs gathered about him with friendly greetings, expressed their gratification at meeting him again, and were ready to resume negotiations, which resulted in a satisfactory sale of their lands. In 1891, when it was desired to make other treaties with Indian tribes and secure vast tracts to the public domain, President Harrison appointed Governor Jerome as a member of the commission to negotiate the treaties. He was made chairman, and as in his intercourse before the results were most satisfactory, vast tracts being opened to settlement, and it is not too much to say that in no distant future the history of states in the far west will trace their territory through the treaties secured largely by Mr. Jerome's efforts. His name will live in their history; yet it is probably true that the cause of his death may be traced to the privations, especially of the difficulty of obtaining pure water, which he passed through while engaged in this work.

On the first of January, 1881, Mr. Jerome took the oath of office as governor of Michigan, a place to which he had been chosen at the general election of the preceding November. It has been the good fortune of Michigan to possess an almost unbroken line of prudent, intelligent and faithful governors, to which both political parties have contributed, and the title of Mr. Jerome to a place in their front rank is never challenged. Under any condition his conduct of public affairs would have been characterized by eminent conscientiousness and untiring devotion, but his ambition to be useful when he became chief magistrate had an additional incentive, in the enthusiastic regard he entertained for his native state. When he first opened his eyes on the territory of Michigan, then comprising what is now the state of Wisconsin and part of Minnesota, it was literally a wilderness dotted at distant intervals with scanty settlements, and all the rest of its vast area in the possession of Indians and wild animals. The entire number of its white inhabitants was less than the present population of the city of Saginaw. The Michigan, over whose interests he presided as governor, was more than fifty-fold greater, in the number of its people than the much larger Michigan he had seen as a boy. He had watched its progress with filial interest, and had been identified with its growth, its business, its politics, and its legislation. On coming to the governor's chair he was thoroughly familiar, not only with its history, but with its resources and institutions. His experience and his labors were given to the State with scrupulous and characteristic fidelity. His messages to the legislature were distinguished by sound sense, comprehensive intelligence and judicious recommendations; the public institutions

were jealously guarded and the laws faithfully executed, and the good name of the commonwealth was honorably upborne in every act of his administration. Mr. Jerome was married in 1859 to Lucy, daughter of Edward W. Peck, of Oakland County, and had three children, two of whom died in infancy. His only remaining son, Thomas Spencer Jerome, is a member of the legal profession, and resides at Detroit. Mrs. Jerome was Mr. Jerome's constant companion during his long illness. His son was with him a few days before the end came, which occurred April 23, 1896, at the Sanitarium, at Watkins, N. Y. Of his immediate family, a brother, George, of Detroit, and a sister, Mrs. Nancy Goodson, are the only survivors. He had been a part of the life of Saginaw for forty years. He was its first hardware merchant, and the business he conducted for so many years, filled a large place in the commercial standing of Saginaw. Without David H. Jerome, Saginaw, west side, would not have had for years a street railway service. It was his energy that gave to the city the Saginaw Valley & St. Louis Railroad. Thirty years ago he was largely instrumental in securing the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw road. For years he was a member and president of the board of trustees of the Saginaw Union school. In every public enterprise, during his residence in Saginaw, Mr. Jerome was prominent. In his death, St. John's Episcopal church loses one of its principal members. When the feeble parish was organized, and there was no communicant to fill the office of warden, Mr. Jerome, as a man who had reverence for religion, was chosen. Subsequently he united with the church, and as a churchman, Saginaw and the diocese of Michigan will miss David H. Jerome.

Mrs. Ortema P. Johnson.—Mrs. Ortema P. Johnson, aged 76 years, died at her home in Taymouth, on Tuesday morning, March 24, 1896, at 10 o'clock, of pneumonia. She was one of the oldest pioneers of the Saginaws, coming here when it was all a forest. Her husband, Ira Johnson, died four years ago. She leaves four sons, James R., Mark, Henry and Martin Johnson, all of Saginaw; and two daughters, Mrs. Ellen Vaughn, of Clio, and Mrs. Laura Jones, of Blackmar. Funeral from her home in Taymouth, Thursday afternoon at 1 o'clock.

Gilbert William Ledlie.—Gilbert William Ledlie, auditor of the Flint & Pere Marquette railroad, dropped dead of heart paralysis, at 8:30 Friday evening, October 4, 1895, while out walking on North Third street. Though apparently as well and strong as ever when he left his home half an hour before, he was brought back dead within 30 minutes from the time he was stricken. He was born in Utica, N. Y., about sixty years ago. At the beginning of the war he enlisted as a private, and was soon honorably mentioned for bravery and cool-headedness.

His administrative abilities were recognized, and he was promoted and afterwards made quarter-master of the regiment. At the close of the war Mr. Ledlie returned to Utica and was given employment in a bank. Soon afterwards he came to Saginaw, going to work for the Flint & Pere Marquette railroad at once as general bookkeeper. He has been in the employ of that corporation ever since. His efficiency and unusual skill in bookkeeping has made him notable, though he was of a modest and unassuming nature. He was successively promoted to the positions of general passenger and ticket agent and auditor. He has occupied the latter position for about twenty-five years. His work has been uniformly accurate and methodical. He had become regarded as a part of the Flint & Pere Marquette railroad system by reason of his intimate connection with the road for so long a time. Among his associates he was universally popular, being of a generous nature and ever ready to assist a friend in distress. Mr. Ledlie was a prominent member of St. Bernard Commandery, Knights Templar, and also of the Loyal Legion. He was a vestryman of St. Paul's church, and has been for several years secretary and treasurer of that organization. He was married in 1873 to Mrs. Martha Puncheon Grinnell, a sister to John P. Derby. With his wife he has lived in the house at the corner of Carroll and Washington, ever since their marriage, the ceremony having been performed there.

John G. Liskow.—John G. Liskow died at his residence, in Thomastown, at 12:30 p. m., Wednesday, February 12, 1896, of paralysis, from which he had been confined to his bed fourteen years, except when lifted out of bed to sit up in a chair a little while at a time. He was born in Branburg, Leppehne, Prussia, in June, 1813, and was, therefore, 82 years of age. He came to Saginaw 49 years ago, and settled on the farm where he died. Some years ago he erected a brick block, at the corner of Lyon and Gratiot streets, where he conducted a grocery business for about twelve years, returning to his farm about fifteen years ago. He leaves, besides his wife, a daughter, Louisa, and four sons, Ferdinand, Charles, Louis and John. Mr. Liskow was one of the most prominent German settlers of Saginaw, coming here when Saginaw was a wilderness. He was a charter member of the Teutonia society, and Germania Lodge No. 79, F. & A. M. Although considerable of a politician, he had no aspirations for office, and beyond holding some township offices, he never held a public place. He was a man who stood well with his neighbors and the public in general, particularly the pioneers, by whom he will be much missed.

Capt. William McKnight.—Capt. William McKnight, a resident of Saginaw, since 1857, died September 16, 1895, at his home, in Mershon,

in the 87th year of his age. Capt. McKnight, who came to Saginaw from Oswego, N. Y., was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, and leaves a wife and five children, Robert, John and Frederick, of Saginaw; Mrs. W. A. Lewis, of Evart, and Mrs. H. B. Allen, of Garfield. The deceased has witnessed the steady growth of Saginaw, in size and importance, and many were the interesting reminiscences told to friends of days long gone by in the valley. He was greatly esteemed by all who knew him.

John Malone.—John Malone, one of the oldest and most respected residents of Saginaw county, died at his home in Taymouth, Monday evening, May 4, 1896, at 9:35 of paralysis, of which he has been suffering some time. Deceased was born in Williamsburg, Pa., May 3, 1814, and was, therefore, 82 years and one day old at the time of his death. He came to Michigan in 1833, and settled in Taymouth, in 1836, having lived there ever since. This residence of sixty years in Saginaw county makes him one of the oldest settlers of this locality. Mr. Malone was married in the same year, and raised a family of fourteen children, at his home on the Flint river. At the time of his death seven of the children, four sons and three daughters, were living.

Hiram L. Miller.—The summons that had long been patiently awaited by one of Saginaw's most venerable and venerated citizens, Hiram L. Miller, came at 10:45 Saturday night, May 16, 1896, at his home, 416 South Michigan avenue. He was born in January, 1804, and was, therefore, in his 93d year. He came to Saginaw in 1836, and was one of the founders of the first church of this county, organized as the First Presbyterian church of Saginaw. For years he served as its pastor, and to the time of his death continued as one of its officers. He was one of Saginaw's first justices of the peace, and was connected with the first newspaper printed. Since 1842 he has frequently served the county as supervisor, and for years was prominent in the affairs of the west side. He was chairman of the first board of supervisors, organized in 1842, and was long looked upon as one of the foremost men of the county, being familiarly known as "Priest" Miller. From notes commenced December 4, 1889, and headed "Jottings by the way," a few facts concerning Mr. Miller are gleaned just as one must think he would prefer to have them, for they are written with much pains with his own hand. He refers to his health, and directs what shall be done in the event of his sudden decease. He asks for a simple funeral, an inexpensive casket to be placed in the ground without being inclosed in iron or stone. He tells of his education at Morristown and Basking Ridge academies; expresses regret that he never had a college education. His theological education was at Auburn, N. Y., where he took a three years' course. His residence in Buffalo, Lockport, Avon and Rochester

brings the history down to 1836, when, in July, he came to Saginaw. He continues: "Here I have lived ever since, leaving only once or twice for a visit to New York, and once to attend the general assembly at Harrisburg." He was twice a member of the legislature, in 1841 and 1844, and served on the State Board of Education. He had filled the offices of register of deeds, county treasurer and county clerk. He touchingly expresses regret that his life, which had been a long one, had been so diversified, and expresses the preference for a life with one object. Mr. Miller's estimable wife preceded him to the other shore some eight or nine years. One son, Norman L., and three grandchildren, Mrs. J. J. Spencer, Frank Miller and Mrs. H. L. Brinell survive him. At the First Presbyterian church, Sunday, May 17, appropriate reference was made to Mr. Miller, who was its founder, its first pastor, its first sexton, its first elder, and always its warmest friend. With E. S. Williams and Albert Miller he completed the last trio of those who bore the heat and burdens of the early pioneer days.

George A. Mitchell.—George A. Mitchell, one of Saginaw's most prominent and respected citizens, passed away, March 21, 1896, at his home, 930 South Jefferson avenue, of congestion of the liver, after an illness of about ten days. He had been a resident of Saginaw for thirty-one years, and in the lumber circles of the valley none were better or more widely known and esteemed. He was born at North Bloomfield, N. Y., November 19, 1844. He had one brother and two sisters, Mrs. Mary McNoah is the only one left, the other sister, Mrs. L. N. Southwell, having died at Bloomfield, N. Y., eighteen years ago. When but 17 years of age he enlisted in the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth volunteers, being engaged in several of the principal battles of the rebellion. He came to Saginaw in 1865 and engaged in the lumber commission business, in which he was very successful. He was a member of the board of trade, and of the board of supervisors, as representative of the sixth ward; also of Ancient Landmarks Lodge No. 303, F. & A. M., and of St. Bernard Commandery No. 16, K. T. In all the relations of life he was a loving husband, tender father and true citizen, and his loss will be deeply felt. Mr. Mitchell is survived by his wife and four sons, Will, Frank, Charles and George.

Henry Nienstedt.—The circle of Saginaw's honored and esteemed pioneer citizens, which grow smaller as the years pass by, lost another of their number, when Henry Nienstedt passed away at 11:45 a. m., October 15, 1895, at his home, 308 North Jefferson avenue. He was 69 years of age, and was born at Bremen, Germany. Early in life he removed to America, living for some years in New York city. In 1856 he came to Saginaw, and soon, thereafter, took an active part

in the business life of the busy little city. He was first connected with the Curtiss & Bliss Mercantile Co., doing business on Water (now Tilden) street, near the ferry, located where the Genesee avenue bridge now stands. He afterward engaged in the grocery business in the store now occupied by J. W. C. Pendell, which he occupied until his retirement from active business. He ever evinced a lively interest in the city's welfare, and contributed his share towards its prosperity and growth. His health has not been of the best for some years, and a few years ago passed five months in Germany in search of health. The trip was beneficial, but its effects were not lasting. He leaves a widow, two daughters, Mrs. J. J. Rupp and Mrs. Robert McKnight, and Henry Nienstedt, Jr., of Duluth.

Thomas Owen.—Thomas Owen died at his home in Thomastown, October 24, 1895, of old age. He was born in Wales, in March, 1815, and was, therefore, 80 years of age. His family came to America in 1819, and settled in London, Ont., where Mr. Owen was married to Marcia Delia Ward nearly sixty years ago. In 1853 he came to Saginaw and settled on the farm in Thomastown, where he died. His wife died in 1865. He was the father of seven children, four of whom, Mrs. Alice Dunn, of Freeland; Willis W. Owen, of Saginaw; Henry F. Owen, of Thomastown, and Mrs. Nellie Macomber, of Thomastown, survive him. Mr. Owen was highly esteemed, and an upright, honest man and good neighbor. He served his town as clerk for seventeen years in succession.

Sanford S. Perkins.—Sanford S. Perkins died at his home in Saginaw township, at 2:20 p. m., Sunday, December 8, 1895, aged 64 years, from sciatic rheumatism, with which he had been affected some years. Mr. Perkins was one of the early settlers of this locality, coming here 46 years ago. The Hon. Sanford S. Perkins was elected representative from the third district of Saginaw county, in 1892, serving his constituents with characteristic fidelity and earning for himself in the house a well-deserved popularity. He was born in Erie county, Pa., in 1830. In 1837 he came with his parents to Michigan, spending five years at Owosso, removing to the city of Saginaw in 1842. After completing his course at school, he engaged in the manufacture of carriages. He discontinued this business to accept the contract for constructing the City of Saginaw Street railway, connecting Saginaw with East Saginaw. When the road was completed he continued in its management thirteen years, and then removed to his farm in Saginaw township, two miles from the city. He was married in 1858 to Mary F. Wyman, who died six years afterward, leaving two sons. Deceased was a kind and considerate husband, father, brother and son. An aged

mother, 86 years of age, his sister, Nettie, and two sons, Steven D. and Winfield S., mourn his loss. His motto in life was charity for all and malice toward none. Deceased was a charter member of Saginaw Lodge No. 25, A. O. U. W., and a member of Saginaw Valley Lodge No. 154, F. & A. M.

Dennis Redmond.—Dennis Redmond died September 11, 1895, at the residence of his son-in-law, John E. Nolan, 815 South Jefferson avenue. He was about 70 years of age, and was among the pioneers of Saginaw, being well known and greatly esteemed by the older residents. Born in Ireland, he emigrated to America when a young man, and located at Syracuse, N. Y., where he gained a practical knowledge of the manufacture of salt that proved of no little value in the development of what has long been one of the staple industries of the valley. He came to Saginaw early in the sixties, and was the first superintendent of the East Saginaw salt works. After a time he severed his connection with that concern to take charge of the Flagler & York works, at the south end, and afterwards took charge of the Ann Arbor Salt & Lumber Co.'s plant, which continued under his management until going out of business, some years ago. Since that time he has devoted his attention to his farm in Spalding, serving as justice of the peace in that township from 1872 to 1874. He had a wide acquaintance in the valley and was universally esteemed. Deceased leaves two daughters and two sons, Mrs. John E. Nolan and Miss Lilla Redmond, Thomas B. Redmond, of Saginaw, and Moses Redmond, of Chicago.

Lyman Sperry.—Another old resident of the county, passed away July 25, 1895, in the person of Lyman Sperry, who died at the home of his son, Milo, at Thomastown. He was born at New Haven, Conn., in 1814, and in 1830 came with his brothers to Michigan, stopping for a time at Ann Arbor. In 1864 Mr. Sperry came to Saginaw county and settled in Saginaw town. He leaves a wife and three sons, Charles, Byron and Milo.

Jerome K. Stevens.—Jerome K. Stevens died at Pontiac, May 8, 1896. He was born in Oneida county, N. Y., March 4, 1836, and was, therefore, just past 60 years of age. He was the son of Menzo C. and Clarissa Stevens. He obtained his early education at the academy of Prof. Cochrane, in the village of Northford. He first came to Saginaw in 1847, when but 11 years of age. In 1855 he went to Chicago, where he remained until 1861. He then returned to Saginaw and engaged in the dry goods business, the firm being known as Stevens, Poole & Co. He continued in this business for 10 years. He was elected register of deeds for this county in 1870, and entered on his duties January 1, 1871.

He was twice reelected, serving consecutively for six years. On retiring from office, he engaged in the real estate and abstract business, and was very successful. He was also connected with mining and other outside lines of business. At one time he was largely interested with others in Saginaw real estate. Mr. Stevens was married in 1862 to Miss Mary E. Coy. They had four children, Charles C. Stevens, of Jackson; Elizabeth S. Stevens, of Saginaw; George C. Stevens, of Des Moines, Ia., and Clarissa E. Stevens, of Saginaw. His aged mother and brother, George W. Stevens, reside in Saginaw.

Ulrich Stroebel.—Ulrich Stroebel, one of Saginaw's pioneers, died suddenly Friday morning, July 19, 1895, in his barnyard, while doing his morning chores. He was born in Baiern, Bavaria, May 23, 1817. On December 27, 1843, he was married to Barbara Whipplinger. In December, 1851, he emigrated to Saginaw. He bought 80 acres of land on the Hermansau road of Mr. Fitzhugh, and commenced making a home in what was almost a wilderness. There he lived for almost forty-four years. Frugal and industrious, he gained the competency that he sought. He was an honest, upright man, a kind husband, father, and a good neighbor. He was a devout member of the Lutheran church of the Holy Cross, being one of the seven who organized the church. His widow, who celebrated her 84th birthday, on May 30, survives him, as do two daughters, Mrs. George Spatz, of Saginaw, and Mrs. E. Hantel, wife of Rev. E. Hantel, of St. Ausger, Iowa.

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY ALONZO H. OWENS.

Hiram Brown.—Hiram Brown, of the township of Vernon, died suddenly of heart failure, Wednesday, July 31, 1895, aged 79 years. He was born in April, 1816, and came to Vernon, where he purchased land in 1835, and two years later, in company with his father's family, he came here to settle, and has resided here ever since, being fifty-eight years. He was a conscientiously, pious and trustworthy citizen; he won and retained the esteem of all who knew him up to the time of his death. He was one of the organizers of the first church ever organized in the town, and has ever held his connection therewith. He was for years deacon in the Congregational church. He was made an Odd Fellow June 5, 1861, and joined the encampment at Corunna, July 10, 1883; he was prominent and held office in all of them. Mr. Brown leaves a widow and four children as follows: Mr. Martin Brown, of Tennessee; Mrs. Henry Angus, of Vernon; Mrs. C. J. Carpenter, of St. Johns, and

Mrs. Burney Rall, of Laingsburg. He leaves to those surviving relatives the legacy of a good name and an honorable record that will long outlive a legacy of wealth.

CHANDLER B. CHALKER.—Chandler B. Chalker was born in Seneca county, N. Y., October 23, 1813, where he spent his childhood days and early manhood. He was married to Phebe Sickles, April 12, 1837. To them were born six children, three of whom survive. In June, 1837, in company with his father, he came to Michigan and located in the township of Vernon. After felling the timber on five acres, they erected a log cabin, and then went back to the state of New York, returning with their families in September, of the same year, and has ever since resided on the land first located. During his long residence in the State of his adoption, he has passed through and known all that has taken place in the transformation of crude nature to that rich and beautiful condition which we who are alive enjoy today. He has lived till all but a few of the pioneers have passed to the land that is beyond, and died in the anniversary month of his long residence in this township, June 17, 1895, aged 81 years, 7 months and 24 days. He was respected and honored by his neighbors and all that knew him. He held the office of justice of the peace for eight years. Was township clerk several terms and supervisor of the township fourteen years. He was known as a just and upright man. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity. The funeral was held on Tuesday, and was largely attended.

JOHN HARRIS CHAMPION.—Dr. John H. Champion expired at his residence, in Owosso, 407 North Washington street, Tuesday morning, August 13, 1895, aged 80 years and 8 months. He had been an invalid for over seven years; for two weeks he had failed perceptibly, but was confined to his bed only four days, and the release from life came without a struggle. He was born in Starkville, Herkimer county, N. Y., December 13, 1814. At the age of 17 years he commenced teaching school in his native village. He chose the medical profession, and entered the medical department of Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., from which he was graduated in 1841. In 1842 he was married to Caroline C. Fowler, of Oriskany Falls, N. Y., who survives him. He leaves no children. He practiced his profession thirteen years, but its duties proved too severe for his health, and in 1854 he removed to Adrian, Mich. There he became connected with the Watchtower, a daily and weekly Democratic newspaper, first as editor and later as one of its proprietors. In May, 1866, having some property interests in Shiawassee county, he removed to Owosso, and, in the autumn of that year, purchased a half interest in the Owosso Press, then published by Messrs. Green and Lee. A few months later his sister-in-law, Mrs. Jane A.

Church, purchased the remaining interest, and the firm became J. H. Champion & Co. Mr. Champion loved newspaper work. He devoted his life to the building up of his paper. His whole soul was in it, his pride was in its success. Under his management the Owosso Press was raised to a high position among the best country newspapers in the State. His close application to business unnerved his system, and in February, 1888, he had an attack of nervous prostration, which confined him to his house six weeks. He recovered sufficiently to ride daily to his office on a tricycle, and to attend to some light duties, but he was a constant sufferer from vertigo, which incapacitated him for his former work. The additional labor thus thrown upon his partner was too heavy, and September 4, 1890, the plant was sold to the present proprietor, H. Kirk White. He was always a Democrat. He cast his first presidential vote for Martin Van Buren, and ever afterward adhered to the Democratic party as the party for the people, never wavering or losing courage through all its dark days. During his entire newspaper work, covering nearly thirty years, his paper was always staunchly Democratic, and he fought for clean politics. The growth and prosperity of Owosso was dear to Mr. Champion's heart, and he always gave encouragement to every worthy enterprise. He took great interest in the Ladies' Library, from the organization of the association, and the columns of The Press were always free to everything which could promote its advancement and aid the struggling women in their work. A striking characteristic of Mr. Champion was his high moral standard of character, and he bore out that standard in his own life. He hated duplicity, and loved honesty for its own sake. He will be remembered for sound judgment and integrity of character wherever he was known. Although not a communicant in the Episcopal church, he loved its service, and for the past forty years has been a steady supporter of that church, and has served on the vestry of Christ church, Owosso. Mr. Champion leaves four sisters, three in the state of New York and one in Ohio.

Mrs. Cordelia Henrietta Decker.—Mrs. Cordelia Henrietta Decker, an old and highly esteemed resident of Owosso, died at her home, 604 River street, Saturday, July 6, 1895. She was extensively known throughout this county and the surrounding country. In 1856, she settled with her family in Owosso, and established a millinery business, the first in Owosso, which became the emporium in that line not only for Shiawassee county, but for a broad extent of country beyond. After maintaining this business nearly thirty years, at her old stand on Exchange street, she retired and made a home on River street, and the Jackson block succeeded "the old Decker place." Her executive ability and energy of character were manifest in her long business

career, also during the war, when she was very active in furnishing supplies for the Owosso soldiers at the front, once going alone to convey comforts to the boys, among whom were her husband and son Giles. In her home she lived for her children, and her devotion was rewarded by unbounded love and veneration for "mother" on their part. Mrs. Decker was born at Lyme, Conn., June 24, 1817, was married to Samuel Decker November 16, 1838, and lived at Lyons, N. Y., until 1856, when she moved to Owosso with her husband and family of six children, five of her own and one adopted, Lucy Rogers, who married James B. Dixon, of Lansing, and who died a year ago. Her children all survive her: Giles C. Decker, of Corunna; John L. Decker, of Rochester, N. Y.; Martha F., wife of E. P. Byerly; Ettie C., wife of T. J. Horsman, and Frank R. Decker, who occupies the River street home. Mr. Decker died in Owosso in 1866. Mrs. Decker leaves a sister, Mrs. Samuel J. Cole, of Lyons, N. Y.

John J. P. Gerardy.—John J. P. Gerardy, who has been ill for a long time, died at his home in Venice Sunday morning, March 15, 1896. He had been a resident of this county over forty years, and was one of her most respected citizens. He leaves several grown up children, one of whom is the postmaster at Durand. He had quite an eventful life, as the following short history shows: John J. P. Gerardy was born May 11, 1826, in France, and was thoroughly educated, both in elementary and college courses. After completing his college education he was engaged, for a time, in mercantile business at Metz, and in 1844 entered the army. During his military career he was at Strausburg, in the 1st battalion of sharpshooters. He was sent to a shooting school at St. Omer, near Calais, where for nine months he took rifle practice, and he was for three months at Brincon, on the Switzerland frontier. He went to Africa in a new battalion, the 8th, and landed in Algiers in 1847, and served all through the war. In 1849 he returned to the 1st battalion and was engaged in the conquest of Rome against Garibaldi. After driving out that brave Italian, they returned in 1850 to Africa and engaged in war there. August 11, 1852, he received his discharge and returned to France, having been promoted from private to sergeant of the first class. He had lost his parents during his absence, and he proceeded to settle up his affairs, and the same year embarked at Havre, November 1. Mr. Gerardy passed seventy-two days on the ocean and landed at New Orleans. He was employed for some time in the Luxemburg hospital. In June, 1849, he was married to Mary A. Luchenbuhl, a native of Bavaria. They came to New York the following year. In October they came to Michigan, and in November settled on the farm where he resided at the time of his death. He was township clerk for

more than twenty years, and could write in several languages. He was known as a good and useful citizen. The funeral services were held at Vernon, under the auspices of Corunna Commandery, K. T., Rev. W. T. Woodhouse officiating.

John Nelson Harder.—John Nelson Harder was born in Columbia county, N. Y., June 17, 1820, where he lived until he was 7 years old. At that time his father moved to Sullivan county, where they remained until he was 17. They then started, by wagon, through Canada for Michigan, arriving in Shiawassee county, October 11, 1837. His parents were of Holland descent and his father, Dr. N. P. Harder, was among the first and the leading physician of the country. The deceased having a true love for agricultural pursuits, was a farmer all his life with the exception of two years and seven months spent in California in early mining times. Eight years ago he sold the old farm home and moved into the village of Newburg, that he might enjoy, during his remaining days, the accumulations of previous years of toil. He was married three times: First at the age of 30 to Miss Martha L. Seymour, who died thirteen years later. In 1868 he was again married to Miss Eliza A. Austin, who died the following year. In 1878 he married Julia A. Card, who is left to mourn his loss. He had nine children, five of whom are now living: Addie, wife of I. W. Loomis, of Oceana county; Grace, wife of E. Banner; Kate, wife of John Gunderman; John and Frank, all living near home. They are all the children of his first wife, except Frank, who is the son of the bereaved widow, and has always lived at home. The deceased was one of seven children, two sisters and one brother surviving him. In his boyhood days he united with the Christian church, and in their doctrine he always remained a firm believer. But being an active church worker, and there being none of that denomination here in early days, he united with the Methodists, that he might have a church home, remaining with them until the breaking up of the church at Newburg. He was a prominent member of the order of Odd Fellows for the past twenty-seven years, and having passed all of the chairs, was highly respected by all of the order. Two years ago he was taken sick with dropsy of the lungs and nervous prostration, from which he has been a patient and hopeful sufferer up to the time of his death, which occurred Friday, August 23, 1895. Surrounded by his wife and all his children he passed peacefully into the great beyond.

John O. Hinkley.—John O. Hinkley was born at Northumberland, Saratoga county, N. Y., January 2, 1813, and died Friday, November 1, 1895, aged 82 years, 10 months. He was first married March 10, 1833, to Mary Ann Gardner, who died a few months after their marriage. He was again married on June 4, 1837, to Phebe Jane Stevens, who died

December 14, 1891. Four children were born to them, only one of whom survives. Mr. Hinkley came to Michigan in 1829, and to Perry in 1843. He was one of the foremost of the men who turned this township from a wilderness into the beautiful homes which we now have. In an early day he took a great interest in securing to this township all the religious and educational advantages possible. In later years his almost total deafness caused him to absent himself from all public life.

Morris Jackson.—Morris Jackson, an old resident of Corunna, died at 7 o'clock on Tuesday morning, June 25, 1895, aged 84 years. He was born in Steuben county, N. Y., and came to Corunna at an early day, where he was for several years a prominent business man. He leaves one son, Charles Jackson, of Owosso.

Leonard F. Kingsley.—The death of Leonard F. Kingsley, an old and highly respected citizen of this county, died at his home in Owosso, November 30, 1895, aged 84 years. Mr. Kingsley had been in feeble health for some time. About two months ago he sustained injuries from a fall which confined him to the bed, and from which, owing to his advanced age, he did not recover. He had been a resident of this county forty-two years, living in Middlebury before moving into the city. Mrs. Kingsley survives him.

William J. Lyon.—William J. Lyon, an old and much respected citizen of Owosso, died at his residence, 309 North Water street, Thursday afternoon, November 14, 1895, aged 68 years. He had resided in Owosso about forty-five years. He first engaged in the cooper trade, later in the grocery business. For several years past he had been retired from business. Mr. Lyon was a good citizen, an upright, conscientious man in community, and kind and devoted to his family. He leaves a wife and three sons: Dr. Lasell W. Lyon and Fred Lyon, of Detroit, and Herbert Lyon, of the firm of Lyon & Pond, of Owosso. Funeral services were held at the family residence Sunday afternoon, by Rev. J. C. Cromer, the Masonic order performing the service at the cemetery, according to the Masonic ritual.

Mrs. James VanAuken.—In the death on December 2, 1895, of Mrs. James Van Auken, of cancer of the stomach and liver, Shiawassee county loses one of her oldest pioneers. The deceased was born in Monroe county, N. Y., January 17, 1822, making her nearly 74 years of age at the time of her death. She came to Michigan when a girl of 15, and settled with her parents in Wayne county, where she grew to womanhood. On December 16, 1841, she was married to James Van-Auken, whose death occurred two years after the celebration of their golden wedding in 1891. This most worthy couple settled on section 23, in the township of Vernon, December 12, 1842, where they endured

together all the hardships and privations which the early pioneers were heir to. In early life the deceased became a member of the Methodist church. Her universal kindness to all with whom she came in contact made her beloved by all, and her enemies were none, while her friends were many.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

BY HELEN W. FARRAND.

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.
Mrs. Darius Allen	Smith	May 6, 1896	------
George Allen	Port Huron	Aug. 8, 1895	74
Mrs. Hannah Alverson	" "	Jan. 24, 1896	85
Robert J. Arnot	Lexington	Jan. 21, 1896	85
A. R. Avery	Grant	Sept. 28, 1895	78
James Bradley	Port Huron	Oct. 12, 1895	85
Mrs. Margaret Brandimore	" "	Oct. 25, 1895	60
H. Bullock	Kimball	Mar. 30, 1896	60
Mrs. Electa A. Buzzard	Port Huron	Jan. 10, 1896	60
E. M. Cady	" "	Jan. 30, 1896	62
Elias Chamberlain	" "	Mar. 20, 1896	68
Robert Clark	" "	April 20, 1896	70
Mrs. George Coe	Peck	Aug. 1, 1895	71
Mrs. Wm. Cutliff	Port Huron	Jan. 21, 1896	68
Christopher Davis	" "	Jan. 24, 1896	82
Thomas Dwyer	" "	April 3, 1896	72
Mrs. Thomas Dwyer	" "	Jan. 21, 1896	70
Samuel Edison	" "	Feb. 27, 1896	92
Salathiel Elsworth	" "	June 29, 1895	50
John Fisher	" "	June 30, 1895	82
Mrs. A. S. Flynn	" "	July 10, 1895	77
Mrs. Theodore Gnam	" "	Nov. 7, 1895	58
Paul Gougeon	" "	May 30, 1896	70
Mrs. Abigail Graham		Sept. 4, 1895	------
Capt. George O. Harder	Port Huron	Aug. 25, 1895	72
Charles I. Hilliard	" "	Mar. 12, 1896	69
Mrs. Philip Hoffman	" "	Aug. 30, 1895	------
Mrs. Celia Houle	" "	May 2, 1896	57
J. B. Hull	" "	Feb. 26, 1896	70
James Innes	" "	April 1, 1896	68

Name.	Residence.	Date of death.	Age.
Mrs. Wm. Jardine	Grant	May 27, 1896	54
Lucretia Jones	Lakeport	July 30, 1895	------
Christian Kapanke	Port Huron	May 25, 1896	58
Mrs. Fannie Kibbee	" "	May 11, 1896	------
Mrs. Louise M. Lamphere	Berlin	Feb. 28, 1896	68
Mrs. Thomas Lynch	Port Huron	May 3, 1896	68
Mrs. Mary McLester	" "	April 20, 1896	86
Malcomb McNaught	Capac	Sept. 2, 1895	93
B. F. Malloy	Rattle Run	April 16, 1896	74
Mrs. Frances E. Martin	Port Huron	Jan. 31, 1896	51
Francis D. Martin	" "	Aug. 15, 1895	72
Joseph Miller	" "	Nov. 4, 1895	85
Daniel S. Myrick	Thornton	Feb. 23, 1896	78
Mrs. Ellen Neill	Lucan, Ont.	Oct. 4, 1895	100
Michael C. O'Brien	Port Huron	Jan. 4, 1896	63
James O'Hara	" "	Sept. 1, 1895	57
Mrs. Catherine Pace	" "	Oct. 8, 1895	84
S. D. Pace	" "	Nov. 21, 1895	60
Mary Powers	" "	Mar. 11, 1896	90
E. A. Preston	" "	Sept. 25, 1895	83
Mrs. Mary Pulcifer	Belle River Road	May 31, 1896	87
James Randall	Port Huron	Feb. 22, 1896	79
Charles Roach	" "	Mar. 21, 1896	82
Mrs. Wm. Rowe	Goodells	April 29, 1896	59
Mrs. Anna Sangman	Port Huron	Aug. 17, 1895	69
Wm. Scott	Watford	Feb. 12, 1896	------
Mrs. John Shaver	Port Huron	Mar. 20, 1896	87
Frederick A. Smith	" "	Oct. 7, 1895	------
Mrs. John Starr	" "	May 2, 1896	79
Adam Stein	" "	Jan. 5, 1896	83
Mrs. Solomon Streeter	Jeddo	Nov. 4, 1895	58
Thomas Walsh	Port Huron	Mar. 18, 1896	70
Mrs. Theodore Wilcox	" "	Nov. 11, 1895	64
Mrs. Mary Wickersham	St. Clair	April 6, 1896	92
Mrs. John Wolcott	Port Huron	April 13, 1896	74

MRS. NANCY BRAKEMAN.—Mrs. Nancy Brakeman was born January 17, 1811, in the township of Moore, County of Kent, Upper Canada, and died November 9, 1894, at her residence, on the river road, two miles south of Marysville. Mrs. Brakeman was the third of a family of nine children, five sisters and four brothers. She was of Scotch and English

descent, both on her father's and mother's side. Her parents, Capt. Wm. and Martha Thorn Brown, were born in Detroit, then under British dominion. They were married in 1806, and settled the same year on land purchased of the Indians, generally known at the present time, as the Sutherland place, on the St. Clair river, in the town of Moore, nearly opposite St. Clair city, where they remained until 1814, the year Gen. Proctor issued his proclamation requiring all persons residing in Canada to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain or leave the country. Her father preferred the latter, and, accordingly, packed up what few movables he had and removed with his family in a sail boat to Detroit. In 1816 he purchased of a Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Doney, a farm on the St. Clair river, in the town of Cottrellville, a part of which is at present Cherry Beach, two miles south of Marine City, and removed his family there the same year. They were among the earliest settlers on the river after the war. Their neighbors were mostly French Roman Catholics, but among them were some very fine families, educated and refined. The Indians were very numerous, but treated the family with great kindness. There Mrs. Brakeman's young womanhood was spent, there she learned the French and Indian languages, always using them in conversing with old French and Indian friends. There were no schools here in those days, and her father, anxious to educate his children, built a log schoolhouse in his orchard, and as teacher employed and boarded Jacob G. Streit, the first school teacher in St. Clair county. He was a native of Winchester, Va., a son of a Lutheran preacher, Capt. Geo. H. Cotterell at present residing in Marine City, also the late Hon. D. B. Harrington and Esquire J. P. Minnie, were pupils in the school. The winter of 1827-28, Mr. Harrington walked from his father's place, on Black river, to Cottrellville, to attend school. Mrs. Brakeman well remembered seeing him coming with his clothes and books, tied up in a bundle, hanging from a stick over his shoulder. He boarded at her father's while attending school. He and Mrs. Brakeman always kept up their acquaintance, and enjoyed talking over the olden times whenever they met. When young, she attended a singing school taught by the late Stephen Huling, in a log house; also attended Sabbath school in an old log house, which stood on the Josie-Minnie farm, half a mile south of her father's, taught by a Mr. Beach, a hatter by trade. She remembered and frequently repeated passages of Scripture she learned at that time. She was acquainted with the Catholic priests who visited this section in an early day, and often attended their meetings in the first church built in St. Clair county. In her young days she had traveled on the St. Clair river during the summer season in sail boats, and canoes, in the winter in carioles and French trains on the ice. There were no roads here at that time. In

that manner she, with others, visited at Detroit, Mt. Clemens, Fort Gratiot, and other points along the river. She remembered Judge Bunce's first arrival on the river, in 1817. He was then a guest of her grandfather, Capt. Wm. Thorn; and again, in 1827, when he brought his bride from New York city, to the wilds of Michigan Territory, they were guests at the time at her father's, and sixty years after she was Judge Bunce's guest at the celebration of his 100th birthday. Although young at the time, she remembered very distinctly the removal of her family from Canada, and their settling in Cottrellville. She related the circumstance, but a short time previous to her last illness to a little grandson, who was very fond of listening to Grandma's olden time stories. May 29, 1832, she was married by John K. Smith, Esq., to the late Peter F. Brakeman, who was of German ancestry, a native of the state of New York, one of St. Clair's early settlers, at the time residing, and in business, at Point Du Chien. For some time previous in the mercantile business, one of the firm of Peter F. Verhoeff, a native of Germany, and George Jasperson, a native of Copenhagen, Denmark, carrying on the largest business establishment between Fort Gratiot and Detroit. Mr. and Mrs. Brakeman's first home, after marriage, was on what is at present known as the George Harron place, near Oak Grove, about two miles north of Algonac. During the first year of her marriage that dreadful scourge, the cholera, broke out among the soldiers, at Fort Gratiot. They were disbanded by Maj. Thompson, the commanding officer, and traveled along the river, not knowing what to do or where to go, and she, though young at the time, assisted her husband in caring for several of them who had wandered down within a short distance of their home, taking shelter in an old log shanty. They all recovered. There are books in her family at the present time, which the soldiers presented to them as tokens of appreciation of their kindness. While residing at Point Du Chien, their house was the home of the early Methodist preachers, as they traveled and preached through this new Territory of Michigan. She frequently spoke of those days, and well remembered the ministers names. Mr. Brakeman and herself were members of that denomination at that time. In 1836 they removed to Port Huron, then called Desmond. The same year Mr. Brakeman purchased lots at the foot of Butler street, and built the first dock and warehouse that stood there so many years after. The inhabitants were mostly French and Indians. They found the Indians very friendly. Many of them called Mr. Brakeman their brother. He had three Indian names which they had given him at different times, but was generally known among them as Ah-tong-gance, the Borrower, from the fact that he had at one time sold goods on commission. They called it borrowing goods. Mrs. Brakeman was known as Ah-tong-gance-ah-qua, the

Borrower's woman. The Indians on the Sarnia reserve and Walpole Island, in speaking of them at the present time, use these names. November, 1847, they, with a family of five young children, removed to what was then known as the township of Polk, Sanilac county, now Huron City, Huron county, Mr. Brakeman entering into the lumbering business in partnership with the late Dr. John S. Heath, an early resident of Port Huron. There were no boats on that route at that time, and the schooner Mariner, Capt. Amos James, was chartered for the express purpose of taking the family and their goods. There were no docks, piers or harbors of refuge, or light houses on the lake shore at that time. The business proved to be very successful and after a residence there of six years they returned to Port Huron. The spring of 1855 they settled on the farm in St. Clair township, where Mr. and Mrs. Brakeman both died. His death, which occurred in November, 1874, was the only one in the family until her own, twenty years after. In all their changes she stood by her husband, and it can be truly said of her that she was an efficient helpmeet, a thorough worker, having early acquired habits of industry, a good housekeeper, neat and economical. Their success in life was the result of their combined efforts. She led a very active life until twelve years before her death she became blind. Many of her deeds of kindness and benevolence will long be remembered. She was a strong temperance advocate. She was very fond of children. There are persons of middle life now residing at Port Huron, children of her old neighbors, whom she loved next to her own, always manifesting a great interest in their welfare, and in old age frequently inquiring of them. She was the mother of five children, three daughters and two sons, all survive her and reside in St. Clair county; eleven grandchildren and one great grandson also survive her, their homes are also in St. Clair county, excepting one grandson, and the great grandson, who reside in Atlanta, Georgia. They will remember her as a very kind and affectionate grandmother. One sister, Mrs. M. J. Cole, of Sheboygan, Wis., and two brothers, James D. and Charles H. Brown, of Marine City, survive her. She was taken ill September 12, 1894, and during the eight weeks of her illness, expressed herself as willing and prepared to leave this world and go to her heavenly rest. The immediate cause of her death was heart failure. She passed away peacefully, trusting in the merits of her Redeemer. The funeral services were held at the family home, November 12, Rev. Dr. J. McEldowney, officiating. Her remains were taken to St. Clair city, and laid to rest by the side of her husband in the city cemetery, to await the resurrection morn. ANNA BRAKEMAN.

WILLIAM BUCKERIDGE.—William Buckeridge, aged 76 years, died at his home on Pine street, on Monday afternoon, March 30, 1896, after an

illness of nearly a year. Mr. Buckeridge was born in England and came to Canada when 15 years of age. He came to Port Huron in 1857, and has resided there ever since. For years he followed the wagon business. He leaves a wife and six sons, Edwin W., Byron, Hiel B., Marshall and George, of Port Huron, and Alfred, of Kansas City. Twenty-four grandchildren also survive him.

Orange Fenton.—Orange Fenton died at his home in Casco, Saturday, April 4, 1896, aged 78 years. In the death of Mr. Fenton, Casco loses one of the oldest and most respected citizens, he having been a resident of the township for more than 60 years. Mr. Fenton was born in New York state January 29, 1818, and came to Michigan with his parents more than 60 years ago, settling near where the village of Adair now stands. After his marriage, which took place about 50 years ago, he moved on to the farm in Casco, where he had resided continuously up to the time of his death. In his younger days Mr. Fenton followed the lakes, and for a number of years sailed for Captain Eber Ward. It is related of him that while thus employed he frequently made the trip on foot through the forest from St. Clair, where his boat would sometimes stop for the night, to his home in Casco and back before morning, in order to ascertain how his family were prospering. Mr. Fenton had been a more than ordinary rugged man in his day, rearing a large family and living to see the one-time wilderness stripped of its forests and well cultivated farms and comfortable farm buildings take their place. The cause of his death seemed to be old age and a general breaking down. For upwards of half a century he had been prominently connected with the Methodist church and had done much to further the cause of religion.

Cummings Sanborn Geel.—Capt. Cummings S. Geel died suddenly at his home on the River road at 10:30 o'clock Wednesday night, February 12, 1896. Mr. Geel was apparently in perfect health on Wednesday. In the evening Fred Manuel called at the house, spending an hour or so. On leaving Mr. Geel helped him on with his overcoat and bid him good night. At 9:30 Mr. Geel retired for the night. At 10:30 he got up and immediately fell over dead. It is believed that neuralgia of the heart caused his death. Captain Geel was born in Port Huron township on December 6, 1836, and always resided there until his farm was taken into the city by annexation. Capt. Geel began sailing on the schooner T. G. Scott during his boyhood and followed the lakes for 40 years. In 1865 he was captain of the schooner Union and in 1873 went with the Anchor line, remaining seven years. He also superintended the building of the barge Fred McBriar and sailed her for many years.

In the death of Capt. Geel Port Huron loses an excellent citizen. He leaves a wife, two daughters and three sons.

Albert McCollom.—Albert B. McCollom died at his home on Sixth street on Thursday night, April 16, 1896, after a long struggle with consumption. Mr. McCollom was a native of Canada and was born July 28, 1844. He came to Port Huron in 1863 and entered the drug store of G. J. Parker. In August, 1864, he enlisted in the new third Michigan infantry and served until the close of the war. On returning home he spent a short time in the employ of Henry C. Hill, of Detroit, and Dr. Parker. In 1869 he entered Wm. Wastell's drug store and remained seven years. In 1876 Mr. McCollom formed a copartnership with F. E. Sweetser and carried on the store at the corner of Military and Water streets for several years. During the Harrison administration Mr. McCollom was connected with the customs service. He was a member of Wm. Sanborn Post, G. A. R., and several local societies. During the years 1883 and 1884 he was a member of the common council, representing the second ward. In the death of Mr. McCollom Port Huron loses a good citizen. A wife and three sons, Gage A., Sylvester W. and Charles F. McCollom, survive him.

Nicholas Orth.—Nicholas Orth died at 8:30 p. m. Wednesday, February 19, 1896, at the residence of his son, Adam Orth, on Chestnut street. He was a member of Wm. Sanborn Post, G. A. R., and was well known. Mr. Orth enlisted in Company H, First Michigan light artillery, in 1861, from St. Clair county, and served throughout the war in that company. He made an excellent record as a soldier, of which he was justly proud. He was highly respected by his comrades both during and since his service in the army. Mr. Orth was born in Germany 76 years ago, and had lived in this country 60 years, having come to Detroit with his parents when he was 16 years old. His wife died in Port Huron about seven years ago. Five children now remain to mourn the death of their father.

Henry Smith.—Henry Smith, who died on Friday afternoon, January 10, 1896, was a well known and respected citizen of Port Huron, having resided in that city for 42 years. He was born in Germany in 1833, and immigrated to this country 43 years ago, living in New York one year before coming to Port Huron. On arriving in Port Huron he entered the employ of W. R. Mulford, as a cabinetmaker, remaining with the firm for 12 years. Mr. Smith was well known in the railroad shops of Port Huron and Fort Gratiot, having been connected with Block I shops for over 15 years. He held the office of supervisor of the sixth ward, and was one of the first commanders of Humboldt Tent, K. O. T. M., in which

society he held a policy for $2,000. He was also a member of German Aid society No. 1. Mr. Smith was married 40 years ago, and leaves a wife and seven children, four sons and three daughters—Adam, Joseph, Henry and George, and Mrs. C. Stone, of Louisville, Ky., Mrs. Wm. Isabell and Mrs. E. Vanness, of Port Huron, and 17 grandchildren.

Rev. Fr. Edward Van Lauwe.—At the St. Clair County Pioneer Society meeting on Tuesday, June 26, 1895, O'Brien J. Atkinson read the following interesting paper on the late Rev. E. Van Lauwe:

In the measurement of time the day and night seem to give us our most natural and perfect standard; and in the measurement of lives the year is our most convenient instrument. During each year our earth travels like a celestial car in the circle around the sun; everything is arranged for our comfort and for the display of a brilliant procession of stars, suns and planets set in space for our observation. The time of our birth is largely a matter of mystery, although it is past, and its occasion or cause remains a mystery even after a monument has been erected over our graves. Our occupation while upon earth is largely a matter of accident, guided by unseen hands and leading upwards or downwards by an undefined fatality which some of us are unable to control. While there is such a strange mystery about our birth and occupation, there is a beautiful uncertainty about the time of death, and this uncertainty is one of the blessings with which the creator surrounds our short career. I am lead to these reflections when I consider the birth, life and death of the very Reverend Edward Van Lauwe, late Roman Catholic priest in this city. We know but little of his childhood or his boyhood; for he came from Ghent, in Belgium, and he came as the fair God came to the Aztecs and the Montezumas, all alone, without parents, without brothers or sisters, without relatives, expatriating himself from his country, his kindred and the continent upon which he was born, intending to devote his life to the service of a mixed race, a new people, a new government and a new civilization on a new and distant continent. We knew him only as 'Father Van Lauwe,' and in that capacity he became endeared to us as a citizen, as a pastor of one of our churches, and as an important factor in every movement which lifted mankind, or in which human weakness struggled against its unfavorable surroundings. In the same sense we knew the Rev. J. S. Hoyt and Rev. A. Hastings Ross, both of whom were co-workers with the subject of my sketch. The story of this Catholic priest runs parallel with the biography of nearly every missionary sent from Europe to labor amongst the people of America. Those young men make a supreme sacrifice and aim at a very high standard; their ambition contemplating a total separation from their childhood homes and their early surroundings; it also contemplates a life of labor upon a strange

continent and amongst strange people with whom they had neither acquaintance nor connection. This ambition could not be prompted by any worldly motive, and must be the educated product of a high moral character developed in a devotional nature to an extraordinary degree. It is always hard to leave an old and unsettled condition and take up a new, a crude or a less polished state, and to a boy educated in Europe it must seem like a strange sacrifice to join the Catholic priesthood and come to America where all was new, unsettled and comparatively in a state of chaos. Such was the picture which presented itself from 1858 until 1862 to the subject of my paper while he was studying for the priesthood at the Jesuit college of St. Barbara, in his native city of Ghent, in the present kingdom of Belgium, and afterwards while studying at the American college of Louvain, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Theology and was ordained as a priest in the Catholic church by the Archbishop of Belgium on July 26, 1862. This last event took place in Mechlin, one of the spots where great events in Europe love to center. The Belgium priest is a familiar figure in the diocese of Michigan, owing to the fact that Bishop Lefevre, the second of Detroit's great bishops, established his college in that country for the education of young priests intended for this peninsular state. That American college was a teacher as well as an inspiration for the young student who came within its walls; as teacher it prepared them for any mission in the church; but as an inspiration, its finger was always pointed towards Michigan, with its lake on the west and its lake on the east, and its dividing strait, and its historical missions; its great Superior sea with twelve islands named after the apostles, upon one of which the immortal Marquette established a mission among the Indians, the influence of which extends down to the present time. It is at this college and with these surroundings that Father Van Lauwe resolved to make America his home, and November 26, 1862, is recorded as the date of his arrival in the new state and upon the new field of his labor. For a few years the young priest served in the cathedral near the person of the old bishop, and while he moved about in the performance of his sacred functions the keen eye of the veteran bishop was studying his characteristics and selecting a location where he might be of great service to the church. Father Van Lauwe was temporarily stationed at Clinton for nearly five years, but he always said that he never felt at home in that locality. He did not know whether Clinton was to be his mission for a few days or for a lifetime, but he felt a strangeness which made him think his definite home would be somewhere else. He was like the dreamer on life's broad stage, to whose thoughts Watson has given an embodiment in verse. Looking skyward at night, he says:

"Neath this roof with starry dome
Floored by gem-like plains and seas,
I have never felt at home,
Never wholly been at ease.

"On from room to room I stray,
Yet my host can ne'er espy,
And I know not to this day
Whether guest or captive I."

Such was the feeling often expressed by the young missionary while living at Clinton, but that feeling was entirely dispelled when he reached Port Huron on April 2, 1867. And from that day until the day of his death no man ever lived in this city who felt more completely at home than he did amongst his congregation and amongst the people composing this important city. When Father Van Lauwe came to Port Huron he was installed as the second pastor of this parish, and a few months before he died it was his privilege to attend the funeral of Father Kilroy, the first pastor in St. Clair county. These circumstances show us how very recent must have been the introduction of Christianity, because the oldest pastorate of the oldest church in the city did not encompass two lives until the year 1891. The population of Port Huron at the time of his coming was about 6,000, and at the time of his death, (August 17, 1891), we had reached nearly 20,000 people, including the village and suburbs which belonged to his field of labor. Father Van Lauwe was essentially a builder. When he came to Port Huron the foundation of the present Catholic church had been laid, and was itself a kind of symbol of the spiritual condition of the faith to which he was attached. Upon this foundation he erected a stately church; and in this church there grew up a splendid congregation with Catholic methods of thought, Catholic societies and Catholic sodalities, in which men, women and children were made better citizens, and in which lessons were taught preparing them for an existence which is bounded only by eternity. Father Van Lauwe was a great favorite with the citizens of Port Huron. He was genial in his intercourse with men; he was polished and educated, so that his companionship was sought by the best thinkers of our State. He was a musician completely equipped and with rare natural gifts, so that in that refined direction he led all others in the harmonies and songs, which indicate a refined and tuneful nature. In the study of languages he was the most remarkable man known in this diocese. Often on a Sunday morning he would preach in the classic and attractive language of the best Parisian Frenchman. He would then lay aside his book and speak eloquently in his native Flemish; after which, with the slightest possible pause, he would deliver a sermon in the German language, during which every son

of Germany would feel that one of that country was talking to them in his native language. Father Van Lauwe, after this marvelous performance, would then preach a sermon in good English, which he had acquired by the most painstaking study, and in the grammar and composition of which he was absolute master. When all this was over his familiarity with the Latin language would be shown in the ceremonies of the church; and we all knew that his essays, arguments and sermons were all composed in the classical Latin tongue. These acquirements indicated the ability and character of the man; and aside from this he was a good Greek scholar and a fair student of Hebrew. All of which made up a splendid mental equipment for the work in which he was engaged. Father Van Lauwe left a will in which he provided for the erection of a stately monument upon what he called the mountain in our new cemetery, and this monument, like every act of his life, indicated an ardent love for the church and his entire unselfishness, because this monument was to direct our attention to the burial place of every future priest of this parish, and there will be seen nothing upon it to distinguish its founder from the others who humbly rest at its feet. A few years ago the State of Michigan was divided into deaneries, and it became necessary for the bishop of Detroit to select a chief in each district. The title of dean is very ancient and very honorable; it relates back to the time when the kingdom of England had no townships or counties and but few cities; every hundred families constituted a distinct political community with certain powers of local self government; these hundreds were subdivided into ten districts called tithings, and in every tithing was a constable or civil dean. In conformity to this the spiritual governors—bishops, divided each diocese into deaneries, each of which was a district of ten parishes or churches, over every one of which a dean was appointed who was the chief officer of the ten, second only to the bishop, and within the territory assigned his authority was respected. When that change took place Port Huron was created into a deanery and Father Van Lauwe was installed in that office, thus bringing us a step nearer to an ecclesiastical center than any of the surrounding counties. This honor was a very considerable distinction, and by reason of the peculiar fitness of our parish priest it was permanently fixed at Port Huron, where it still remains, and the ecclesiastical affairs of Macomb, Lapeer, Sanilac and Huron counties are largely settled and arranged in the city of Port Huron. The dean presides at all the local counsels, and is the medium through whom all communications from the clergymen to the bishop are passed, and hence the title is not only honorable, but it brings with it important functions requiring skill, ability and diplomacy as well as great preeminence in canon law and general theological learning. All this Father Van Lauwe possessed to an extraordinary degree, and the fact of his appointment by the bishop clearly attests his appreciation

of these qualifications in the priest. I have been asked by this society to give you a sketch of Father Van Lauwe. This I have done imperfectly. At the age of 55 years he died in this city, and it can be proudly said that his works and their lessons and their goodly influences live after him, and are a benignant agent for the promotion of all that is good and worthy in a free Christian nation.

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

BY CALVIN H. STARR.

JOSEPH L. BUELL.—Joseph L. Buell died at Centreville, February 29, 1896, aged 88 years. He was born in Bethany, N. Y., December 2, 1807. He came to Michigan in 1833 and entered the employ of Thomas Langley, later purchasing a farm near here. He has been a farmer all his life. In 1828 he was married to Elizabeth Gillett, who in 1862, passed over the river. Of their seven children, two only are living—Monroe Buell and Mrs. Wm. Kirby. Mr. Buell has been a member of the Methodist church for over 60 years. His funeral occurred from the M. E. church on Tuesday, Rev. D. Cronk, officiating. Interment in Centreville cemetery.

MRS. HARVEY CADY.—Mrs. Harvey Cady died at Centreville, March 1, 1896, aged 86 years. Miss Susan Emily Fenn was a native of Connecticut, having been born in Litchfield county, September 11, 1809. Her parents emigrated to New York state during her youth and settled in Schenectady county. In 1833 she was married to Harvey Cady and two years later they removed to Michigan and have since been residents of St. Joseph county. Of their three daughters only one survives, Mrs. Wm. H. Smith, of Centreville. Mrs. Cady was one of the original members of the Reformed church of Centreville. She possessed an iron constitution, but the unceasing toil of pioneer days had impaired it, and for the past few years she has been a semi-invalid. For the past few months her sufferings have been excruciating. Her circulation became so impaired that gangrene attacked her feet and finally death came as a relief. Her daughter has been an unwearied attendant at her bedside, but all that husband, daughter, son and grandson could do were of little avail in soothing her sufferings.

NATHAN B. CAREY.—Nathan B. Carey died at his home in Centreville, Thursday, April 24, 1896, aged 68 years. He was born in Montgomery county, N. Y., August 15, 1827. In 1845 he removed to Wyoming county, where he remained until 1853, when he removed to Michigan

and located in Mendon township, remaining there but a short time and settling permanently in Lockport township, where he has since resided until a few months ago, when he sold his farm and removed to town to spend his remaining years, which, to all appearances, promised to be many. He was married to Miss Emma Francisco, January 10, 1861. Of their six children, three survive. He has been a member of the Reformed church of Centreville since 1867, and a member of consistory almost continuously. He was greatly interested in educational matters, and for a number of years was a school director. He will be greatly missed. His funeral occurred at the Reformed church Sunday morning, and was conducted by Rev. D. Cronk. His remains were laid by his children in Centreville cemetery.

Mrs. Mary Fisher.—Mary Fisher was born in Danville, Pa., October 15, 1807, and died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Sarah Wolgamood, March 24, 1896, aged 89 years, 5 months and 9 days. She came to Michigan in 1834, locating on the banks of Fisher's lake, near Three Rivers, where she resided till the death of her husband in 1879. In 1827 she was married to Mr. Jonas Fisher, to whom thirteen children were born, all of whom, but one, grew to manhood and womanhood, eight of the children surviving their mother. She has been a member of the Methodist church for more than sixty years, during all of which time, till within the last few years, she was always ready to do what she could for her Master, and for the relief and succor of her fellow creatures. It is said that in the old "circuit" days of Methodism, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Fisher was a veritable headquarters for Methodist ministers and others engaged in the work. Mrs. Fisher was endowed with a most cheery disposition, carrying sunshine and joy wherever she went. Since 1879 she has made her home with her daughter, Mrs. Sarah Wolgamood, in White Pigeon, where everything was done for her comfort that could be conceived of. Notwithstanding her extreme old age Mrs. Fisher retained her mental faculties almost to the last, and it was a real pleasure to listen to her narration of incidents during her long pilgrimage. Funeral held at the home of Mrs. Sarah Wolgamood, on Friday, at 10 o'clock, and the remains taken to Park township for interment.

Mrs. Martha Gooden.—Mrs. Martha Gooden died at Centreville, February 28, 1896, aged 91 years. She was one of the few remaining who were actual participants in events which in these prosaic times we regard as being also prehistoric. Mrs. Gooden, whose maiden name was Martha Reed, was born and reared in rugged old Vermont. Her character partook of the solidity and firmness of her native hills. In 1821 she was married to Samuel Brown, and with him removed to New York, where they remained ten years. In 1831 they purchased a farm

in Nottawa township, St. Joseph county, territory of Michigan. The family was immediately removed to it, coming overland and arriving January 1, 1832. Many and exciting were the adventures of those early days. Time has cast a glamour over them, but in the wrinkled faces and toil-worn hands we read tales of self-sacrifice, deprivation and ceaseless labor. In 1843 Mr. Brown died, leaving her a widow with eight children. In 1844 she was married to Francis Gooden. They remained on the same farm until 1852, when with her husband and three children they started for the golden California. On this long and tedious trip through a wild and dangerous territory, over deserts and mountains, they had many narrow escapes. Mrs. Gooden's daughter, now Mrs. David Hazzard, was captured by a band of marauding Indians, but by a providential stampede of their ponies she escaped almost immediately. They reached California safely and remained until 1857, when they returned over the same trail. Where they found bleak desolation, now smiling farms and populous cities abound. During their sojourn in California they witnesed a considerable portion of the most tumultuous local history of any ever enacted in any portion of this country. It is related that an Indian called at the home of Mrs. Gooden and with drawn knife demanded food and supplies. Mrs. Gooden seized a club and broke it over his back. They returned to the old farm, which was her home except a few years passed in Centreville, until the death of her husband in 1885, since which time she has made her home with her daughter, Mrs. David Hazzard. One of her sons, Mark Brown, donned the blue when the nation was in peril and served his country in the field until captured, when he underwent the horrors of starvation and cruelty in a southern prison pen, subsisting on four ounces of food each day, and that of a very unwholesome character. Another son equally loyal who was in the south, was impressed into the confederate service. One son wore the blue, the other the gray. Of her nine children only five survive her, Clark Brown, of Texas; Mark Brown, of Howell; Mrs. J. M. Gregg, of Shelbyville; F. M. Gooden, who resides on the old farm, and Mrs. David Hazzard, of Centreville. Since her early life she has been a consistent Christian and over thirty years ago she united with the Reformed church under the pastorate of Rev. A. H. Van Vranken. Her funeral occurred at the home of Mrs. Hazzard on Monday, March 1, Rev. D. Cronk, officiating. Interment in Pioneer cemetery.

Mrs. Isaac Huff.—Mrs. Isaac Huff died at her home in Mottville township, May 21, 1896, aged 87 years. Hannah Long was born in Northampton county, Pa., March, 1809, and was married to Isaac Huff April 6, 1832. A few years after their marriage they removed to Union county, Pa., where they continued to reside until their removal to Michi-

gan in 1856, when they came to St. Joseph county, and settled on the farm which has since been their home. Ten children were born to them, as follows: George W., William H., Joseph W., Mary Ann, John S., Samuel, Margaret L., Henry Clay, Charles and Phoebe H., four of whom are still living, Samuel, of Berwick, Ill.; George W., farmer, Mottville; John S., Leavenworth, Kansas, and Mrs. M. L. Maston, a widowed daughter, who resides at the home of her parents. Mr. and Mrs. Huff had lived together as husband and wife more than 64 years, a length of time rarely attained, and by dint of industry and faithfulness had amassed a competency. Of late years disease had made its appearance, which more or less clouded their lives, but with it all, Mrs. Huff bore her lot with patience, trusting in her God implicitly for the outcome.

Mrs. Orissa Fisher Johnson.—Mrs. Orissa Fisher Johnson died at the home of her son, Wm. Patterson in Mendon, February 27, 1896. Orissa Fisher was born at Francistown, N. H., June 6, 1814, and was there united in marriage, in her young womanhood, to John Patterson. Their union was blessed with four children, of whom two daughters died in infancy. One daughter, Mrs. Wm. Frankish of Centreville, and one son, Wm. Patterson, of Mendon, are left to mourn the loss of a loving, helpful, Christian mother. With a young daughter but four years old, Mr. and Mrs. Patterson made the long, toilsome journey from New England, through Canada, to Michigan, with a spring or thorough-brace wagon and four horse team. This was fifty-seven years ago, and was primitive and tedious. On arriving in a new country the wife and mother cheerfully and industriously shared in the trials and privations incident to pioneer life, and endeared herself to her family and neighbors by her ready sympathy, her kind heart and her cheerful patience. Mr. Patterson died in 1854, and was buried on Nottawa prairie, and by his side she was laid Sunday, March 1, 1896. Her second marriage was to Fordyce Johnson, but for several years she had divided her time between the homes of her two children, and altogether she formed many strong ties both in the church and socially in Centreville. Mrs. Johnson was for many years a member of the M. E. church, uniting with that church early in the '60's, and taking a letter with her on her removal to Centreville.

David Johnson.—David Johnson was born in Montour county, Pa., March 8, 1825, and died March 20, 1896, aged 71 years and 12 days. He was married to Miss Sarah Antis, June 25, 1846. There was born to them eight children, three of whom, with the wife, survive him. Mr. Johnson has been a resident of White Pigeon since 1855. During his long residence among us he has always been known as an honest, industrious citizen, always ready to aid his fellowmen. For more than fifty

years Mr. Johnson has been a member of the Odd Fellows fraternity, at time of his death being one of the oldest Odd Fellows in Michigan. A number of years since, when this lodge met with serious reverses, he was one of the very few who helped to bear the burden gladly, and tided it over the rough places, and was at last permitted to see the dawn of prosperity again settle upon the beloved order, which always laid so near his heart. The funeral was held under the auspices of the Odd Fellows, on Sunday afternoon, at the Presbyterian church, Rev. Lee T. Fisher, D. D., preaching a most impressive sermon, after which the beautiful burial service of the order was gone through with and the body laid to rest in White Pigeon cemetery. About fifty brothers from sister lodges were present, divided among Sturgis, Three Rivers and Shipshewana.

John Putney.—John Putney died April 24, 1896, aged 60 years. He was born at Parmalee Corners, Jefferson county, N. Y., March 22, 1836. When but six months old his parents removed to Michigan and took up the farm direct from the government which Mr. Putney owned at the time of his death. It has never been out of the possesion of the family. Except a little over seven years, his life has been spent on this farm. Mr. Putney's health having been impaired, he decided to remove to Centreville and engage in less arduous employment than farming. Six weeks ago he removed and seemed contented in his new environments, but his health continued poor, and new complications appeared which confined him to his bed until death claimed him. He was married to Susan M. Self, November 11, 1866. One son and three daughters were born to them, all of whom, with their mother, survive. He lived for his home. His happiest moments were when the day's labor was ended; his family would gather around him and sing for him the songs of his childhood, grand old immortal songs of the church. When on his death bed he called his children around him and joined with them in singing "Jesus, Lover of My Soul." A kind, wise father, devoted husband and kind neighbor has passed over, but his deeds and memory will live. His funeral occurred from his late home in Centreville, on Monday, April 27, Rev. Gookin, officiating. His remains were interred in Prairie river cemetery.

Mrs. Ardella Dunham Smith.—Ardella Dunham was born in Perinton, Monroe county, N. Y., August 6, 1815, and died in White Pigeon, May 22, 1896, aged 80 years, 9 months and 16 days. She was married to Eleazer Smith, September 25, 1839. There were born to them six children, three sons and three daughters, of whom five are still living, the youngest having died August 15, 1885. Mr. Smith died January 22, 1849, leaving her with six small children to care for. She moved to

White Pigeon, January 1, 1861, where she has continued to reside since. She united with the Presbyterian church when about 18 years of age, and was received by letter into the Presbyterian church of White Pigeon, June 4, 1865.

Dr. Edwin Stewart.—Dr. Edwin Stewart was born in Cambria, Niagara county, N. Y., April 28, 1819, and was nearly 77 years old when he passed away from earth March 7, 1896. The eldest of a family of nine children, he early learned independence and became self-reliant and self-supporting. A memorandum of dates and employment, compiled quite recently by his own hand, covering a period of three score years, is a record of hard work and physical labor along many lines, not altogether congenial to one ambitious for an education. We see him teaching winter schools and working on farms in summer, or attending school a portion of the year and alternating his study with manual labor, but always with a definite end in view, the achievement of knowledge and a fitness to enter the profession of medicine. He came west in 1838 and to Kalamazoo in 1840. Six years later he studied in the office of Dr. Thayer at Battle Creek and the following year entered Rush Medical college in Chicago, from which institution he graduated in 1850. Two years later he located in Mendon, and brought his young wife, a former pupil of his, Miss Frances Amelia Holden. Three children were born to them, a little daughter dying in infancy, but their eldest child, Nelson, grew to manhood here, always lived near them and died at their home. One son remains to comfort his mother, Edwin Stewart, of Mancelona. Dr. Stewart rose by his own exertions, intellect and integrity from a poor boy, to become a man esteemed in his profession and honored by the people among whom he lived, filling several offices of trust and importance. He served three terms in the State legislature, was postmaster of Mendon under President Garfield, and was often member of State or local boards. Politically he was always an ardent Republican. He was a member of the Episcopal church which he joined in 1867, and his funeral services were conducted at that church March 10, by the rector, Rev. C. R. Taylor. His absorbing passion was his love of the medical profession and he wrote of it to his son, as "the most ennobling of all the professions," and held in the high esteem of a true man, the intimate, delicate and sympathetic relations between a physician and his patients. His death comes as a personal loss to many, who mourn a friend as well as a physician. His closing years were quiet and peaceful, and when the shadows of the Dark Valley fell athwart his path, he caught the light from the Great Beyond, and wrote the following beautiful sentiment, which is a fitting requiem to the deceased: "Age has its consolations, for when the twilight of our existence on earth is shining around us, and the world diminishes and grows dark, the less

we feel its loss, for the dawn of the next world grows clearer and clearer."

JONAS WOLF.—Jonas Wolf died Sunday morning, March 8, 1896, aged 83 years, 3 months and 26 days. He leaves three sons and three daughters to mourn his loss. He was born in Mifflin, Columbia county, Pennsylvania. He was the youngest of eight children. His parents both died while he was quite young. While a mere lad he was employed to drive a team on the canal. At the age of 12 he was engaged as a clerk in a store where he remained until his 18th year, when he embarked in business for himself, which he followed up to the time when he moved to Michigan. He was married March 1, 1835, to Miss Margaret Gearhart. His second marriage was to Mrs. Nancy Vincent Lemmon, who preceded him to the spirit land about three weeks. Mr. Wolf's first visit to Michigan was in 1832. The contrast between the rugged mountain farms of Pennsylvania and the beautiful level prairies and flower decked openings of this country, was so marked that it awakened in him an intense longing to possess one of its beautiful farms. It was not until the year 1864 that he was enabled to gratify his ambition, which he did by purchasing what is known as the Robert Crawford farm in Florence. Here he lived four years, when he sold out and bought a home in Constantine, where he has lived until his death. Mr. Wolf, by strict attention to business, accumulated quite a fortune, which he lived long to enjoy. He was a man of large heart and generous impulses. No worthy applicant for help ever went away empty, nor needy cause unaided. As a business man he was upright, his word was as good as his bond; as a Christian he was sincere and gave largely of his means to the support of the church, and as a friend he was faithful and true.

TUSCOLA COUNTY.

BY WM. A. HEARTT.

DAVID H. ANDREWS.—David H. Andrews died at the home of his brother in the town of Indian Fields, in February, 1896, of paralysis. He had been a resident of the county since 1852. His wife survives him. They had no children of their own, but had adopted four, all of whom reached their majority and two of whom survive him. He was a man of pronounced views and was for many years an active member of the Methodist church.

AMOS A. BARNES.—Amos A. Barnes died at Vassar, September 9, 1895, aged 65 years. He had been a resident of the county since 1853.

CHRISTOPHER CALLEN.—Christopher Callen died by suicide, in the township of Almer, November 8, 1895. He had been a resident of the county since 1852.

MRS. FARLEY CRAW.—Mrs. Farley Craw died at Caro, January 19, 1896. She was formerly of White Lake, Oakland county, but had been a resident of Caro since 1866.

ALVIN A. FRISBIE.—Alvin A. Frisbie, died at Vassar, of paralysis, August 23, 1895, aged 76 years.

MRS. MARY A. FRISBIE, wife of Alvin A., died at Vassar, October 8, 1895. Her maiden name was Mary A. Barnes.

MRS. CLARISSA GIBBS.—Mrs. Clarissa Gibbs, widow of Melvin B. Gibbs, died at Caro, July 27, 1895, aged 72 years. She was born in Steuben county, N. Y., and had been a resident of the county 40 years.

MARY ANN GRINNELL.—Mary Ann Grinnell, of Arbela, formerly from Leeds, England, died December 29, 1895, aged 80 years. She had been a resident of the county 40 years.

JOSHUA A. HEATH.—Joshua A. Heath died at Cheboygan, at the residence of his son, December 2, 1895, aged 76 years. He had been a resident of the county since 1853.

ALEX. HUME.—Alex. Hume, of the township of Juniata, died March 20, 1896, of kidney trouble, aged 64 years. He was born at New Mills, Scotland, and had been a resident of the county since 1858.

CHAUNCEY W. IRONS.—Chauncey W. Irons, of Vassar, died there October 31, 1895, aged 67 years. He had been a resident since 1849, or from the founding of the village.

MRS. HANNAH JEWELL.—Mrs. Hannah Jewell died in March, 1896, at the home of her son, George W. Jewell, in the town of Watertown, aged 90 years, 9 months and 1 day. She was born in Willoughby, Ohio, and was a member of the Church of the Disciples. She had been entirely helpless for many years from rheumatism.

MRS. R. G. LYON.—Mrs. R. G. Lyon died at Vassar, February 8, 1896, aged 55 years. Her maiden name was Catherine White, and she was born in Livingston county, Mich., September 11, 1841.

JOHN MCCLOY.—John McCloy died in Gifford, March 6, 1896, aged 90 years. He had been a resident of the county for 27 years.

GEORGE C. MAXWELL.—George C. Maxwell died at Vassar, November 24, 1895, of chronic bronchitis. He came from Lindonville, Orleans county, N. Y., to Vassar, in 1852.

REV. CHARLES BLUNT MILLS.—Rev. Charles Blunt Mills died suddenly March 11, 1896, at his home in Mayville while sitting in his chair during the temporary absence of his wife in attendance at their weekly prayer meeting. He was born in York county, Maine, May 5, 1823. He received a good common and high school education, and at an early age he became a minister in the Free Baptist denomination. He was a close student and gave frequent lectures in addition to his regular pastoral work. He removed to Ohio, and from there, in 1856, to Tuscola county, where he bought a farm. He was a State senator in 1869-70 and a representative in 1877 and was judge of probate for Tuscola county eight years. He had been a trustee of Hillsdale college for many years and several years acted as its secretary and treasurer, and was one of the incorporators of the Free Baptist printing house at Dover, N. H. From his close resemblance, both in features and actions to Henry Ward Beecher, he was frequently mistaken for that individual in his earlier days. His address made at Caro in September, 1895, to the large outdoor gathering of the Tuscola County Sunday School Association will long be remembered and his memory cherished by all present on that occasion. He married Ann M. Morrison in 1851, who survives him.

REUBEN PALMERTON.—Reuben Palmerton died in the township of Indian Fields, April 21, 1896, of kidney trouble, aged 55 years. He was a member of the cavalry squad that pursued and captured Jefferson Davis while attempting to escape. Previous to the war he resided at Decatur, Mich.

THOMAS RATHBONE.—Thomas Rathbone, of Watrousville, died there March 25, 1896, of paralysis, aged 70 years. A pioneer of the county.

JAMES ROSS.—James Ross died in the township of Koylton, Sunday, May 24, 1896, by suicide. He was last seen by his son on the morning of his death standing near the grave of his wife, who died about two years before. He was born in Scotland in 1827, and came to America in 1855, residing in Oxford county, Ontario, five years and came to Tuscola county in 1860. He leaves three grown up sons.

MRS. RICHARD M. ROSS.—Mrs. Richard M. Ross, *nee* Mary Kinyon, died at Caro, July 29, 1895, aged 43 years. She was born in Plymouth, Mich., and has been a resident of Tuscola county since 1852.

Mrs. Mahala J. Smith.—Mrs. Mahala J. Smith died at Caro, December 2, 1895. She was the widow of Rev. Xenophon O. Smith, a pioneer Methodist minister, a resident of the county for 40 years.

Thomas Smith.—Thomas Smith died in the town of Fremont, August 14, 1895, aged 82 years. He had been a resident of the county 26 years.

Wm. H. Valentine.—Wm. H. Valentine died at Millington, April 24, 1896. He had been a resident of the county for 30 years and was supervisor of the township of Millington at the time of his death.

Wm. N. Varnum.—Wm. N. Varnum died at Vassar, November 16, 1895, of heart failure, aged 69 years. He settled in Lapeer county in 1844, and had been a resident of Tuscola county 20 years. He was buried at Metamora, Lapeer county.

Arthur Visscelius.—Arthur Visscelius died at Vassar, December 10, 1895. He was born in Tompkins county, N. Y., November 18, 1838, and had been a resident of Tuscola county since 1857. He was a G. A. R. veteran.

Wm. N. Walton.—Wm. N. Walton died at Caro, August 1, 1895, aged 40 years. He was born at Northumberland, on Scottish border, March 5, 1855. He had been county clerk four years and at the time of his death was supervisor of the town of Indian Fields. Had been a long time resident of Watrousville.

Lucius Wells.—Lucius Wells died in Indian Fields, November 20, 1895, aged 44 years. He had been a resident there from infancy.

PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF 1896, AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.

LIFE AND LABORS OF COL. MICHAEL SHOEMAKER.

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

It is my privilege, by invitation of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, to pay tribute to one of its most prominent and useful members—the late HONORABLE MICHAEL SHOEMAKER.

Pioneer, citizen, soldier, public officer and man, his name is identified with the history of Michigan for more than half a century. As a pioneer he worthily represented a class of enterprising men, born to subdue the prairies and wildernesses of the West. As a citizen he was faithful and honorable in every relation of life, gaining and holding the respect of all. As a soldier, like Algernon Sidney, or the Chevalier de Bayard, he was noted for loyalty, honor and courage—without fear and without reproach. As a public officer, he brought to the performance of duty a clear perception and sound judgment. As a man he was esteemed the most by those who knew him best. The union of dignity and courtesy, his varied experience, wide reading and retentive memory, made his confidence and companionship enjoyable.

> "A combination and a form indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal,
> And give the world assurance of a man."

A life of seventy-eight years seems long, as lives are measured on earth, and yet "all time is short that has an end." As a training school for something better, the years that lengthen into the maturity of manhood and the infirmities of age are surely enough for this disciplinary stage of existence. When the final summons came it was not sudden and unexpected. The silver cord was not cut hurriedly, nor the golden bowl broken in an instant. The fruit was ripe, and fell from the tree

in accordance with an all-wise law that transfers the soul from one condition of life to another. Towards the last there was much suffering, yet unappalled by imaginary terrors of an unknown realm, on Sunday afternoon, day of rest in the Divine Economy of the Universe, he passed to his rest.

One by one old friends and companions fall by the wayside, their work here ended; we feel lonelier with each departure, though assured that death is but an event in life; younger associates belong to a changed era of thought, struggle and experience; they are unlike the old comrades; memory does not link them with the same formative and eventful past; the poetry of men and nations blossoms in their youth; no two generations have the same environments; similar historic events are not common to the pioneers and to those who come after them; the sky is gemmed with the same eternal stars, sun and rain and dew refresh and bourgeon the earth, but all else is changed; growth is along the grooves of a new and untried period of ever-changing conditions; warmest in our hearts is the treasure-trove of early years; and for us who yet linger on this side of "the moaning bar," waiting for passage across to the eternal shore, there is nothing like the old associates—nothing like the old associations, soon to be renewed again where thought brings presence and love companionship.

BIRTH, DEATH AND ANCESTORS.

Michael Shoemaker was born in the town of German Flats, Herkimer county, N. Y., April 6, 1818, and passed from earth at his home in Jackson, Mich., in which he had lived over forty-five years, November 10, 1895.

His paternal ancestors were Germans and Protestants of the Lower Palatinate who, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, of France, in 1685, were obliged to renounce their religion or leave their country, and they preferred expatriation to apostasy. These men from the territory along the Neckar and the Rhine were of sturdy character, and became influential in this country in shaping colonial conduct and national destiny. The exodus to England was in 1709, and it is estimated that thirty thousand of these liberty-loving Germans swarmed upon the English shore, and in 1710 about three thousand of them came to New York. They were poor in purse and rich in principle. Like the Pilgrims, who received much experience and inspiration of value to them in Holland, they came here for freedom to worship God in an age of cruel persecution. Welcomed in London, some $600,000 were raised and spent for their location in Ireland and America. Ten ships, crowded with people, were sent across the Atlantic, and during the

three or four months they were on the ocean, nearly one-sixth of them died, the voyage having been unusually tempestuous.

For many years after this first arrival the stream of immigrants from the Palatinate continued, although they were inhospitably received in New York, were cheated and oppressed, their children apprenticed away from parents and friends by colonial authority; and Michael Shoemaker's ancestors were among the pioneers of the Mohawk Valley, coming to this country in 1710 and 1722.

Ninety-two persons are named in the grant of land known as the "Burnitsfield Patent," on the upper Mohawk, the colonists purchasing of the Indians, and among them was Rudolf Shoemaker, the great-grandfather of Michael. Rudolf married Gertrude Herkimer, a sister of General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the battle of Oriskany, fought August 6, 1777, where he received his death wound. It was a small battle, like a hot skirmish by the wings of an army, but of large consequence, as it closed the avenue of escape by the Mohawk Valley to Burgoyne's forces and thus, with General Stark's victory at Bennington, contributed to their surrender at Saratoga.

A son of Rudolf and Gertrude Shoemaker, John Jost Shoemaker, married Mary Smith, daughter of Robert Smith, a native of Yorkshire, Eng., thus commingling the life currents of Palatine and Britain on American soil. Their son, Robert Shoemaker, married Catherine Myers, daughter of Michael and Catherine Herter Myers, to whom were born ten children, five sons and five daughters, Michael Shoemaker being the fifth.

Patriotic blood was the inheritance of the man we honor on this occasion. Colonel Shoemaker's ancestors on both sides were participants in the French, Indian, Revolutionary and 1812 wars. Of his grandmother, Catherine Herter, history says: "Herter, son of a patentee, a militia officer, was taken prisoner with his family in the French and Indian wars in 1757, and carried to Canada. Mrs. Herter gave birth to a daughter in a birch canoe while crossing the St. Lawrence. The family were kept prisoners one year, then released, and they returned to the Mohawk Valley, where this daughter, named Catherine, married Michael Myers." She lived to be 81 years of age, until September 4, 1839.

Major General Michael Myers was a prominent citizen. He was elected the first member of the New York Assembly, after the formation of Herkimer county, in 1791, reelected the next year, and served during the sessions of 1792 and 1793. In 1795 he was chosen state senator, and served the full term of four years. He was also a judge of one of the state courts for several years before his death, which occurred February 17, 1814, and was caused by the breaking out of a wound received at the battle of Johnstown, in 1781. Living on the frontier,

the revolutionary war brought to these people of the Mohawk Valley little else than one continued scene of desolation and blood. Benton's History of Herkimer county says: "In 1781, it was supposed that one-third of the population had been killed or driven from the country, and that among those who remained were two thousand orphan children and three hundred widows." A daughter of Michael and Catherine Herter Myers—the latter the woman who, at birth, was cradled in a birch canoe on the St. Lawrence—married Robert Shoemaker, the father of the subject of this sketch. He was an officer of the American army in the war of 1812, was sheriff of Herkimer county, and a member of the New York legislature.

Of such ancestors the best type of Americans have been bred. They preferred expatriation to apostasy, freedom and battle in the wilderness of a new country to subjection and peace with stifled consciences in the Old World. Of priceless value are the lessons taught by such examples. Sacrifice, self-denial, toleration, struggle to make the present better than the past and shape the future to some higher ideal for humanity, founded colonies, states, the nation, and have carried them forward, with many reversions in various ways to the love of ruling others instead of ourselves, along the pathway of liberty and progress. No circumstances could have been more conducive to the formation of self-reliant manhood and a distinctive type of national character than the abandonment of home and country because of religious persecution, the settlement in a wilderness, the subsequent heroic acts of the revolution, the establishment of the Republic, the making of their own laws, and the enthronement of freedom. In these events the Shoemaker family bore an honorable part.

A PIONEER FAMILY.

The names of the children of Robert and Catherine Myers Shoemaker, in the order of their respective births, together with such information as is preserved in a family Bible, now in the possession of M. M. Shoemaker, of Cincinnati, Ohio, are appropriately placed on record in this connection. All of these children were born in the town of German Flats, N. Y., and found homes elsewhere in this country:

Mary Catherine Shoemaker, born November 1, 1809; married Dr. A. W. Bowen; died November 20, 1881, at Wilmington, Ill.

Matthew Shoemaker, born November 16, 1813; now living at Toledo, Ohio; married Catherine Bellinger, deceased.

Robert Myers Shoemaker, born October 21, 1815; married Mary Colegate Steiner, (deceased), December 25, 1839; died February 10, 1885.

Michael Shoemaker, born April 6, 1818; died at Jackson, Mich., November 10, 1895.

Joseph P. Shoemaker, born August 30, 1820; married Sarah Amsden; both living at Amsden, Montcalm county, Mich. Mr. Shoemaker has been State senator and held other positions of honor and trust.

Elizabeth Shoemaker, born January 20, 1823; married Edmund Allen, of Joliet, Ill.; died October 29, 1854.

Margaret Shoemaker, born May 21, 1825; married Lucius Hubbard; died November 1, 1894.

Gertrude Herkimer Shoemaker, born March 6, 1828; married Judge Josiah McRoberts; died July, 1883, at Joliet Ill.

Anna L. Shoemaker, born October 16, 1830; unmarried; now living at Toledo, Ohio.

[The second child, a son, died in infancy, and is not recorded in the Family Bible.]

Of these children, bearing historic and family names, whose active lives were contemporary with the growth and expansion of the great Northwest, three are now living—Matthew Shoemaker, Joseph P. Shoemaker and Anna L. Shoemaker.

Pioneer as well as patriotic heredity does much in shaping the lives and careers of men with such an ancestry. It dwells in the thought and circulates in the blood of the children of fathers and mothers who braved the perils of ocean, wilderness and savage foes to find homes in a land that promised civil and religious liberty. How often this movement has been repeated! Emigrants to Kansas forty-two years ago, under the guidance of such men as the late Charles Robinson, first governor of that state, sang as they passed over the prairies, and while building their new homes in a territory where now more than a million people dwell, these words of Whittier:

"We cross the prairie as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they did the East,
The homestead of the free."

The story of the pioneers of civilization is never stale. It will be remembered long after the events of later generations are forgotten. The builders of new states upon the bedrock of equal rights for all are the advanced toilers in the great forward movements of humanity. The sappers and miners of society and government come after them. The first explorer or discoverer in any department of human enterprise and progress receives the highest honor. He leads the way. Ever to the West—ever to the West until now—has been the irresistible movement of the Aryan race for more than forty centuries. "Never country," says Emerson, "had such a fortune, as men call fortune, as this, in its geography, its history and in its majestic possibilities." The pioneers take counsel of the possible. With his heredity, how could Michael Shoemaker, a lad in his teens, escape the impulse to come West? As by a

silent and unseen process the fairest flower and choicest fruit spring from an insignificant seed, the impulse came to him in early life from the character, the thoughts cherished, by pioneer ancestors.

EARLY LIFE AND OCCUPATION.

The first thirteen years of his life were spent on his father's farm, and the only school education he ever received was during this period, at the common school, held nearly a mile from his home, and a few months in a select school at Herkimer. In his fourteenth year he was placed by his father in a situation to support himself, which he did from that time forward. Possessed with a desire for larger opportunities than the Mohawk Valley afforded in those days, in 1835, when 17 years old, the Erie Canal having opened communication with the great lakes and this then New Northwest, not only establishing the commercial supremacy of New York city, but pioneering the pathway of empire on this continent, Michael Shoemaker passed through Michigan on his way to Joliet, Ill., where a brother-in-law, Dr. A. W. Bowen, resided. During the seven years he lived in Joliet, he was a dealer in real estate and merchandise, as a member of the firms of A. W. Bowen & Co., and Matteson & Shoemaker; also in company with Joel A. Matteson, afterwards Governor of Illinois, he assisted in building, under contract, in 1838 and 1839, several sections of the heavy rock work of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. He became of age the year the contract was completed. Payable in money, the state could not sell its bonds to meet its agreement, or even pay interest on those it had sold, as a region rich in resources has no income until it is produced by the hand of labor, and Matteson & Shoemaker, on the completion of their work, were obliged to accept in payment of the final estimate of over $60,000, canal scrip and state bonds, worth, at the time, but eighteen cents on the dollar. As in Michigan, in those days, when the four great enterprises of the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal, the Detroit and Grand Haven, the Michigan Central, and the Michigan Southern railroads were planned and the work of construction commenced by the State, there was more energy than cash, and great projects were crippled for lack of the representative of value.

In 1842, at the age of 24, young Shoemaker came to Jackson, Mich., and in connection with his brother, Matthew Shoemaker, bought the flouring mill at Michigan Center, four miles east of the city. Purchasing his brother's interest three years later, he continued the milling business for twenty-eight years. The same year, 1845, he bought a farm of 480 acres on the south line of the present city of Jackson, and one of the latest business acts of his life was deeding the right of way through it to the Cincinnati, Jackson and Mackinaw Railroad Company. This

tract, together with about 300 acres in and adjoining the west line of the city, made him one of the large land owners of Central Michigan. During his ownership he saw much of it rise in salable value to one hundred dollars and over per acre, and then shrink to forty dollars an acre, and he had a clear perception of the cause in the changed monetary unit of value.

This identification with farming, always a congenial occupation, led him to take an active part in the State Agricultural Society from its organization, becoming its president in 1856, and president of the Jackson County Agricultural Society in 1855, 1856 and 1857. At one time he devoted much attention to fine Devon and Durham cattle, always took special interest in breeding horses, and for thirty years kept an accurate record of every one he raised. From the time the national department of agriculture was organized, he made monthly reports, as its duly authorized correspondent for Jackson county, selecting for assistants the best men of different towns. Like agricultural pursuits, generally, this was agreeable work. Once he remarked that such pursuits gave him more pleasure and less profit than anything else except his books. This, however, is not uncommon experience. The speculator, manipulator, monopolist and transporter each get a larger harvest of wealth than does the producer. Besides, there is no money profit, but only a richer soul harvest in the things humanity prizes the highest—country, home, family, friends, books, pictures, nature—a glorious landscape, dotted with cultivated fields, primeval forests, and the residences of a prosperous and happy people; the last attainable only by intelligence, industry, economy, temperance and good government; and, if lacking or declining, in a land like ours, the fault surely exists in avoidable conditions.

How often these and cognate subjects have been talked over with my departed friend, in the perfect freedom of entire confidence, resulting usually in the quiet and philosophical condemnation of social and governmental injustice—whereby "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn"—and of the reprobation of unwise policies pursued by State and National legislators, which sap the foundations of integrity and morality, by leading men, from the instinct of self-preservation, if not from a sordid motive, to seek to escape the impositions and exactions of law. Alas! that the seemingly inevitable tendencies of governments, whether of republics or monarchies, are to make them, because of the selfish ambitions of those in power and the greed of private interests, more and more a burden and finally a curse to the governed.

To one who knew his innermost thought on these questions, it was not difficult to discern why Colonel Shoemaker was a Democrat in prin-

ciple, though in the later years of his life he saw the power of control by the people over public affairs passing from them, and only the devitalized external form of popular government remaining—a shell from which the spirit of liberty and equal rights had been expelled, and supplanted by the demons of selfish privilege, monopoly and corruption. The old spirit of the Palatinate was strong. He often disagreed with his party and its leaders, especially when they forsook the fundamental axioms that "the world is governed too much," and that "that government is best which governs least;" for he believed it to be the duty of the people to take care of their government, and not the duty of the government to support any portion of the capable people, either by taxing the many to benefit a few, or by despoiling the few to aggrandize the many. Special privileges or governmental favoritism on the one hand, and communism on the other, were alike abhorrent to him. The town or city should not attempt to do things that can be done better by individual effort; the county should do only the things that are beyond the province of town or city; the state the still fewer things which it can do better than the county; and by the nation still less interference with domestic affairs, concerning itself only with those larger interests that are beyond state jurisdiction—which policy, faithfully adhered to, would leave individual freedom and rights unimpaired. With state socialism, educational or industrial, his ripened thought had no sympathy, as he believed it would retard intellectual development and material progress, and would result in social stagnation and moral atrophy; and whatever weakened the influence of the family, the established unit of society, impaired the foundation and threatened the permanence of civic institutions.

PUBLIC CAREER.

Greatly respected in all the relations of private life, Colonel Shoemaker was frequently called to the performance of public duties by those in authority and by his fellow citizens. In March, 1845, he was appointed an inspector of the State Prison by Governor John S. Barry, although unaware that his name had been suggested for the position until after the appointment had been made, and he held the office for the full term of three years. In 1847 he was nominated by the Democrats of the second senatorial district, composed of the counties of Washtenaw, Livingston and Jackson, as their candidate for State senator, and was elected, and was renominated and reelected in 1849. The legislature met annually then, and his period of service extended through five sessions that were held prior to the first session under the present constitution—the State machinery requiring readjustment to changed fundamental conditions. Honorable W. R. Montgomery, of

Hillsdale, who was a member of the House of Representatives at the same time, has informed me that Colonel Shoemaker's clear perception of the situation enabled him to render valuable counsel and assistance in preparing the way for the smooth transition of the State from the old to the new constitution, in which many radical changes had been made. For the last session held under the old constitution, that of 1851, he was elected president pro tempore of the senate.

An estimate of the value of his services as a legislator is found in the fact that he was always appointed on important committees such as incorporations, finance and State affairs, and without seeking to impair their efficiency, he endeavored to have wholesome restrictions placed upon railroad, mining and other companies. This policy neglected vested wrongs soon become vested rights in a legal sense, and the people finally suffer—the creator becoming subservient to the created. He was the author of the first bill that attempted to make it the duty of railroad companies to fence their lines, build cattle guards at highway crossings, and put up signs to warn the public of danger from approaching trains. These precautions, common now, were fought against as expensive and unnecessary innovations. His bill passed the senate twice and was twice defeated in the house of representatives, through the potent influence of the railroad lobby upon the impressible minds of its members. After he was beaten the second time he told some of the railroad officials that the time would come when the companies would do all this work for their own protection, and it came to pass.

The great railroad conspiracy trial at Detroit grew out of the killing of cattle and other stock by railroad trains along unfenced lines, the company refusing compensation, and thereby arousing intense indignation. In some places cars were stoned, one outrage following another, like producing like, injustice breeding wrong. In the town of Leoni an intense feeling existed. A number of citizens were arrested, not for stoning cars and obstructing traffic, but for burning the Michigan Central depot, at Detroit, tried and convicted and sent to the penitentiary on perjured testimony; for, whatever they had done, they were unquestionably innocent of the crime charged against them; but the corporation wanted a deterrent example. Abel F. Fitch, a prominent and respected citizen, one of the alleged criminals; died in Detroit during the trial. A profound sensation was evoked throughout the State. Several of the persons charged were sentenced to the State prison, and remained there until pardoned by Gov. Bingham, after his election in 1854. Looking at these events of over forty years ago from the calmer standpoint of the present, while remembering the state of mind that existed then, it seems clear that the great conspiracy trial and its results, with the rankling sense of injustice that permeated the public, had

much to do with the change of parties and politics in the State forty-two years ago, especially as it was reported and believed that Gov. Bingham would, if elected, pardon, as he did, the victims of the trial. Col. Shoemaker was of the opinion that it was a leading factor in the political change that came in 1854. At all events, this one occurrence cost the Michigan Central more than to fence its road, and then it had to fence it after all for its own protection. During the session of 1849, Senator Shoemaker voted against the repeal of the legislative instructions to our members of congress to support the Wilmot proviso, its purpose being to prevent the spread of slavery into the territories of the United States.

Popular with his immediate constituents for his efforts to safeguard their interests, he was elected supervisor of the town of Leoni, in 1849, while a member of the senate, and was made chairman of the board at the annual meeting that year. In 1854 and 1858 he was nominated for senator, but the district had become strongly Republican, and at both elections he was defeated. In 1856 he was nominated as first presidential elector at large on the Democratic ticket. In 1857 he was appointed collector of customs at Detroit by President Buchanan, and served until December, 1859. He was chairman of the Democratic State central committee, in 1858, and until his successor was chosen in 1860.

A cessation of political office occurred on account of his military service during the war of the rebellion. In 1873 he was appointed a member of the Board of Public Works of the city of Jackson, serving for ten years, gaining the reputation of being one of its most considerate and influential members, and taking a great interest in all municipal improvements. Other important local service was rendered by his election as president of Young Men's Association in 1875, and his reelection in 1878. During the first term his efforts were directed to the establishment of the excellent library of the association; and later, while a member of the senate, he drafted the bill, which became a law, under which the Young Men's library and the east and west side school libraries were merged into the present Free Public Library of the city of Jackson. He was a delegate to the Democratic national conventions, held at St. Louis in 1876, and at Chicago in 1884.

Still in demand for public service, in 1876 he was again nominated for State senator, twenty-nine years after his first selection for the same position, and after a spirited contest, was elected by sixty-seven majority, over Hon. P. B. Loomis, the Republican nominee. He was a member of the first senate that assembled in the old capitol building, at Lansing, in 1848, and also during the last session held therein in 1877, the legislature moving out of the old house into the new for the session of 1879. He served on the important committees of appropriation and finance,

education and public schools, and the agricultural college. Extravagance in State affairs was just setting in, and his influence was uniformly exerted on the side of economy of expenditures, thereby leaving the people in a better financial condition to meet the conditions of world wide competition in an era of steam and electricity and of production by machinery, and in opposition to class legislation. Of the important measures he introduced that became part of our permanent polity were the law requiring saloons to be closed on election days, and the first State law providing for the formation and regulation of building associations.

In 1882 he again received the nomination for senator, and was elected by 777 majority. At the organization of the senate in 1883, he was appointed chairman of the committees on railroads and of the State library, and a member of the committees on the house of correction and of military affairs, in a body that contained but twelve Democrats. He introduced and secured the passage of a bill "To provide for the better protection of human life on railroad trains," known as the "frog bill." He made thirty-three reports on bills referred to or originated by the railroad committee, and drafted and introduced the first bill offered in a legislative body for the enactment of the principles of the present national "inter-state commerce act," and applying them to traffic within the State. Its scope was indicated by the title: "A bill to regulate passenger and freight traffic, to provide for a uniform classification of freight rates, and to prevent unjust discrimination in charges of toll, or compensation, for the transportation of passengers and freight upon the railroads of this State." It merely gave equal privileges to all. This bill, intended only to prevent unfair discrimination, of which there were a multitude of complaints in all parts of Michigan, was killed by indirection, having been strenuously opposed by the railroad interests, and a substitute referring the whole matter to a commission to be appointed and make a report to the next legislature, passed both houses and was vetoed by Governor Begole. No other measure of the session caused so much discussion.

In 1884, for the fifth time, Col. Shoemaker was elected a member of the State senate, his entire service in that body covering a period of eleven years, extending through forty years, from 1847 to 1887. At the organization of the senate in January, 1885, his fellow Democrats voted for him as president pro tem. He was appointed chairman of the committee on the University, and a member of each of the committees on appropriation and finance, banks and incorporations, and military affairs. Again the bill to regulate passenger and freight traffic within the State came to the front, and aroused an intenser interest and more earnest discussion than all the other prominent measures of the session. So

thoroughly had its author become identified with it, that it was generally spoken of as the "Shoemaker bill." It passed the senate, but was killed in the house by the opposition the railroad companies brought to bear against it. As is often the case, the people were defeated in the legislative body, which is supposed to be most attentive to their interests. For the first time in the history of Michigan the question of redistricting the State for senatorial and representative purposes aroused an intense feeling. Partisan injustice was uppermost. A purpose to redistrict Col. Shoemaker out of the senate was apparent. For example, the Upper Peninsula and the county of Emmet, in the Lower Peninsula, with a total population of 124,533, were given three senators, an average of one senator to 41,512 people, while Jackson county, with 45,359, was attached to Hillsdale with 31,695—a total of 77,034. Inequality of representatives is born of that source of governmental injustice—party necessity.

The idea of legislating particular men out of public life has been common to all parties. As a legislator Col. Shoemaker sought to promote the general welfare—the greatest good of the greatest number. This was apparent in his opposition to the establishment of the "Soldiers' home," which was located at Grand Rapids during the session of 1885. He proposed as a substitute a direct appropriation from the State treasury to needy soldiers at their respective homes, on application to the judge of probate for each county, under such regulations as the board of military affairs should adopt, not to exceed one hundred dollars a year for any one applicant; but as this effective plan of relief would not give another expensive State institution, with an official staff to be supported by the people, it was voted down. But the wisdom and economy of this plan became so apparent in 1889, after the costly home had been built, that the legislature of that year passed a law levying a tax for the relief of disabled and dependent soldiers at their own homes, and now we have both systems—the last one, like the measure urged by Senator Shoemaker in 1885, the most efficient and the best, as all the money of the taxpayers goes direct to the needy soldier. In legislative matters, looked at in the light of experience, one can see that his judgment was eminently practical and almost inerrant. From the long and arduous session of 1885 he returned home much broken in health, and thereafter refused to have his name used in connection with any public office.

MILITARY SERVICES.

Such is the profusion of material that it is difficult to make a condensed statement of his military services during the war of the rebellion. Only its salient features can be presented. Upon the breaking

out of hostilities he gave his unreserved influence and hearty support to the government in the struggle for the preservation of the Union. In January, 1862, he received from Governor Austin Blair a commission as colonel of the Thirteenth Michigan Volunteer Infantry, which mustered into service at Kalamazoo, his warm personal friend, Col. Charles E. Stuart, formerly United States senator, having been commandant of camp and instrumental in its organization. Col. Shoemaker always spoke in terms of highest praise and with obvious pride of the deeds of valor performed by his regiment. Proceeding south early in February, soon after taking command, he joined the Army of the Cumberland at Bowling Green, Kentucky, March 3, 1862, and served with it for nearly two years. Among the battles participated in by the regiment were Owl Creek, Shiloh, the seige of Corinth, Stevenson, Farmington, Gallatin, Mill Creek, La Vergne, Stewart's Creek and Stone River or Murfreesboro—the last, one of the bloodiest of the war. Three times the regiment marched across Kentucky, twice across Tennessee into Mississippi, and once across Alabama.

Private letters from the field, especially those written to his wife, show that he had no sympathy with the policy of trying to carry on the war without injuring slavery. The very things the loyal people of the north felt to be unwise in 1862, when their dissatisfaction with the manner of conducting the war was strongest, he saw clearly while in the field and privately expressed his views in forcible terms. In one of these letters, written at Stevenson, Alabama, he voiced the sentiment that prevailed in Michigan, though five hundred miles away. July 29, 1862, after stating that our men had repulsed an attack after hard fighting, and that some of the dead left on the ground by the rebels were "found to be citizens who had been living at home with passes and protections, and whose houses and property had in many cases been guarded by our soldiers, whom they were attempting to surprise and butcher," he added: "I am fearful that Gen. Buell's inactivity, or sympathy with traitors, to use a mild expression, will prevent the army from accomplishing anything towards crushing the rebellion, if it maintains its ground, which is becoming doubtful. When we left Corinth we had a splendid army, and now where is it? Scattered over the country, divided unnecessarily into detachments, and if employed at all, it is in guarding the property of rebels. If, after Corinth, we had proceeded immediately to Chattanooga, we could have taken it and East Tennessee, I think, without a blow, and be now acting on the offensive. As it is, we are being cut off in detail while in the act of doing nothing." Subsequent events verified every word of this statement, and it is cited here to show Col. Shoemaker's prescience in discerning actual conditions in a broad and comprehensive manner. Again

he wrote, "you may be sure that the rebellion will never be crushed until the armies are commanded in the field by other men than such as Generals Buell, Wood, or even Halleck."

Northern minds were full of the same thoughts at the same time that these words were written from the southernmost point east of New Orleans occupied by our troops, Stevenson, Alabama. There was not then a Union soldier between this outpost, under command of Col. Shoemaker, and the Gulf of Mexico, while there were thousands of Confederates occupying Tennessee and Kentucky between the eyrie of the brave Thirteenth Michigan and the Ohio river. Even then, not many miles away, with Chattanooga as the strategic point, Bragg was getting ready to move northward and compel Buell to make a hasty retreat. Day and night the force at Stevenson was on the alert. August 27, 1862, Col. Shoemaker received a telegram from J. B. Fry, colonel and chief of Buell's staff, saying: "A brigade cannot dislodge you. Hold the place. The property must be got away. Let Col. Hunton remain with you." To this he replied: "I could and would hold the place against any force that could probably be brought against me." Lieut. Col. Hunton had two companies of the Engineers and Mechanics' regiment. Provisions and water were hauled into the fort and preparations made for an attack. August 30 the attack came and a brigade of the enemy was uncovered by a sortie of two companies under Captains Slayton and Simonson—the former commanding Company I and the latter two pieces of artillery and about twenty mounted men. The next day came this dispatch: "Withdraw in good order, keep your artillery in advance, preceded by skirmishers. Use your artillery whenever you can, if the enemy pursues."

At 6 o'clock that evening, the fire on the Confederates from the fort having been kept up until everything was in readiness for the evacuation, as the echo of the last gun died away, the Thirteenth Michigan withdrew in good order, bivouacked that night at Anderson's Station. While there Col. Shoemaker received this dispatch, under date of September 1, from Brig. Gen. Wm. S. Smith: "Hurry your march with all diligence, night and day; bring everything with you if possible." So the line of the Tennessee river, in the heart of the Confederacy was abandoned. The prediction made five weeks before came true. Bragg held Chattanooga and by a northward movement of his army compelled Buell to leave the valley of the Tennessee for that of the Ohio, and the Army of the Cumberland had to retrace its steps and begin its southward march over again.

Col. Shoemaker moved his regiment to the foot of the Cumberland mountains on the first day of September, and on the morning of the second the ascent commenced, with six pieces of artillery, all the trans-

portation, 107 horses and 78 mules, wagons and ambulances, over a road that had not been traversed by a wagon for eight years. The regiment marched up, across and down the mountain with "diligence," making thirty-six miles in twenty hours, and arrived at Nashville, September 6, 1862. When Brig. Gen. Wm. Soay Smith met and shook hands with him after this rapid and perilous march, the first salutation was: "My God, Shoemaker, you here? we never expected to see you again." The war was full of stirring incidents, yet few achievements surpassed the record of the gallant Thirteenth Michigan and its brave commander during the ill-starred summer of 1862.

Worn out and needing medical treatment and rest, Gen. Buell granted him leave of absence for thirty days, and he left Nashville for home by stage to Franklin, Kentucky, but arrived only after a series of unexpected adventures and experiences. Near Tyree Springs the stage was surrounded by guerrillas, the colonel was captured by them, taken a prisoner of war to the headquarters of Generals Bragg and Hardee near Carthage on the Cumberland river, and from there by way of Knoxville, East Tennessee to Richmond, Virginia, and home after a short incarceration in Libby prison. Fortunately he was soon exchanged, and he joined his regiment again in Kentucky within two months of his capture. He often spoke of the courteous treatment he received from Bragg and Hardee. His experiences in Libby prison are narrated by himself in one of the historical publications of this Society.

BATTLE OF STONE RIVER.

A few weeks after his return to the front occurred one of the great battles of the war—a sequence of the imbecile policy pursued by our military leaders in Northern Mississippi and Alabama during the do-nothing summer of 1862,—at Stone river, which commenced December 29, 1862, and ended the night of January 2, 1863, with the retreat of the Confederate forces and the evacuation of Murfreesboro by them. In this fiercest of battles, great in the losses incurred on both sides, the Thirteenth Michigan, under command of Col. Shoemaker, saved the right wing of the Union army from further disaster at a critical period, and its severe losses attest its valor and heroism. On the afternoon of December 31, one-third of the regiment was killed or wounded. It not only maintained its position after the rest of the brigade had retreated under the fierce onslaught of a superior force, but it drove back the Confederate soldiers from their advanced position, though largely outnumbered by them, recaptured two pieces of artillery left by Captain Cullen's Ohio battery in its hasty retreat, and took sixty-eight prisoners.

Col. Shoemaker always claimed that this repulse of the Confederate forces on the right wing of our army was the turning point of the third day's fight, and of the battle of Stone River. Many a time he told the story and at each recital with a seemingly deeper interest. While on other parts of the field the enemy failed to carry positions they attacked, they returned again and again to the charge; but this was the first instance where a position they had once carried was retaken from them. It ended all attempts to turn our right wing. The advantage gained by the Thirteenth Michigan was never lost; the ground that was won was held; and that night, watching the old year out and the new year in, the regiment bivouacked on the field it had so gallantly taken.

Col. Shoemaker's claim is substantiated by official reports. Almost every moment of daylight, from the time the regiment crossed Stone River on Monday afternoon until the following Saturday night, it was under fire. Some of the colonel's sleep was obtained in the saddle. Referring to the action of December 31, Captain Cullen Bradley, in command of the Sixth Ohio light battery, reported: "I retired my battery and took up a position five hundred yards in the rear, and again opened fire on the enemy with grape and canister, who were advancing in force. After an engagement of five minutes I was compelled to retire my battery, and to abandon two pieces of my battery, one of which I had spiked, and sustaining a loss of one man killed, two wounded, and one man missing; also eight horses killed and three wounded. About this time Col. Shoemaker charged the enemy with the Thirteenth Michigan, driving them off the field and recovering the guns, and for which Col. Shoemaker should receive full credit."

Col. Harker, who commanded the brigade of which the Thirteenth Michigan formed a part, in his official report of this engagement, after stating how the other regiments of the brigade and the battery were driven back and the two pieces of artillery captured, said: "The Thirteenth Michigan fired on the enemy with telling effect, and having caused their ranks to waver, followed up this advantage, supported by the Fifty-first Illinois, which had come to our relief, and completely routed the enemy. The Thirteenth Michigan retook the two pieces of artillery abandoned by our battery, and captured sixty-eight prisoners. For this act of bravery Shoemaker and his gallant regiment are deserving of much praise. The enemy thus driven from our right did not again attempt to annoy us from that quarter."

The bravery of the Thirteenth Michigan and its gallant colonel received general recognition. The Nashville Union, immediately after the battle, under the headline, "A Band of Heroes," said among other complimentary comments: "The smoke and excitement of the late bloody but victorious battle of Stone River have passed away, and

most of the regiments that distinguished themselves have received their meed of praise from the press. But there is one regiment that deserves more than a passing notice. We refer to the Thirteenth Michigan infantry, belonging to Col. Harker's brigade, Wood's division." The story of its heroic conduct in checking the victorious advance of the left wing of the enemy and driving it back from a hard-won field is repeated, and the article closes with these words: "The commander of the regiment, Col. Shoemaker, is highly spoken of, not only for his bravery in leading his men to this gallant charge, but for the judgment and ability he displayed in the management of his men during the battle. Truly, the State of Michigan has reason to be proud of the troops she has sent to defend the government of the Union."

The losses sustained by the entire Army of the Cumberland in this memorable and bloody battle were over thirty per cent in killed and wounded; the losses of the right wing of which the Thirteenth Michigan formed a part were twenty-four and a half per cent, or nearly one-fourth of its total strength; while the percentage of casualties sustained by the Thirteenth Michigan reached nearly four-tenths of its numbers, or thirty-nine and three-fourths per cent. When the fight was over, at Sunday morning's roll call, every man of the regiment was accounted for; not one was recorded as missing; all who left Nashville just before the battle were present, dead, wounded, or in hospital. Few, if any, regiments in the whole army presented so clear a record.

Truly, like Algernon Sidney, or the Chevalier de Bayard, names high on the roll of fame, Colonel Michael Shoemaker was noted for loyalty, honor and courage.

"Knight of a better era,
Without reproach or fear!
Said I not well that Bayards
And Sidneys still are here?"

MEMBERSHIP OF SECRET SOCIETIES.

Soon after he became a resident of Michigan Col. Shoemaker joined the Order of Odd Fellows, was a member of both the lodge and encampment, and of each was chosen the presiding officer.

A short time after the organization of the Jackson Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons and the Jackson Chapter, he united with both, and in 1850 was elected High Priest of the Chapter. In 1854, 1855 and 1857 he was elected and presided as Grand High Priest of the State Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons. He was a charter member of Michigan Lodge No. 40, F. & A. M., of Jackson, was its second master, and was reelected master in 1850 and in 1860; and was master when he

accepted the commission as colonel of the Thirteenth Michigan and went with the regiment to join the Army of the Cumberland. As a prisoner of war Masonry was a benfit to him. For many years he took an active interest in Masonic affairs. He was a member of the General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of the United States, which met at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1853, and again in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1856. After returning from the army he was several times appointed on important committees of the Grand Lodge of the State, and was chosen Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Michigan in 1886. He was also a member of the Council of Royal and Select Masters, of the Commandery of Knights Templar, and of the Order of High Priesthood.

CONNECTION WITH PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The labor of love that crowned Col. Shoemaker's life, endearing him by the strong ties of respect, confidence and friendship to his associates for nearly twenty laborious years, and in harmony with his intellectual tastes and attainments, was performed as a member and officer of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

In 1875 he was elected president of the Jackson County Pioneer Society, and became a member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society in 1877, three years after its organization, and from that time took an active part in its work. In 1879 he was chosen its president, and in 1880, on the expiration of his presidential term, he was appointed a member of the Committee of Historians and three years later became its chairman, which position he held and honored for the remainder of his mortal life. To the work of examining voluminous documents and an increasing correspondence he gave unstinted time with unselfish devotion, for there was in it no soul-blemish of sordidness—no expectation or hope of financial fee or reward. Over this labor no trail of the serpent is found. It was purely unselfish.

During last summer he often said that the greatest disappointment of many years was that his health did not permit him to attend the annual meeting last June. He spoke of it over and over again. His words gave ample evidence that of the public services performed during three score of active years this was his life's love.

From the time he became chairman of the Committee of Historians in 1883, he personally examined all the material published in the "Collections" of the Society, including twenty-one of its twenty-five volumes, or about 15,000 pages. Nine years ago, learning through business intercourse and association with Canadians at Petrolia, of the existence in the Dominion archives at Ottawa of important and original documents and papers relating to the early history of Michigan, he obtained permission of the authorities to copy them, and on two separate occasions,

in 1887 and 1889, sent his son Bowen W. Shoemaker to transcribe them. Thus, copies of historical data, comprising a great many letters, papers and official reports of inestimable value, were obtained and are printed, without which no complete history of Michigan could be written.

I may be permitted to express a regret that no full and attractive history of our State has been prepared. Even the facts relating to the early settlements in different portions of it are permitted to perish with the departure of the pioneers. History made from official documents, with lifeless names and dates, is not the kind that is of interest and value; but the history of the people, what they thought and accomplished, their struggles and economies, possesses an undying charm. It is gratifying to record the fact that this Society has had among its members such men as Col. Shoemaker, who have gathered and are gathering the material for some acomplished historian, with the ability to grasp and perceive the relation of events to each other and in sympathy with the life of the people during the transformation from primeval wilderness to civilized society, to weave them into a complete and comprehensive narrative of the progress of our glorious Peninsular State—preserving the romance without sacrificing accuracy.

What sanctifies such work as that performed by the members of this Society is the fact that it is a labor of love and has no ulterior end save historical truth. Fortunately the Committee of Historians has had for its chairman for many years a man who was painstaking and methodical. He worked systematically and with a clear perception of the purpose to be wrought out. It is to Col. Shoemaker's credit that he originated the plan for the publication by the society of the mass of papers copied from the Canadian archives, which relate to the earliest history of Michigan, back even to the time when Samuel de Champlain was its first Governor. They cover the period of the French war, the Revolutionary war, the Indian wars, and the war of 1812, and are of incalculable value, filling eleven volumes of the society's collections. Undoubtedly this is his greatest work, and it was almost completed when he passed away, there remaining only about half of the last volume to be printed when the transition came, and sixty days more saw it finished. Yet, while one man's labor ends, nothing here is finished. Evolution still goes on. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality of rights and privileges, and universal education in the ways and means of living as well as thinking, foreshadow the next higher plane of social and industrial development, to which experience, machinery, knowledge and desire for the general welfare are steadily tending, and in which a higher form of liberty than has been attained, the equal rights of all to natural opportunities, will be recognized and established by fundamental law. The four natural elements—earth, air, fire and water—

are the gifts of God, not to a few, but to all; and the true student of history sees the unfinished work of humanity still going on.

No man would have performed so much voluntary labor as has been done in this connection by Col. Shoemaker, unless inspired by the love of congenial work. It also reveals his intellectual tastes and attainments. He had no theory to establish, as his mind was thoroughly practical, but reveled in historical facts for their own sake and the satisfaction their unfoldment brought. He gathered the material and laid the foundation for a literary superstructure that will make some competent historian famous.

Men pass away, but history is permanent. With durable historical records and results his name will always be intimately and creditably associated. His heart was in the work. There it pulsates still. After becoming a member he missed but one meeting of the society, the one last year, and then only because too feeble to attend. At Atlantic City, where he spent the summer, hoping that the salt sea air would restore waning strength, he repeated to his daughter, Mrs. Winpenny, the great disappointment he felt because he could not attend last year's annual meeting. He also wrote a letter expressing his sincere regret.

It is not presumption on my part to make the statement that he had the unreserved confidence of his associates on the Committee of Historians and of all the other members of the Society with whom he was so long and harmoniously associated. We all know that the value of his services is beyond any estimate that words of eulogy can give. That his judgment should be taken on all important questions that came up for consideration was a natural appreciation of his worth. Secretary George H. Greene wrote me, in answering inquiries: "My associations with him were of the most intimate character, and I loved him more than I can express."

Members of the Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan, its venerable president whose active life covers a period that has passed into the fourth score of years in the State and who has worthily worn its highest honors, officers and members of committees—all who have taken part in the laudable service of this history preserving organization with one of its most zealous and efficient workers—these words of your secretary cannot fail to show forth your sentiments as they do mine. Thank God for such men as Michael Shoemaker!

HOME LIFE.

In no public position or private relation did Col. Shoemaker appear to better advantage than in his own house, in which he lived forty-five years, where his children were born, and where he breathed his last. From the time he left the paternal roof in his fourteenth year to take a

position as clerk in a general store, the family residence in Jackson had been his only settled home. None save those who dwelt under his immediate care can fully appreciate his high sense of honor, his unstudied sympathy, the value of his example, his purity of principle, and his patience. There his character and conduct bore the test of daily and hourly inspection. Harsh and coarse language, in all the intimate intercourse of domestic life, was not permitted to fall from his lips. What he quietly said he meant. To his children he was a companion and friend always, their guide in youth and counselor in riper years. With his children and grandchildren, and among his personal friends, he found in his declining years what he most valued and enjoyed. Family, guest and neighbor alike realized that where he lived was really a home. Its *lares et penates* represented his tastes and ability to gratify them. There was freedom and ease in his presence. The dignity and courtesy which marked his public conduct characterized his home life.

Without neglecting duty, counsel and advice, books furnished, when not otherwise engaged, unfailing companionship. Friends felt the welcome they received. How often, by the cheerful wood fire in the grate, talk would take excursions into fields of literature and history, or flow along the familiar channels of current events in the world's broad arena of stir and conflict. For public men of different countries his were not second-hand opinions. To the very last he kept in close touch with the movements of the time. Everything for its place was the rule. In his office he was busy with the details of business and correspondence, but at home these things were laid aside for more appropriate themes. There was so much to read that he gladly received suggestions as to what was worthy of attention, and freely gave them in return. Into his home, the farm and office did not intrude. It was sacred to life's worthiest associations. His gentleness was not born of weakness, but of strength. Behind the softness of manner was an iron will, the persistence of force, capable, when aroused, of most decided aggressive or defensive power. It is no mere poetic fancy to say that his was "the lion's heart in battle, the woman's heart in love."

In that home in Jackson his first wife, Juliette Piatt, daughter of J. Wykoff Piatt, of Cincinnati, to whom he was married at Macocheek, Ohio, July 15, 1850, died September 27, 1854. Macocheek! well do we remember the name as the chosen home of Col. Donn Piatt, one of America's most fearless and brilliant newspaper writers. Again he married at Penn Yan, New York, to Sarah Wisner, daughter of Henry P. Wisner, August 25, 1857, and she died April 30, 1891, in the same house from which his mortal remains were borne to their resting place in Greenwood cemetery. Of nine children three are living: Mrs. Susan G. S. Winpenny, wife of J. Bolton Winpenny, of Philadelphia; Mrs.

Margaret Winnifred Wright, wife of Dr. C. W. Wright, of Jackson, and Bowen W. Shoemaker, an attorney of Chicago. Sacred are the memories these children possess. He loved his own with deep affection, and left to them, as well as to his close friends, the example of a pure, noble and honorable life. Truly, "the world is better for his having lived."

It was my good fortune to enjoy an almost daily association with Col. Shoemaker during the last years of his life, and to share his thoughts on all subjects in which both were interested. He did not hesitate to kindly criticise or commend; but he would sometimes say, for the apt quotation was very sure to come to his mind,

> "This above all—to thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou can'st not then be false to any man."

PROMINENT QUALITIES.

It was not difficult to understand why his career had been active and eventful. He possessed a large endowment of hope and courage. Self-reliant, he started out for himself early in life and did not hesitate to make large ventures. Merchant, contractor and dealer in real estate before of age, at twenty-four he was in the milling business and three years later a large land owner. He covered many acres with peach trees, went into hop growing on a large scale, raised blooded cattle and horses, and invested in oil wells in Canada. A failure from hard winters, from overproduction, or other unforeseen circumstance, did not deter him from trying something else. In a large city, where opportunity is greater, his courageous efforts could hardly have failed of financial success, because while he had the courage to act he had the patience to wait. Where others were discouraged and abandoned oil investments he held on and came out ahead.

Uneducated in the sense recognized by those who have the diploma of a University, he was thoroughly well informed upon all subjects that relate to the affairs of social, industrial and political life. I have never known a college graduate who was so well educated. It was the education of some of our best presidents—Washington, Jackson and Lincoln. The college he attended was the one which a man attends every day of the year, when he gets up early to go to work, and sits up at night to read the best book he can find. Assimilative power enabled him to hold fast the essential teachings of books and experience. So he came to have a singularly accurate knowledge of the motives and actions of men, of the movements and history of nations, and of the practical affairs of everyday life. So varied and extensive had been his reading that no one would have suspected a deficiency in schoolhouse information. By

observation, reading, writing and thinking, his mind was developed, his intellect cultivated. While eminently practical, there was a deep vein of sentiment in his inner self. Especially fond of history, yet with science, fiction and poetry he was very familiar, but the English poets of the wonderful Elizabethan period he preferred. Shakesperian thought had greater charm than merely mellifluous lines. An erroneous quotation he could generally correct. He had not consciously memorized couplets and verses, but had assimilated the thought, and they came to him clothed in verbal accuracy. It was mental photography. In conversation an illustrative couplet or verse would come to mind, he would repeat it, and say: "I do not believe I have thought of that before for twenty years." Still it was there, in the wonderful composite mental organism, made up of all the love and thought woven into the warp and woof of being, and constituting character, entity, selfhood, individuality and personality. Mental photography held the pictures securely upon memory's wall, an ineffaceable impression, to be reproduced, by some suggestion, again and again as occasion required.

Besides all this, he was a singularly accurate observer of men and events. For example, he was one of the first to notice that the opening of Japan, China and India to new activity would change all industrial conditions in the western world. His strength lay rather in a sound judgment and a true perception of the relation of widely-separated events than in a fertile imagination or invention, and the influence he exerted was not altogether due to knowledge and experience. Within his range of mental vision he saw clearly. There is something born in a man that makes him "heir of all the ages" and gives him more than mere intellectual power. It is the faculty of seeing things as they are. It is the indefinable essence or spirit that guards individuality and protects personality in all the vicissitudes of being. While practical, he was not devoid of emotion, sympathy and poetic sentiment, though only his closest friends saw much of this aspect of his character. But every human heart has its own special desires and aspirations, which belong to the occult rather than to the visible realm. There is a mysterious and magical inspiration of the inner life which tints the dull earth with the hues of heaven, beautifies the daily routine of faithful service, and out of the seemingly unreal produces desirable results. This spiritual power, the baptism of desire, follows effort into agreeable, fruitful and healthful channels. It clothes life with a lofty purpose, and in death inspires loving hearts to pay tribute to departed worth. Man is more than he seems to be. And this vernal season, which is bathing the land in sunlight and clothing it with beauty, is also weaving garlands over the mound where his body rests, its mission as the tenement of a peerless soul ended. We know that, as "we are of

a nobler substance than the stars," as "we have faculties while they have none," his immortal soul, when it left the limited horizon of earth, arose in another world, with powers enlarged, the light and beauty and grandeur of which surpass all human conceptions.

CONCLUSION.

Belonging to no church and accepting no creed, yet recognizing a Supreme Power, inerrant and unlimited, his Religion was the broad and universal principle of right conduct among men. He believed that whatever occurred was the sequence of some efficient cause, in accordance with the immutable nature of things, and pursuant to universal and inexorable law—whether the fall of a sparrow or the overthrow of an empire—the failure to grasp the cause being due to the imperfections and limitations of human knowledge. He was progressive in thought and hospitable to new ideas to the last. From bigotry and intolerance the mind of this descendant of the persecuted Palatines was remarkably free, and also from vagaries and illusions, though back of all phenomena, even of the most occult character, he recognized somewhere an adequate cause. He performed his work well. He saw that death was as natural an event in life as birth. Ripe in years, with a warm place in the hearts of those who knew him best, he has passed to that other condition of life, where, no doubt, loved ones welcomed him as the sad farewells of earth were spoken.

During the last summer, by the seashore, his mind, unimpaired to the last, calmly and clearly dwelt upon the problem of life and destiny. One day, talking of God and the Hereafter, he said, "This expresses perfectly my idea of the Deity;" then quoted from memory Pope's "Universal Prayer," with which we close this heartfelt yet inadequate tribute to his memory; and, now and here, in this presence, where his influence is still felt, speak the final word, an affectionate farewell. This, probably, was the last poem he repeated from memory:

"Father of all! in every age,
In every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove or Lord!

Thou Great First Cause, least understood,
Who all my sense confined
To know but this, that Thou art good,
And that myself am blind;

Yet gave me, in this dark estate,
To see the good from ill;
And, binding Nature fast in Fate,
Left free the human will.

What conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns me not to do,
This, teach me more than hell to shun,
That, more than heaven pursue.

What blessings Thy free bounty gives
Let me not cast away;
For God is paid when man receives;
To enjoy is to obey.

Yet not to earth's contracted span
Thy goodness let me bound,
Or think thee Lord alone of man,
When thousand world's are round.

Let not this weak, unknowing hand,
Presume thy bolts to throw,
And deal damnation round the land,
On each I judge thy foe.

If I am right, thy grace impart,
Still in the right to stay;
If I am wrong, O teach my heart
To find that better way.

Save me alike from foolish pride,
Or impious discontent,
At aught Thy wisdom has denied,
Or aught Thy goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to other's show,
That mercy show to me.

Mean though I am, not wholly so.
Since quicken'd by thy breath;
O lead me, wheresoe'er I go,
Through this day's life or death.

This day be bread and peace my lot;
All else beneath the sun,
Thou know'st if best bestowed or not,
And let Thy will be done.

To thee, whose temple is all space,
Whose altar, earth, sea, skies!
One chorus let all being's raise!
All Nature's incense rise!"

LIFE AND LABORS OF HON. THOMAS D. GILBERT.

BY CHARLES CHANDLER.

Thomas D. Gilbert late of the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the subject of this sketch, was one of the pioneer settlers of the Grand River Valley, of which he had been a resident, at the time of his death, for more than sixty years.

He was born in Greenfield, Massachusetts, December 13, 1815, and died at Grand Rapids, November 18, 1894, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

His father, Gen. Thomas Gilbert, was born at Greenfield in 1793, and was descended from a family noted for its loyalty to the cause of American Independence, and equally as prominent as a family during colonial times. The family became early noted for its military spirit, which descended to the father of the subject of this article, who served as a soldier in the war of 1812. Harriet, the mother of Thomas D. Gilbert, was a daughter of Ebenezer Arms, and was a native also of Massachusetts, and a member of one of the oldest and most prominent families of that state. Thus born and nurtured, as it may be said, within the shadow of Plymouth Rock, and having instilled into his being that peculiar and subtle influence which so predominated the New England character in that early day, it is not at all strange that, with his practical common sense, keen foresight, and native self-reliance, he attained so great eminence, and his personal influence became so widespread, and far reaching in the community and state wherein he passed the greater part of his life.

His education in the schools of the day was such only, as was then furnished by the common schools, and was completed at the age of fourteen by a course at the academy in his native village; but Mr. Gilbert never ceased to be a student in a broader than scholastic sense, and up to the year of his death he was more or less a tireless student in all those avenues of science and learning which treat of financial, economic, and political subjects; the amelioration of the condition of the poor, and kindred subjects, which so much at the present time occupy the most advanced and practical thought of the day.

At the close of his school days, he sought and obtained employment as a clerk in the general store of John Clark of Northampton, a somewhat

noted merchant and philanthropist of his day, where he obtained the first rudiments of that remarkable knowledge of business principles for which he became so noted in his after life. He remained with Mr. Clark for five years, and even thus early he exhibited some of those traits which became so prominent in his character later on. It is narrated of him that while living at Northampton he himself contributed, and solicited from his friends and others, financial aid to purchase a few books which formed the beginning of the excellent public library of which that city now boasts.

Having become imbued with a desire for a field of larger activity, and touched with the "Michigan fever," in the year 1834, at the age of nineteen, Mr. Gilbert, with his relatives, Capt. Thos. W. White, Nathan H. White and their sister, Miss Mary A. White, the latter of whom is now the only survivor, came to the then unbroken wilds of western Michigan, and settled at the mouth of Grand River, where then existed a settlement, consisting of but one dwelling, occupied by the family of the Rev. William M. Ferry, formerly a missionary to the Indians at the Island of Mackinac. With that intuitive foresight, which later on, in his career, became so marked a characteristic in his business life, Mr. Gilbert at once saw the possibilities of the location, and resolved to settle here, and "grow up with the country." In the summer of 1835 he became interested with others, in the manufacture of lumber, under the name of the Grand Haven Lumber Company, at a point a few miles from Grand Rapids, on a tributary of Grand River; the enterprise, however, did not prove to be a profitable one, and no lumber was shipped outside; and the business consisted only of supplying the local demand created by incoming settlers in the valley. The hard times of 1837, soon left the company on the rocks and shoals of financial disaster. For the following five years Mr. Gilbert, and other members of the company, labored diligently to pay off the indebtedness thus incurred.

During the latter part of this period, about the year 1842, he was elected to the office of sheriff of Ottawa county, which at that time embraced quite a large portion of western Michigan, several of the counties now surrounding it, having since been carved out of its then boundaries. He held this office for the next two years, and many stories are told of the intrepidity, resource, and persistence of Mr. Gilbert during his incumbency of this office, which the limits of this paper forbid narrating; yet one incident is still often reverted to by old residents, which should find a place here. A white man by the name of Miller, in a drunken brawl, had killed an Indian, and made his escape to the south. The Indians, who at that time, dwelt in large numbers in Ottawa county, were highly incensed at the murder, and it became necessary to secure the murderer, lest the Indians should take the law into their own hands and wreak their vengeance upon the innocent with

the guilty. Mr. Gilbert, as sheriff, unassisted, sought to arrest the culprit, and, as there were no roads, he took to the beach and, relying upon his knowledge of woodcraft, and understanding the importance of slight traces which would escape the notice of the novice, he traced the fugitive by the stain of his tobacco spittle on the snow, and succeeded in capturing him at the mouth of the Kalamazoo river. He returned to Grand Haven, with his prisoner, who after trial, was sentenced to be hung, which sentence was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life. Subsequently a pardon was justly granted to the murderer by the Governor for the reason, as Mr. Gilbert afterwards was wont to say, that it was found upon investigation that he was not the real transgressor.

In 1843 he embarked in mercantile and forwarding business at Grand Haven with his younger brother, the late Francis B. Gilbert; they also did a commission business. This firm of "Gilbert Brothers" continued in business at Grand Haven for about twelve years until about the year 1855, and their old warehouse as built by them, still stands upon the dock at Grand Haven, a monument as it were, of the thoroughness with which the brothers did everything. During the last five or six years of that period, they became largely engaged, for those times, in lumber business, as well as lake shipping, both of which proved profitable. It was during the latter period, in the early "fifties," that Mr. Gilbert was connected with the lumber trade at Chicago, as a partner of George C. Morton of that city.

In 1855, the brothers closed out their business at Grand Haven; disposed of their store and sawmill, and removed to Grand Rapids, where, after an absence of two years spent in travel at home and abroad, Thomas D. Gilbert returned, and continued to reside until his death.

In the period just prior to his removal to Grand Rapids, he conceived a project which to an eminent degree, illustrated his remarkable sagacity and foresight. The Mexican veterans, having been, at the close of that war, paid off, partly in land scrip or warrants, were offering the same for sale, at mere nominal rates to any one who would purchase. Mr. Gilbert's scheme was to buy up this scrip, and with it, to locate pine timber land in western Michigan. He endeavored to interest eastern capital in the project, which, almost boundless, as it would seem in conception, was entirely feasible, and with enough scrip, the valuable timber land north of the Grand River to the Traverse bay, or Straits of Mackinac, could have been thus acquired, at a cost which, when compared with more recent sales of the same, would have been a mere bagatelle.

But eastern capital had not, at that time, yet recovered from the severe losses suffered by it, in the boom of western lands in the "thirties," and would not listen to the proposition. The project failed,

and in later life, Mr. Gilbert often expressed his satisfaction that it had. He and his associates would have become immensely wealthy, but the progress and development of western Michigan would have been retarded for years.

Shortly after his return from his trip to the old world, he, with his brother, became interested in the gas company, then struggling for existence at the city of his adoption. He became a stockholder in the company, and later on, in about the year 1860, he was made secretary and treasurer, to which was afterwards added the duties of managing director, which position he continued to fill, acceptably and profitably, to the stockholders and company, until, at the death of his brother Francis B., he was made president of the company. The growth of the company under his wise and conservative management, became coextensive with that of the city, and under his management the price of gas to its consumers was gradually reduced until, at the time of his death, Grand Rapids had cheaper gas than any city of similar location with reference to coal supply, in the country—and this, too, notwithstanding the company had no competitor—in fact, but one city, selling at less rates, which is alone accounted for by its being in close proximity to the coal beds. Mr. Gilbert believed it to be the best and wisest policy from a business point of view, to make the consumer to that extent, a sharer in the profits of the business.

As an example of his business sagacity and management, it is sufficient to say, that shortly after his death, the entire property and plant of the company, was sold outright in cash at a price which was double the face value of the capital stock. In 1865, Mr. Gilbert and others organized the City National bank of Grand Rapids, of which he was elected president, which position he continued to hold during the entire period of its charter existence, and, when it was succeeded by the National City bank, he was elected to the same official position, and continued in that capacity up to his death. The same wise and conservative management,—having in view the material interests, as well of the stockholders, as that of the patrons of the bank,—which was so conspicuous in that of the gas company, characterized his administration of these institutions: And so profound was the trust of the citizens in his foresight and business judgment, that in times of great financial stringency, his advice was eagerly sought by the business men and institutions of the valley.

During the financial panics of 1873, 1887, and 1893, his foresight prepared his bank for the depressions then experienced, and his courageous words and sound advice, with financial aid in pressing emergencies, averted disastrous failures in many instances. At such times his presence at his bank, ever on the alert to allay fear of disaster, and ever ready to encourage the springing hope, was a token to the heavily pressed

debtor, that every resource would be employed to tide him over the shoals of financial trouble.

Besides his banking and other interests heretofore enumerated, he was a stockholder and director in other business enterprises which have added much to the material growth of Grand Rapids, among which may be named, the Michigan Trust Company, the Grand Rapids Brush Company, and the Michigan Barrel Company. He was similarly connected with several business enterprises in Detroit and Chicago; in every one of which his advice and business judgment were frequently sought for and cheerfully given. He made good and paying investments in city real estate, which he generally improved, and some of the best business blocks in the city were built by him.

Mr. Gilbert was not of that class of financiers, so common at the present day, and who are characteristically denominated "plungers" and "hustlers;" but, while he was a man of unbounded resources, and in an emergency always came out "on top," yet, he had no patience with the reckless methods of the modern boomer, nor could he countenance dishonesty; he was ever outspoken in his opposition to every scheme, whether of business or politics, which savored of "a job," and was not conceived in honor and fair dealing, and by which the property, or money of the people, or of the widow and orphan became endangered; as it has been written of him, against such, "he had the obstinacy of *two government mules*, if he didn't like the enterprise." Notwithstanding his conservatism in business matters was so rigid, yet Mr. Gilbert accumulated a large fortune by strictly honest commercial and non-speculative methods, which might, at his death, have been larger by several hundreds of thousands of dollars, had it not been for his many and unostentatious benevolences, extending through many years. He believed that true charity consists not so much in lavish giving, but rather in giving wisely; not in so giving that its recipient may be encouraged in begging, but the rather that its object may be helped for the time being, in the present distress, and be thereby encouraged in future self effort. It was this feature more than any other, that met his approval, and gained his enthusiatic support, in the Charity Organization Society of Grand Rapids, in which he was one of the prime movers, and which in his death, lost its honored president.

For years Mr. Gilbert was the treasurer of the Union Benevolent Home of Grand Rapids. It may be said that had it not been for the careful management of its finances by Mr. Gilbert, coupled with his benefactions, and aided, as he was, in this work by the late Dr. Charles Shepard, and the Hon. Noyes L. Avery, the latter of whom is now the only survivor of this triumvirate, it would long ago, have become a memory; but thanks to him, and them, and to others, devout men and women, it still survives, a monument to the memory of its promoters,

and a source of aid and comfort, to the sick and unfortunate, that always are with us, providing a home for the aged, and skilled nurses and trained surgeons and physicians for those in need.

Mr. Gilbert was married in 1871, to Miss Angie Mary, daughter of the late Rev. Abel Bingham, a soldier of the war of 1812, and for thirty, or more years, a missionary to the Indians at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, where Mrs. Gilbert was born. Mrs. Gilbert survives her deceased husband, and this sketch would not be complete, did it fail to refer to one who for years aided and encouraged him in his charitable projects, and benevolences, and rendered his home and fireside a place of welcome to his business associates and fellow citizens. His broad and catholic spirit found in her, an active and enthusiastic helper, in all his plans for social, political and benevolent reforms. The real public life of Mr. Gilbert began with his election, as member of the legislature of this State, in the fall of 1860. He was appointed to serve on the committees of ways and means, and banks and corporations. In the whole history of our State legislation, there never has existed a more critical period than at that session. War had been declared by the South; the finances of the State were taxed to the utmost to meet the demands of the government for war purposes; yet money had to be provided, troops had to be raised, and it is a matter of record, of which his constituents may well be proud, that Mr. Gilbert's judgment and influence, was of great value, and prevailed much in suggesting, and shaping needed legislation, and at the end of the session Mr. Gilbert had become well known throughout the State, as a public man, who was able to meet the exigencies of the crisis, and as one who had by such service earned the gratitude of the people of the State. He was also chosen as one of the presidential electors-at-large on the Republican ticket in 1864 and cast his vote for Abraham Lincoln.

In 1863 he was elected a member of the Board of Regents of the State University, and for twelve years was chairman of its finance committee. At the time of his entering the services of the institution, great excitement prevailed among the friends of the University, over a change in its presidency, and it is believed by those who were in the habit of observing his ways and methods on that board, that his firm and positive nature, and practical wisdom, had not a little to do, in inaugurating and shaping the policy then pursued, which resulted in restoring peace and harmony. As chairman of the finance committee, to him belonged the difficult task of supplying the constantly increasing wants and demands of the institution. The numbers of the instructors as well as of students were yearly increasing; the income of the original fund provided by the State, was far too small and meager to meet its increasing wants; it therefore became necessary to appeal to the legislature for the needed aid. This was granted, and it was due in no slight degree

to the confidence which existed throughout the State, in the skill and prudence of Mr. Gilbert, as the manager of the finances of the University. It was well known that as chairman of its committee on finance not a dollar of the people's money would be wasted. It was during his official connection with its regency, that the law was passed, fixing the legislative appropriation in aid of the University at one-twentieth of a mill, which has since been increased to a sixth of a mill. To woman, also, the privileges and the benefits of the University, in all of its departments, were extended during his regency, and with his vote in her favor.

The cause of education ever had a friend in Mr. Gilbert. For many years he was a member of the board of education of the city of Grand Rapids; and to him is due much of the efficiency belonging to the schools; he was to the day of his death deeply interested in public schools, and in his early days at Grand Rapids, he donated to the school board a fund of two thousand dollars, known as the "Gilbert Fund," the income of which is used to purchase philosophical instruments for use in the schools; and to him is also due the establishment of the present public library, now used in connection with the public schools of Grand Rapids. Mr. Gilbert was especially interested in municipal affairs. To his wise foresight, as first president of the board of public works, the successful organization and establishment of our water supply is due. He served two terms on the common council of this city, as alderman from the second ward—a position which few men of his age, and in his position, cared to occupy, with its demands upon his time and comfort; but he served from a sense of duty, without considering his own convenience. And to his death he maintained his interest in the city affairs, ever counseling economy of expenditure in all departments, and always solicitous that nothing should be done to cast discredit upon the city's financial standing. It was during the panic of 1893, that the bonds of the city amounting, principal and interest, to $225,000, were about to mature. The mayor and council made every effort, by trying to borrow the money temporarily, in Chicago, New York and elsewhere, to save the city's financial credit, but were unsuccessful. Mr. Gilbert was consulted, and undertook the task of raising the money, but failing in his attempt to secure a loan in New York, he called a meeting of the banks of Grand Rapids, and proposed that they, jointly, and in proportion to their capital, should advance to the city, temporarily, the necessary funds. The banks, however, declined to do this. The resourceful character of Mr. Gilbert, in times of great crises, was never before so well illustrated as at this time. Not for a moment daunted, he immediately called a special meeting of the board of directors of the National City bank, of which he was president, and laid before them the situation, and proposed that their bank *alone*, and *unaided*, should furnish the money—saying at the same time, that if the bank did not, *he* would raise the

money by pledging his own private fortune. The directors followed the lead of Mr. Gilbert; the money was raised, and the credit of the city saved; and as is said by one, who graphically described the event, "But not to the bank, does the honor belong. It belongs to Thomas D. Gilbert." Mr. Gilbert's course in this matter, as well as his assurances of the solvency and safety of the banks of the city, did much towards the restoration of confidence, and the city was soon able to take up the loan, by the proceeds of the sale of a new series of its bonds, at advantageous rates.

The Old Settlers' Association, also, found in Mr. Gilbert an enthusiastic member and he had been its president for many years, at his death. He took active interest in perpetuating the history of the early settlement of the Grand River valley and of the State.

The Grand Rapids board of trade included his name on its list of directors, and everything which promoted the extension of the industries and manufacturers of the city, received his cooperation. His sympathy in the times of the civil war, was ever active in the cause of the soldier, and the principles which he went to the front to uphold. His willing hands were ever ready to do all, and to advance every effort made to lessen the sufferings of the wounded and relieve the condition of the boys in the field. He was active in the work of the sanitary commission, which saved and cared for the sick and wounded on the battlefields and in the hospitals at the front. To his active solicitations and careful handling, is due the fund which rendered possible the monument, commemorating the honored dead, now standing in Monumental Park, in the city of Grand Rapids.

Early in his life in this city he sought to encourage the beautifying of its streets and parks by organizing associations for the planting of shade trees; and it is said that with his own hands he set out many of the trees now standing in Fulton Street Park, under the generous and refreshing shade of which the people of the city at large are at liberty to sit and pass the hot hours of summer days.

Mr. Gilbert was not connected, as a member, with any religious denomination, but was a pew holder and constant attendant at the Park Congregational church, of which for many years he was a trustee. He participated with a liberal hand in its benevolences, and yet no church and society ever was organized in Grand Rapids during his residence in that city, but that, if it was worthy, it never applied in vain to Mr. Gilbert for financial aid. To Mr. Gilbert is due the large bell, the musical tones of which, on the Sabbath day, are heard from the steeple of the church of which he was an attendant. Almost the last request he preferred was that his family pew, so long occupied by him in that church, should be perpetuated to the use of his family and relations

forever, and he directed the appropriation to that purpose of a sufficient sum from his estate to accomplish that object. With the kind and appreciative aid of the trustees of that church and society, his wish has been respected, and his former pew is now known and designated as "The Thomas D. Gilbert Pew."

But Mr. Gilbert, while not a church member, yet practiced his religion in his every day life. To do justice to all; to wrong no man; to find what was the right thing to do in every emergency, and when found, that to do; to accomplish the greatest good to the greatest number; to strive to do the least harm possible. All these were held to be the basic principles of his life. To few men is it given to say, as did Mr. Gilbert, to his watchful wife a few days before he passed into "The Beyond," "I never have knowingly wronged any one in thought or deed to the value of a penny, and if I have, I now and here offer to recompense him four fold." And as was eminently fitting, and in loving recognition of his character, not only as a citizen, but as a business man and public benefactor, the citizens of this city, under the auspices of the charity organization upon the evening of the Sunday following his interment, held in the church of which he was an attendant, a memorial service in his honor; and in like manner, and with the same purpose, his associates in the National City bank, and in the gas company, obtained the privilege from the common council of the city, of erecting in the Fulton Street Park, under the leaves of the trees planted by his own hands, a bronze bust of Mr. Gilbert, resting on a granite pedestal, commemorative of the esteem in which he was held by the general public, no less than by his business associates. In the front of the granite pedestal was inserted a bronze plate bearing the inscription:

A TRRIBUTE TO THE

MEMORY OF

THOMAS D. GILBERT

WHOSE LIFE WAS

A RECORD OF

GENEROUS DEEDS

AND

PUBLIC USEFULNESS.

Well has it been said, by one long associated with him, when speaking at the dedication of this tribute to his memory—"With many others who have been blessed by his life, we rejoice that his neighbors have erected this memorial, where not only those who have known him may see

THE GILBERT MEMORIAL BUST.
Erected in Fulton Street Park, Grand Rapids, Mich., in 1896.

his familiar features as they walk these streets, but where the children, who never knew him may pause to gaze on the face of the noble man who is thus honored for his integrity and civic virtue. Let the coming generation learn here that he was to his generation—

" 'A Tower of strength,
That stood four square to all the winds that blew.' "

Grand Rapids, Mich., September 3, 1896.

CEREMONIES AT THE UNVEILING OF THE THOMAS D. GILBERT MEMORIAL.

In the presence of a vast concourse of people, the Gilbert memorial bust, erected to the memory of the late Thomas D. Gilbert, was unveiled Friday afternoon, June 5, 1896, with appropriate and deeply impressive ceremonies. Fulton Street Park, in which the massive pile of bronze and granite is placed, was the scene of great activity during the morning hours, as the bust was not received from the Chicago foundry until a late hour Thursday night, and an early start was essential to insure having it placed in proper position by the designated time. By dint of extra exertions it was successfully accomplished, and by 3 o'clock everything was in readiness to pull the cord that held the folds of the huge American flag that completely concealed the monument from view. The crowds began to gather fully two hours before the time set for the ceremonies to begin, and when at 4:30 Col. George G. Briggs, chairman of the committee having the affair in charge, began his opening address, the lawns of the beautiful park in the vicinity of the statue were crowded with people, fully 5,000 being in attendance.

A rope barricade had been stretched around the statue, and a detail of eight patrolmen were in attendance to keep back the crowds, but so impressed were the spectators with the solemnity of the occasion, that perfect decorum rendered the presence of the officers almost entirely unnecessary. Within the enclosure had been placed several rows of park settees for the accommodation of members of the Old Residents' Association, common council, board of public works and other bodies, and every seat was occupied. Upon the platform, in addition to the speakers, were Mr. Gilbert's business associates in the National City bank and the Grand Rapids Gas Company and the near relatives: Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert, Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Buchanan, Masters Francis Dwight and Howell Gilbert, grandnephews of Mr. Gilbert; Dr. S. M. Robinson and wife of Watertown, N. Y.; Mrs. W. D. Gilbert and children, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Holt and children, Miss Elizabeth Smith of Geneva, N. Y.,

Miss Minnie Larned and Mrs. Thomas Smith. Vocal music was rendered by the following members of the Schubert Club: J. Francis Campbell, director; Messrs. B. A. Beneker, P. K. Miller, J. H. Van Dugteren, B. S. Hanchett, Jr., James J. Atkinson, F. H. O'Brien, Charles Fasoldt, Ed Metheaney, H. L. Varney, Dr. J. S. Burkhardt, W. M. Wursburg, Frank Danforth, R. Doornink, B. H. Boer, George D. Herrick, Andrew Fyfe, Frank Fuller, Dr. F. Holmes Brown.

As the hour for beginning the ceremonies approached, the elements seemed to have taken a kindly interest in the proceedings, and the sun, which, during the earlier hours of the afternoon had cast a sultry glow over the city, hid its glowing countenance behind a vapory shield of clouds and a refreshing little breeze swayed the branches of the over-spreading trees, making the atmospheric conditions absolutely perfect. Promptly at 4:30 Col. Briggs stepped to the front of the platform and raised his hand. Instantly a hush fell upon the assemblage, as without any preliminaries he called upon the Rev. Dan F. Bradley to offer a prayer, and every head was bowed in reverent attention as he complied.

PRAYER OF REV. DAN F. BRADLEY.

"O Lord, the Father Almighty, of whom it hath been said that thy noblest work is an honest man, and in whose word it hath been revealed that in the spirit land thou dost commend the 'perfect and upright man, one who feareth God and escheweth evil;' we thank thee for the life we today commemorate, and for the honest man whose monument we rear. We thank thee for those sterling traits that brought the poor New England boy from a place of poverty and weakness to the eminence of one honored in this city and State. We are grateful that thou didst permit him to work and live for the welfare of this commonwealth, and that he stood here as an example of thrift and enterprise and righteousness. And now that he has passed from us to thyself, we are grateful to the men and women who have had it in their hearts to place this image of him in the people's resting place which he selected, under these trees that were planted by his own hand. And grant thou thy blessing upon this monument, that as men gaze upon these rugged, kindly features, they may be inspired to nobler things; the boys and girls wending their way through this park to the school, the infants in their carriages wheeled by nurses, the stranger from another city, the weary and the discouraged and heavy laden seeking rest from care or toil, may they all find in these lineaments inspiration for life, courage for conflict, and hope instead of despair. Grant this, Lord, for the sake of Him who came to earth not to be ministered to, but to minister, in the name of our Lord and Saviour, Amen."

Following the prayer came the singing of "Luther's Hymn" by the Schubert Club.

ADDRESS OF COL. GEO. G. BRIGGS.

Col. Briggs then delivered the opening address as follows:

"*Fellow Citizens*—We are met for the purpose of formally presenting to the city the memorial erected to the late Thomas D. Gilbert. This tribute to Mr. Gilbert is a gift to the city by his former associates in business, and is an expression of their affectionate esteem for the memory of a citizen who guarded with watchful care, and managed with high integrity, every public and private responsibility with which he was entrusted, and who, for more than a third of a century, gave the full measure of an unselfish and splendid manhood to the advancement of the highest and best interests of this community. The story of Mr. Gilbert's life as a citizen of the State from 1835 until his death in November, 1894, the trials of his early years, and his subsequent successes in business and services to the State, cannot be fittingly told at this time, but it is a record of honorable achievements, and closely interwoven with the history of our growth and material development during the past sixty years.

"Mr. Gilbert became a resident of Grand Rapids in 1858, and by his loyalty to the city's interests and his labors in its behalf for thirty-six years, abundantly earned this recognition of his public worth and many virtues. Under his administration as the first president of the board of public works, the present system of city water-works was put into operation, and while serving as a member of the board of education, his gift to the city of $2,000 as an endowment fund for such purpose, gave to the High school an equipment of scientific instruments only excelled by those found in our State institutions. From a sense of public duty he served four years as a member of the common council and secured needed reforms in the business methods of that body. In the determination of all questions of legislation his judgment was respected, and the wisdom of his vote stood unquestioned.

"In the wider fields of public usefulness, Mr. Gilbert served as regent of the State University for twelve years; was a member of the legislature in 1861; presidential elector-at-large in 1864; twice a delegate to national Republican conventions, and for many years a frequent representative of his party in local and State conventions. To him official position was a means for the accomplishment of good, and was never sought for mere personal pride or gratification. Positions of greater political importance were, at different times, offered to Mr. Gilbert, but as they appeared to him to be outside the field of his chosen labors they were declined. For a quarter of a century the position occupied by Mr. Gilbert in this community was an exalted one. Faithful to every obligation, honorable and incorruptible in every trust imposed, public con-

fidence had learned to accept his word without challenge, and his motives without question.

"In his business relations no consideration of expediency or personal advantage had weight to influence his actions against the right, and he directed the policy of corporations under his control—whether the business had the advantage of being a monopoly or was subject to competition—upon broad lines of fair dealing, and that they might contribute their full share to the general welfare and prosperity of the community.

"Beyond a competency for declining years, and the proper provisions for those dependent upon him, Mr. Gilbert had no desire for the accumulation or hoarding up of riches. His executive ability, powers of discernment and clear judgment would have placed his name among the owners of vast wealth had he so desired, but wealth to him was a means for doing good, and without value as a mere acquisition. Thus we find his contributions for charitable and benevolent purposes amounting annually to not less than $10,000, and services that would have commanded an equal yearly amount, given for the benefit of institutions with which he was associated. His charities were prompted by a kind heart and active sympathies, but his numberless benefactions were concealed from the public whenever possible, and assistance would be withheld if the giving promised notoriety. Of Mr. Gilbert's character and characteristics little more than general mention is possible at this time. In all the relations of counselor, friend, neighbor, or citizen, his place was as fixed and his light as steady as that of the north star. Of his numerous and valuable services to the community, that which, above all others, secured the gratitude of our people, and established his claim to public favor, was his constant and almost parental solicitude for the well-being and good government of the city. He watched with untiring care all measures of pending municipal legislation, counseled in the administration of affairs entrusted to the various boards or auxiliary departments, and no unwise act or policy became operative without his earnest protest and opposition. Always familiar with the condition or balance standing to the credit of the several public funds, he noted weekly the action of the council in making drafts thereon, and gave the word of warning if expenditures were being allowed to exceed receipts.

"During his last illness, and within a week of his death, he sent for the published proceedings of the council in order to examine the city's financial condition and compare the statement with that of the year preceding. Mr. Gilbert was especially watchful that the credit of the city should not suffer or become impaired by reason of failure to meet its obligations. With magnificent courage and rare devotion to this self-imposed duty, he came to the city's aid in its hour of need, and when the entire country was prostrated by a financial depression of unpar-

alled severity. At such a time, when banks were suspending and all confidence seemed gone, when securities could no longer be marketed, and money was rapidly disappearing from circulation, the city found itself without funds to meet maturing bonds amounting to $250,000, and the dishonor of non-payment appeared unavoidable. Foreseeing in the defaulting of payment damage to our municipal credit, and ill effects upon local interests in general, Mr. Gilbert said to those in authority, 'I will provide the money to meet those maturing bonds, and will carry the loan until it can be repaid without sacrifice or inconvenience to the city.' This was the subjugation of self-interest to the general welfare, and an act of the highest citizenship. It stands in strong contrast against that other policy which seeks to turn to advantage and profit the necessities of others in times of distress.

"Mr. Gilbert's active services to the community only ceased with the going out of his life. At the time of his death he was, in fact as well as in name, the head of several important financial and industrial establishments, and was also president of the society of organized charities, a director of the board of trade, and trustee of the Union Benevolent Home and Hospital. To these he gave regular and systematic attention, and his kindly presence was rarely missed from any of their regular meetings. His private life was in harmony with his public services. Broad and generous in hospitality, blameless in his social relations, tender and affectionate in his home, he held and enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his neighbors, and was beloved by all. To his friends

> " 'He seemed the thing he was, and joined
> Each office of the social hour
> To noble manners, as the flower
> And native growth of noble mind;
> And thus he bore without abuse
> The grand old name of gentleman.'

"In the erection of this memorial to our departed friend, we but follow the example of a time-honored custom. The civilized nations of the earth have ever considered it a sacred duty to raise statues and memorial monuments to their benefactors, and thus perpetuate the memory of their honored dead. These memorials are object lessons speaking to succeeding generations of lives and deeds worthy of emulation. Republics may be ungrateful, but the great heart of our common humanity has ever a place for its benefactors, and in the future, as in the past, the memory of such will be preserved and honored."

At the conclusion of his address Col. Briggs announced the Hon. George W. Thayer as the next speaker.

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE W. THAYER.

"*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Fellow Citizens*—Each day brings to every one of us its respective duties and responsibilities. In a large degree these are but repetitions of what has daily gone before, but, by reason of changed conditions and environments, new experiences and new duties often devolve upon us. This we may all realize on such an occasion as the present one, it being the first time in the history of our city when people have assembled to take part in the dedication of a monument erected on public ground to one of our citizens, and in connection therewith to offer their tribute of approval and sympathy in the action taken by the immediate business associates of our late fellow citizen, Thomas D. Gilbert. These gentlemen have given a touching expression of their respect, admiration and love for their departed associate and leader by placing here an enduring testimonial of their high appreciation of the many manly virtues of their departed friend, a work in which other of Mr. Gilbert's friends would gladly have shared, but the gentlemen were moved in their action by commendable and delicate consideration. Our uniting with them in all else but personal responsibility for the work they have accomplished they most cordially invite and desire. In fact, they correctly feel that in the action they have taken they have only carried into effect that which is expressive of the interest and sympathy of their fellow citizens.

"For the inception and execution of this noble service, let us all accord to them our unqualified meed of praise, and tender to them assurances of our appreciation and gratitude. It is a privilege that I highly esteem, to be permitted to join with these gentlemen and my fellow citizens in dedicating in the appropriate manner provided by them, this testimonial that they have so fittingly placed here on this public ground, to commemorate for generations to come the sterling virtues of a man who has lived in our midst and labored for the public welfare for half a century; who, by his example, his industry, his unswerving integrity, his constant and unselfish devotion to all the uses that might best promote the public weal, has left to us, his fellow citizens, a perfect illustration of that type of American citizenship that has only to be generally emulated to make certain a larger degree of happiness for all of our people, as well as the perpetuity of the grandest and best civil government the world affords. It is because of these qualities so strikingly exemplified in the life of Mr. Gilbert, making him one of the most useful citizens that this community has ever known, and because his long life of active usefulness among us is so fully appreciated and admired, that it has found this unusual expression in the occasion that we are now signalizing.

"I have said that this testimonial has been fittingly placed on the spot chosen. What could be more appropriate than to have this monument to Mr. Gilbert in this little park where it will be in the shadow of trees planted under his supervision, and some of them by his own hand. The trees in this park, excepting two or three native oaks, were placed here after the ground had been prepared by him at his own cost. They, too, mutely testify to his wise, useful and unselfish public spirit. The south footway of this park, along Fulton street, was a part of his daily walk for more than two score years. The location of this bust is such that it will be seen by a great number of our people. It is midway between the haven of his domestic felicity and rest and his post of daily active service in the affairs of men. Here in the very center of his field of usefulness may it stand, undefiled by wanton hands, until only the ravages of time shall crumble it to earth. To those of adult years, it will be a constant reminder of a model citizen who lived many years among us, and the impress of whose living will long be felt and cherished in this community. Among the youth it will be the subject of frequent inquiry, and the life story of the man it typifies will be told and retold to generations now unborn. Therefore, it represents more than sentiment. It verifies the fact that the deeds of a good man live after him. Silently its influence will be felt by rising generations in our places of business and wherever this true man was personally known and appreciated; and by tradition it will descend to their posterity, being an ever constant incentive to the impressible, to attain to the best citizenship.

"It has been my privilege to know Mr. Gilbert for thirty-five years. At first, I knew him but faintly; but as the years went by, almost unconsciously to me, we drew nearer and nearer to each other, until, at some time that I cannot define, I became his admirer and friend, and in time, a time equally undefinable, I enjoyed the consciousness that he was my friend. I think in the later years we came to regard each other as mutual friends. The longer my acquaintance with him continued, the more fully did I know and understand him, and my respect and regard for him correspondingly increased—not so much for Thomas D. Gilbert, the commanding figure as he was outwardly seen and known upon our streets by citizens in general, but for Thomas D. Gilbert as he was interiorly; as he was at heart; as he was in his purity of purpose; as he was in his unvarying integrity, as he followed his convictions of what was just and right; as I came to know of his sagacity, of his rare and discriminating judgment, of his superior intellectual ability; as I saw, under a seeming exterior mantle that some might regard as covering an indifferent and cold nature, his refined sensibility, his tender and affectionate consideration, not only for his kindred and household, but as well for those who were visited by sorrow and affliction, and for all

meritorious and worthy objects that came under his observation, his generosity in many directions; his distaste for having any benevolent deeds of his blazoned before the community; as I saw him often taxing his physical powers in his constant effort at all times and hours to do what he believed to be his duty, not only in private affairs, but equally so to the public, whose welfare he loved to labor for and promote; finally, as I came to know him socially in his home, where I found him to be one of the most cordial, hospitable, genial and enjoyable of men.

"Mr. Gilbert was not a man who could be called universally popular in the community in which he lived, and for whom he labored more assiduously than any other man, but he was accorded what is far more honorable—universal respect. He did not seek popular favor or public preferment. In all his purposes and actions that factor was ignored. He was so constituted by nature, he stood on an eminence that placed all such considerations below him; he would not stoop. To be a useful true American citizen was the summit of his ambition. He was as true to his conception of duty as is the needle to its pole; yet he greatly valued the respect and good opinion of his fellow citizens in general, and especially with those with whom he had close relations.

"His personal influence was largely felt and recognized. He raised the character and manhood of the majority of men with whom he came frequently in contact. He elevated and dignified every position he filled, public and private. These are the attributes and qualities personified in Thomas D. Gilbert that we this day commemorate and that made him the man so many of us knew, respected and loved.

"In conclusion, I desire only to add that I have spoken in no perfunctory way, but to express sincerely the sentiments of my heart, and to offer from my point of view of the man, a just and truthful tribute to one whose virtues and friendship are to me what I well know they are to others here present, among the imperishable treasures of a life's experience."

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ANGELL.

President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, was introduced by the chairman as a man thoroughly fitted to describe Mr. Gilbert's labors in connection with his twelve-year term of service as regent of the University. Mr. Angell's delivery is peculiarly well adapted to speaking in the open air, and every syllable of his eloquent tribute could be distinctly heard by those on the utmost limits of the park. He spoke as follows:

"I count it a good fortune that, while eminent men are gathered in this city from all parts of the country to confer on the methods of ameliorating the condition of society, we are to set up this memorial to a

man distinguished in many ways, but above all, for his intense and earnest civic spirit. Many of us, who were so fortunate as to be ranked among his personal friends, are indeed glad of this occasion to recall how faithful and true he was to his friends. But I take it, the chief significance of our act here today, is to commemorate the noble life and to recognize the high character of one whom, perhaps it is not extravagant to call, the first citizen of Grand Rapids. His neighbors and fellow citizens desire to place here the representation in imperishable bronze, of the features of the man, who, seeking no public offices of emolument, rendered so conspicuous services to his city and to his State. By his generous but unobtrusive charities, by his careful study of the best method of administering charities, by his wise counsels in the conduct of municipal affairs, by his valuable services to the State in shaping its financial policy in the civil war, by his faithful discharge of his duties as regent of the University for twelve years, by the earnestness with which in his last days he strove to impress on young men about him the high duty of cultivating the spirit of devotion to the welfare of this city, he furnished a most conspicuous illustration of the kind of men which this great national conference now assembled here as our guests, are striving to make of all our citizens.

"The gentlemen who have preceded me have spoken so fully upon the details of his activities in this city, that I need not dwell upon them further. But I may add, that in administering the affairs of the University, he brought to his work the same financial skill and the same scrupulous care, the same devotion to the duties of his office, which made so valuable his work in every official position. He entered the service of the institution at a period of great excitement over a change in the presidency. We may well believe that his firm and positive nature had some important part in the determined policy with which the board, refusing to reopen old controversies, pursued its course in quietness and peace. Holding the important post of chairman of the finance committee, the difficult task of finding the ways and means of meeting the multiplying wants created by classes that were increasing in numbers by leaps and bounds, was laid on him. From 1863 when he became regent, to 1875, when his second term expired, the teachers in the University rose in number from thirty to forty-five, and the students from 752 to 1,207. It became necessary to ask specific help from the legislature. That the aid was rendered, was due in no small degree to the confidence that was felt through the State in the skill and the prudence of Mr. Gilbert as the manager of the University finances. It was well known that he would countenance no extravagance. It was during his term of office that the law was passed appropriating the proceeds of a twentieth-mill tax (since increased to a sixth mill) for the support of the University. It was also during his term that women were admitted

to all departments of the University, and his vote was recorded in favor of the measure.

"I recall one incident which illustrates his wise catholicity concerning appointments in the faculty. A new member of the board of regents, who had rather narrow views, to the astonishment of all his colleagues, one evening objected to the appointment of an instructor of a certain religious denomination, because already there was one of that denomination in the same department. Mr. Gilbert, who seldom rose to speak in the board, was quickly on his feet with fire in his eye. 'Mr. President,' he said, 'in all the years of my membership of this board, this is the first time I have ever heard the question of the denominational connection of a man raised when his nomination to a place on the faculty was under consideration, and I hope to God it will be the last time.' He then sat down, and no more was heard of the objection. Nor has a similar objection ever been raised since that day.

"It was a matter of great regret to all connected with the University, that at the expiration of his term he declined to allow his name to go before the nominating convention. I infer from words I have heard from his lips, that no position he ever held interested him so deeply as that of regent. We at the University have always remembered with the highest appreciation and the warmest gratitude his laborious, intelligent and self-denying services.

"Therefore, with the many others who have been blessed by his life, we rejoice that his neighbors have erected this memorial, where not only those who have known him may see his familiar features as they walk these streets, but where the children who never knew him may pause to gaze on the face of the noble man, who is thus honored for his integrity and civic virtue. Let the coming generation learn here that he was to his generation—

> " 'A tower of strength,
> That stood four-square to all the winds that blew.'

"In our section of the country, where the population is still somewhat shifting, there is nothing more needed among our most influential citizens than this civic pride and civic virtue which were so conspicuously illustrated in Mr. Gilbert. Every town needs men of weight and ability who are not simply bent on the acquisition of wealth for themselves, but who are constantly studying how to improve and elevate the town, how to better its methods of municipal administration, its sanitary conditions, its jail, its care of the poor, its schools, in fact, how to make it a purer and fitter home for all. Every state needs such men among those who manage its affairs. They are not to be had for salaries. They are not usually among the crowd of office seekers. They are men of broad views, of upright and downright characters, of the

courage to stand for good measures, even if they are criticised or assailed for their position. I am glad to say that this city, whose prosperity has been so marked and whose attractiveness has charmed all who have visited it, and that this State, of whose progress we are so proud, have had not a few such men. Their names and their memory are dear to us. Conspicuous among them and long to be remembered in this city and throughout the State, was Thomas Dwight Gilbert. Would that your example in rearing this memorial to him might be imitated in other towns, which have been honored and blessed with the lives of such men. In thus perpetuating the memory of those whose characters are radiant with civic virtue, we help to build the city and the State in fairer proportions, and to make them societies of happy, virtuous and noble citizens, the Kingdom of God on earth."

THE UNVEILING.

At this point in the program, Col. Briggs impressively announced that the time for unveiling the memorial had arrived. Master Francis Dwight Gilbert, the ten-year-old grandnephew, grasped the white cord that held the starry folds of the enveloping banner in place, and slowly the polished granite shaft, surmounted by the splendid example of Sculptor Taft's art, was for the first time exposed to the gaze of the expectant multitude. As the familiar features came fully into view, a general murmur of appreciation ran through the crowd, and many involuntary ejaculations of pleasure were heard. Mrs. Gilbert, who, like the rest, had never before seen the completed bust, leaned forward with the most intense interest as the banner dropped, and her eyes seemed to be literally oblivious to all but the lifelike lineaments of the one so dear to her. The strain upon her feelings must have been intense, but she bore up bravely, and beyond a momentary flow of tears of mingled joy and sadness, her composure was admirable. Great applause followed the unveiling, and there was a general movement of spectators to gain a better view. The bust is a magnificent piece of work, and the likeness is very near absolute perfection.

PRESENTED TO THE CITY.

When the excitement incidental to the unveiling had subsided, Col. Briggs, accompanied by Mayor L. C. Stow, faced the spectators, and the formal presentation of the memorial to the city was made by Col. Briggs as follows:

"*Mr. Mayor*—In behalf of those who provided for its erection, this memorial is now given into your care and keeping for the city of Grand Rapids. May you and your successors safely guard and protect it, in

return for the generous deeds and important services that characterized the long and useful life of Mr. Gilbert in this community. Thus protected it will stand, while its bronze and granite shall endure, testifying and honoring a type of manhood that is the stay of the State and the crowning glory of a Christian civilization."

Mayor Stow responded on behalf of the city in the following words:

"It is with feelings of grateful memory that I accept for this city this magnificent work of art. How deftly has the sculptor wrought out the likeness of that grand man in form and feature. Our citizens will prize this gift, and I promise it shall have the care and protection that loving hands and a revering memory can bestow. This monument, grand and imposing as it is, but partly portrays the manly, stalwart form, the keen, bright, far-seeing vision, the firm poise and knightly bearing of Thomas D. Gilbert, and while we will have this splendid representation of what he was, we have within our hearts and impressed on the very life of this city, the reflection and influence of that noble life which once walked these streets, planned this city and mingled with its people in their joys and sorrows, for half a century. We stand with uncovered heads and bow reverently in this presence.

"His life and aims have been wrought into the fabric of our city's laws and customs, and will be as enduring as this memorial token of esteem to his worth. We accept the trust you have laid upon us, and in behalf of a grateful people we promise we will guard this monument with sacred care."

This concluded the ceremonies, and the audience joined with the Schubert Club in singing the glorious strains of the national anthem, "America."

THE SCULPTOR.

Lorado Taft was born in Elmwood, Peoria county, Ill., April 29, 1860, son of Don Carlos Taft, at that time principal of public school, later for thirteen years, professor of geology in the Illinois State University at Champaign. From this institution the young sculptor was graduated in the class of '79. He went abroad in 1880, entering the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Here he won the first honorable mention of his atelier at the end of his first year, and the first prize at the end of the third year. After a visit of some months in America, he returned to Paris for another stay of a year and a half. Returned to this country and settled in Chicago, January, 1886. Has done many portraits and several monuments in these ten years. Among others, the Colfax in Indianapolis; Grant, Fort Leavenworth; the groups of sheep and "The Awakening of the Flowers" on Horticultural building, World's Fair, and a great series of busts of prominent men.

The bust and inscription plate were cast at the foundries of the American Bronze Company of Chicago, and the pedestal is from the celebrated quarries of the Smith Granite Company, Westerly, R. I. The weight of the granite is 18,500 pounds, that of the bust 850 pounds.

The smaller flag that was used to veil the bronze bust proper, is the highly prized property of Mrs. T. D. Gilbert. It was presented to her by Mr. Gilbert, July 4, 1876, and has been used upon every succeeding anniversary of the national holiday to decorate the family residence on North Lafayette street.

MICHIGAN AS A TERRITORY AND SOME OF ITS INHABITANTS.

BY J. WARNER WING.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society—Sixty-four years ago the present month, or in other words on the 20th day of June, 1832, there might have been seen an emigrant wagon drawn by a pair of very handsome brown oxen, wending its way upon the north road leading from Ann Arbor to Dexter. This emigrant wagon contained a few goods and two ladies. The ladies occupied a very comfortable seat in the front part of the wagon, prepared expressly for them, the elder of which was considerably past the meridian of life and the other was a young lady about eighteen years of age. The oxen were driven by a young man about twenty-two years of age and it was the first effort of the kind he had ever made in his life. By the side of said emigrant wagon, a part of the time riding and a part of the time walking, was an elderly gentleman and two little boys, one nine and the other twelve years of age. This emigrant wagon contained the father and mother, sister and brothers of your humble speaker, and I was the elder of the two little boys. We ended our journey about 12 o'clock on the 20th day of June, 1832, by stopping at the house of Horace Leek, who kept at that time a hotel where Mr. John Helber now resides, about three miles east of the village of Dexter. The land for our new home had already been located the previous autumn by my elder brother, and is now known as the Columbus Waite farm about two and a half miles east of the village of Dexter. I would not wish to be understood as saying that we made all the journey from central New York with oxen. We came by water to Detroit and brought a wagon with us; bought oxen in Detroit and with their assistance we made our journey to Dexter. The township had not been named at

that time but was afterwards named Scio, after one of the most beautiful islands in the Grecian archipelago. I have a very distinct recollection of the next morning after our arrival here that my sister asked me if I would not like to take a walk up to the place that was to be our future home. I told her I would and we walked up together. It was about a half mile distant from the Leek mansion, where we were stopping. The place was in a perfect state of nature, never having had anything done upon it until that morning, when my father and brother had preceded us and commenced chopping logs for a house. The scene was beautiful beyond description. The timber consisted of large oak trees standing several rods apart and the intermediate space between them was covered with bright green grass and beautiful flowers. The whole country had been burnt over every fall or spring, I presume, for centuries, and everything had been destroyed except these giants of the forest. It did appear as if one-half of the vegetation was flowers. The most of them were about eighteen inches high and when moved by the wind the effect was wonderful. I have never seen in any of our large cities a park that was its equal. A few days after our arrival there, I went back north from where my father was building his house, to the Huron river, which was about a half mile distant. It appeared much larger then than it is now, and I think that it was, for it was marked on the maps as a navigable stream. I was surprised at the beauty of the river and the scenery upon its banks. The water was clear as crystal, was well stocked with fine fish and was a great resort for deer at evening. It is true on its bosom no proud ships were sailing, no large puffing steamers appeared to our view, and yet its bright waters were quite as delightful as rivers whose broad, winding course they pursue.

At the point where I reached the river there was quite a large Indian planting ground, where the dusky maiden had perhaps for centuries attended her favorite corn. The rows of corn in the cornfield were regular, but not at right angles. I have always regretted that I did not make a plat of that cornfield. From the regularity of the rows and the uniformity of the hills it did appear as if these savages must have understood geometry. At the upper end of this planting ground and upon the immediate bank of the river was an Indian cemetery where many braves and at least one chief had been buried. On my way to the river and about one hundred rods before I reached it, I crossed the Detroit Indian trail—it was the first trail I had ever seen. It was not more than twenty inches wide, but in many places it was as deep as the pony's knees and it more resembled a long, shallow ditch than the great thoroughfare which it was. This trail continued upon the south side of the river until it reached a ford about two miles east of Ann Arbor, where it crossed over to the north bank and from there it took a very direct course to Detroit. But Michigan as a territory in a state of nature

with all its beauty, its nobleness and grandeur, contained no bread. This must be secured by the willing hearts and strong right arms of the pioneers in changing the forests into beautiful fields, rich plantations of rustling corn and the golden robes of the wheat fields. And well their work was done, and so it was made possible that their children and those coming after them could reap the rich rewards of their useful and industrial lives.

On account of my youth my acquaintance was not very extensive, except in our own neighborhood and in the village of Dexter, where I attended school in winter. Dexter had a merchant by the name of Cowden and our venerable friend, Mr. Dennis Warner, was his clerk. It also had a blacksmith in the person of Judge Crane. The blacksmith was perhaps the most useful mechanic in the country, for we depended upon him almost entirely for our plows, and on our plows we depended for our bread. Dexter had a physician in the person of Dr. Syril Nichols, who was an expert in handling billious fever and ague, the prevailing disease of the country. Dexter had a postoffice where we paid twenty-five cents for every letter we received. Judge Dexter then resided there in a house that is still standing near the river. He was a good man in every sense of the word and was beloved and respected by all who knew him. And many of the pioneers, when overtaken by sickness or misfortune, received from him substantial assistance. The judge was a temperance man and he practiced what he preached. He often rode up to our door and had a few minutes conversation with my father as he went back and forth to and from Ann Arbor. As I remember him in 1832-3-4, he rode a large chestnut colored horse with a white stripe in its face. There were no carriages in those days and but few of the pioneers had wagons. They made carts, however, by sawing the wheels off from the butts of large trees and putting an axle and tongue in them, and they answered very well to go to mill and for other domestic purposes and in cases of emergency they would do to go to a wedding or to church. There was no aristocracy in those days, you know, but the men and the women that could and did do the most good with the means at their command were the ones that had precedence.

There came to this then new territory in the month of July, 1832, a man by the name of Captain Elias Hays, from Cape Ann, in Massachusetts, with his family, which consisted of his wife, one son and one daughter. His daughter, however, had preceded him several years, having come with her cousin, Captain Dix, after which Dixborough was named (in 1825). Captain Hays was a sailor and a sea captain. He had followed the seas from his youth. He located an eighty acre lot of land adjoining my father's on the Ann Arbor road. I recollect of his coming down to our

house and introducing himself as Captain Hays, said he had located the land adjoining my father's, had let the job of building his house and as soon as it was completed he was going to take possession and be a neighbor. My father expressed himself as being much pleased that we were to have a neighbor so near and asked the captain what kind of a house he was going to build. The captain spoke of his house as he would of a ship. He said she was to be built after the most approved model, her bulwarks were to be made of quite large trees. She was to be seven feet lower deck and five feet upper deck with portholes and scuppers on the upper deck. Perhaps it is needless for me to say the portholes were the little frieze windows under roof and the scuppers were the eavetroughs. Captain Hays had had a very adventurous life; he had followed the seas from the time he was twelve years old and had visited nearly every country on the globe and was as much at home in the Indian ocean or the Chinese seas as he was in Massachusetts bay. He was a privateer in the war of 1812, and took many prizes. He said on one occasion he came near being captured by a British man-of-war dressed in disguise to which he ran dangerously near before he discovered his mistake, but his ship was a fast sailer and he made his escape. He said his business was not fighting men-of-war, but it was to drive British commerce from the ocean, as they had ours, by their pretended right of search. Captain Hays had been taken twice by pirates while in the merchant service. On one occasion they left provisions to last them only a week and told them to keep out of their way, for if they fell in with them again they would all be slain. The provisions were so divided as to last a month instead of a week, before the expiration of which time they fell in with a friendly vessel and were relieved. Mrs. Hays (whose maiden name was Tucker), was a daughter of a brave captain in the Revolutionary Army, and she exhibited with much pride a brace of brass pistols with flint locks, which she said were presented to her father by Gen. Geo. Washington for meritorious conduct in battle. I saw these pistols on two occasions, one of them had two deep sword cuts on the barrel, one on a diagonal and the other at right angles. The venerable lady, Mrs. Sidney Smith, the daughter of Captain Hays, and mother of Mrs. Foster Litchfield, eighty-four years of age, came to Michigan in 1825, is still with us, a living illustration of the noble pioneer mothers that have gone before.

Eighteen hundred and thirty-two was the year the Black Hawk war prevailed in Illinois and many people feared that it might extend to this territory, but Black Hawk and his warriors were soon captured and the people even here slept better nights. The Potawatamie Indians were quite plenty here in 1832-3, but they were not troublesome except when they had been drinking and then they behaved very much like their white brothers under

similiar circumstances. I recollect on one occasion a very large number of them passed our house one day (said to be twelve hundred), on their way to Canada, to receive their presents. The British government at that time made presents to these Indians annually at Fort Malden, about twenty miles below Detroit. The place is now called Amherstburg. They were very expert with the bow and arrow and in throwing the tomahawk, but they were not what we would call good shots with a gun, in fact their guns were of poor quality. They had instruments for calling both deer and turkeys to them and their game was taken more by stealth than by skill. Indians were not very plenty in this part of the territory after 1833, but we often saw a few and they most always wanted to swap something. Their stock in trade generally consisted in deer skins, smoked hams, cranberries and wild honey.

The early pioneers of Michigan were a very intelligent, friendly and industrious class of citizens, but they never would have succeeded as they did had it not been for their most excellent wives, and I have often wondered how those noble, matronly mothers under such adverse circumstances, with almost no conveniences at all at first for the management of their domestic affairs, could always appear so cheerful and pleasant, never complaining, but I have heard them say, and they said it very pleasantly, that the darkest of the night was just before day. I think if St. Paul could have seen these noble, self-sacrificing women, he would have had a more favorable opinion of matrimony. In fact—

If Paul had been a pioneer
And had our forest lands to clear
And had the dreaded ague shake him
And bilious fever overtake him,
With no one near to soothe his woes,
Or hold the camphor to his nose,
He would have said, I do declare,
I must have been mistaken there.

THE ONTONAGON BOULDER IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT WASHINGTON.

BY CHARLES MOORE.

[This paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Washington, D. C., May 23, 1895. Extracts from it appeared in the Washington Evening Star, June 8; the Detroit Journal, June 17, and the Ontonagon Miner, June 21, 1895. Also it is printed, with some additions, in Part II of the Report of the National Museum for 1895.]

In an obscure corner of the National Museum at Washington a boulder of native copper, weighing, perhaps, three tons, rests on a plain wooden base. No inscription bears record as to the origin or the history of this copper fragment, the size of which would alone make it notable. Reposing in that American Pantheon of things inanimate, not even a number points to some page of the Museum reports, wherein the curious investigator may find by what right the copper rock can claim even its neglected corner.

Worshiped as a manitou by the superstitious Indians during uncounted years, the siren of mining adventurers while yet the flag of England floated over the Lake country, the objective point of hazardous expeditions by explorer and scientist, the Ontonagon Boulder has never been so left to itself as it has been during the half century that has elapsed since it was brought to the National Capital, where the expectation was that all eyes might gaze upon it as the representative of national wealth and enterprise.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missionaries, penetrating the wildernesses about Lake Superior, found among the most treasured possessions of the Indians pieces of copper weighing from ten to twenty pounds. Often these fragments of copper were regarded as household gods, and from an indefinite past had been transmitted from generation to generation. Tradition also told of larger masses of copper situated at several points along the shores of the great lake, whose shifting sands covered up the boulders for years at a time, thus causing the superstitious savages to declare that their offended deities had disappeared for a season.[1]

In 1663 a piece of copper weighing a hundred pounds was brought to Father Dablon. "The savages," he reports, "do not all agree as to the

[1] Journal du Voyage du Pere Claude Allouez. Relation de la Nouvelle France en l'Année, 1667.

place whence this copper was derived. Some say it came from where the (Ontonagon) river begins; others say close to the lake, and others from the forks and along the eastern bank."[1] Whether the Dablon fragment was a float piece of copper or whether it was a portion broken from the great rock it is impossible to say. The reference of the Jesuit father, however, makes it evident that at the time when he wrote the Indians were familiar with the copper region along the Ontonagon, on the west bank of the west fork of which river the great boulder lay when discovered by white men.

In 1669 the French government sent Louis Joliet to Lake Superior to search for the deposits of copper told about in the relations of the missionaries, but he got no farther than Sault Ste. Marie; and three years later he turned aside from such material pursuits to accomplish, in company with Father Marquette, the discovery of the Mississippi river. So far as authentic records go, the first white man to visit the Ontonagon Boulder was Alexander Henry, an English adventurer; and he saw it to his cost. Shortly after England acquired Canada from France, Henry established himself as a trader at Mackinac, and his narrow escape from death at the hands of the savages in the massacre at that post in 1763 forms one of the most thrilling chapters of Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac," and is also the basis of Mrs. Catherwood's recent story, "The White Islander."

In 1771, lured, doubtless, by the mass of copper at the forks of the Ontonagon, Henry and his associates undertook to pierce the bluffs of clay and red sandstone which border that stream, in the hope of finding the vein whence the boulder came.[2] Only complete ignorance of the geology of the Lake Superior region can explain what Dr. Houghton calls "these quixotic trials," and complete failure was the natural result.[3]

In 1819 Gen. Lewis Cass made the first explorations of the Lake Superior region that were undertaken by this government. Turning from their path, his party ascended the Ontonagon river for thirty miles to visit the mass of copper, whose existence, he says, had long been known. "Common report," he writes to John C. Calhoun,[4] Secretary of War, "has greatly magnified the quantity, though enough remains, even after a rigid examination, to render it a mineralogical curiosity. Instead of being a mass of pure copper, it is rather copper imbedded in a hard rock, and the weight probably does not exceed five tons, of which the rock is much the larger part. It was impossible to procure any specimens, for such was its hardness that our chisels broke like glass. I intend to

[1] Relation of 1670

[2] Travels and Adventures in Canada—By Alexander Henry, Esq., New York, 1809; p. 231.

[3] Memoir of Douglass Houghton.—By Alvah Bradish, A. M., Detroit, 1889; p 204.

[4] Life and Times of Lewis Cass.—By W. L. G. Smith, New York, 1856; p 133. Cass himself never saw the rock, as he admits in a letter given in Senate Report 260; 28th Congress, 1st Session.

send some Indians in the spring to procure the necessary specimens. As I understand the nature of the substance, we can now furnish them with such tools as will effect the object. I shall, on their return, send you such specimens as you may wish to retain for the government or to distribute as cabinet specimens to the various literary institutions of the country."

The party sent by Cass were not so fortunate as he anticipated they would be. They cut about thirty cords of wood, which they placed about the boulder and set fire to the pile. When the copper was well heated they dashed water upon it; but the only result was to detach pieces of quartz rock adhering to the native copper. The party, having become disheartened, left the country, having moved the rock four or five feet from the bank of the river; nor did the Barbeau party, who went from Sault Ste. Marie, two years later, have any better success. It so happened, however, that Mr. Joseph Spencer, one of the Cass expedition, told the story of the copper rock to Mr. Julius Eldred, a hardware merchant of Detroit, and for sixteen years this enterprising man schemed and planned how he might succeed where others had failed.

Until the report made by the State Geologist of Michigan, Dr. Douglass Houghton, in 1841, there had been no authentic or trustworthy statements[1] in regard to the copper-bearing rocks of Lake Superior; but within four years from the date of that report the mineral lands from the tip of Keweenaw Point to the Ontonagon river were overrun with prospectors, the great majority of whom left dollars where they found pennies. It is in Dr. Houghton's report that the best scientific account of the Copper Rock is to be found. "I have thus far," he says, "omitted to allude particularly to the large mass of native copper which has been so long known to exist in the bed of the Ontonagon river, lest perhaps this isolated mass might be confounded with the veins of the mineral district. That this mass has once occupied a place in some one of these veins is quite certain, but it is now perfectly separated from its original condition, and appears simply as a loose, transported boulder. * * The copper boulder is associated with rocky matter, which in all respects resembles that associated with that metal in some portions of the mines before described, the rocky matter being bound together with innumerable strings of metal; but a very considerable portion of the whole is copper in a state of purity. While this mass of native copper cannot fail to excite much interest, from its great size and purity, it must be borne in mind that it is a perfectly isolated mass, having no connection with any other; nor does the character of the country lead to the inference that veins of the metal occur in the immediate vicinity, though the mineral district crosses the country at a distance of but a few miles."[2]

[1] Col. Charles Whittlesey, in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. XIII.
[2] First Geological Survey of Michigan.

Leaving for the moment the question as to the origin of the copper rock, let us follow its history. Prior to 1843 not a pound of copper had been shipped commercially from Lake Superior. The billion and a half pounds which have been taken from that region have been mined since that year, and more than half that product has been taken from a mine discovered since the war of the rebellion ended. The Ontonagon Boulder was not regarded primarily in a commercial light; for its market value as ingot copper could not have exceeded $600.[1] Mr. Eldred's object in transporting it to the lower lakes was to exhibit it for money in the various cities of the east. It was a curiosity. As Senator Woodbridge said, it was "a splendid specimen of the mineral wealth of the 'far west.'"

In 1841, Mr. Eldred arranged with Samuel Ashman of Sault Ste. Marie, to act as his interpreter in the purchase of the copper rock from the Chippewa Indians, on whose lands it was situated. Obtaining a trading license from Mr. Ord, the government agent, the two men set out for the mouth of the Ontonagon, where they met the chiefs and concluded the purchase for $150, of which sum $45 was paid in cash at the time, and the remainder in goods two years later. The party then proceeded about twenty-six miles up the river; climbed the high hill which intervened between the main stream and that point on the fork where the rock was situated, and raised it on skids. More than this they could not do; nor did they have greater success the following summer.

In 1843 Mr. Eldred started from Detroit with wheels and castings for a portable railway and car; and to protect his property rights he secured from Gen. Walter Cunningham, the United States mineral agent, a permit to occupy for mining purposes the section of land on which the boulder stood.[2] Arriving at the rock, Mr. Eldred was surprised and chagrined to find it in possession of a party of Wisconsin miners, under the direction of Col. Hammond, who had located the land under a permit made directly by the Secretary of War to Turner & Snyder, and by their agent transferred to Hammond. The only thing to do was to buy the rock again, and this Mr. Eldred did, paying for it $1,365.

It took a week for the party of twenty-one persons to get the rock up the fifty-foot hill near the river; then they cut timbers and made a stout wooden railway track, placed the rock on the car, and moved it with capstan and chains, as houses are moved. For four miles and a half, over hills 600 feet high, through valleys and deep ravines, through thick forests, where the path had to be cut, and tangled underbrush, the home of pestiferous mosquitoes, this railway was laid, and the Copper Boulder

[1] For prices of copper see U. S. Senate Report on Wholesale Prices, Wages and Transportation, 1893; Vol. I., p. 70.

[2] Mr. Eldred's account of his labors and trials is given fully in Senate Report 260; 28th Congress 1st Session. A detailed and very interesting account of the removal of the rock appears in a letter to the New York Weekly Herald for October 28, 1843, written by John Jones, Jr. Mr. Jones evidently saw the boulder at Ontonagon. For a copy of this letter I am indebted to Mr. L. G. Stuart, of Grand Rapids

was transported; and when at last the rock was lowered to the main stream nature smiled on the labors of the workmen by sending a freshet to carry their heavily laden boat over the lower rapids and down to the lake!

While arranging transportation to Sault Ste. Marie, Mr. Eldred was confronted by an order from the Secretary of War to Gen. Cunningham directing him to seize the copper rock for transportation to Washington. "The persons claiming the rock have no right to it," says Secretary Porter, "but justice and equity would require that they be amply compensated for the trouble and expense of its removal from its position on the Ontonagon to the lake, and for this purpose Gen. C. will examine into their accounts and allow them the cost, compensating them fully and fairly therefor—the sum, however, not to exceed $700. * * * If they set up a claim for the ownership of the article itself, that is not admitted or recognized, and their redress, if they have any, will be by an application to Congress."[1]

The sum mentioned by the Secretary being manifestly too small to compensate Mr. Eldred "fully and fairly," Gen. Cunningham allowed the former to transport the rock to Detroit, and promised that if the curiosity was ordered to Washington Mr. Eldred should be placed in charge of it. On October 11, 1843, the boulder was landed at Detroit,[2] and placed on exhibition for a fee of 25 cents; and among those who embraced the opportunity to visit it was Henry R. Schoolcraft, who renewed an acquaintance with the copper monarch formed twenty-three years previous.[3] After less than a month of uninterrupted possession, United States District Attorney George C. Bates informed Mr. Eldred that the revenue cutter Erie was waiting to receive the rock for transportation to the capital; and on November 9 the boulder started on its long journey by way of Buffalo, the Erie canal and New York city to Georgetown, D. C. Mr. Eldred accompanied it as far as New York, and met it at Georgetown with a dray, by which it was hauled to the quartermaster's bureau of the War Department, and deposited in the yard, where it remained until some time subsequent to 1855.[4]

Mr. Eldred now appealed to Congress for redress; and it so happened that in the Senate Willaim Woodbridge of Michigan was chairman of the committee on public lands. An exhaustive report was made on the matter at the first session of the Twenty-eighth Congress, and three years later, by an act approved January 26, 1847, the Secretary of War

[1] Copies of the official correspondence on the subject of the seizure of the rock were kindly furnished me by Col. F. C. Ainsworth and Chief Clerk John Tweedale, of the War Department; by Captain C. F. Shoemaker, chief of the Revenue Cutter Service, and by Hon. T. Strobo Farrow, Auditor of the Treasury.

[2] Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan. See chronology.

[3] The American Indians—By Henry R. Schoolcraft, Rochester, 1851.

[4] Robert's Sketches of Old Detroit, see under "Copper."

was authorized to allow and settle upon just and equitable terms the accounts of Julius Eldred and sons for their time and expenses in purchasing and removing the mass of native copper commonly called the copper rock. The sum thus paid was $5,664.98.

From the yard of the old War Department to the National Museum is not a long journey for so traveled a rock, and we need spend no time on it. There is, however, another and a really important question as to the origin of the boulder. Accepting Dr. Houghton's statement that the Copper Rock as found was an isolated mass, but that it undoubtedly came from one of the veins in the narrow copper belt, let us examine the results of explorations made since his day.

During the winter of 1847-8 Mr. Samuel O. Knapp, the agent of the Minnesota mine, observed a curious depression in the soil, caused, as he conjectured, by the disintegration of a vein.[1] Following up these indications, he came upon a cavern, the home of several porcupines. On clearing out the rubbish he found many stone hammers; and at a depth of eighteen feet he came upon a mass of native copper ten feet long, three feet wide and nearly two feet thick. Its weight was more than six tons. This mass was found resting upon billets of oak supported by sleepers of the same wood. There were three courses of billets and two courses of sleepers.[2] The wood had lost all its consistency so that a knife blade penetrated it as easily as if it had been peat; but the earth packed about the copper gave that a firm support. By means of the cob-work the miners had raised the mass about five feet, or something less than one-quarter of the way to the mouth of the pit. The marks of fire used to detach the copper from the rock showed that the early miners were acquainted with a process used with affect by their successors. This fragment had been pounded until every projection was broken off and then had been left, when and for what reason is still unknown. From similar pits on the same location came ten carloads of ancient hammers, one of which weighed 39½ pounds and was fitted with two grooves for a double handle. There were also found a copper gad, a copper chisel with a socket in which was the remains of a copper handle, and fragments of wooden bailing bowls. At the Menard mine in 1862 was found an eighteen-ton boulder that the ancient miners had removed forty-eight feet from its original bed.

The fact that growing in the debris of one of these ancient pits was a hemlock having 395 annular rings places the date of the excavations before the days of Columbus. That they were made by a race distinct from the present Indians is inferred from the fact that the Indians knew nothing of copper in the place, and they had no traditions of the ancient

[1] Foster and Whitney's Report, House Ex. Doc. 69; 31st Congress, 1st Session, p. 159.
[2] Col. Charles Whittlesey, in Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. XIII.

copper mines which cover the entire copper belt, and which have been to modern miners the best indications of the presence of that metal. Within two miles of one of these "ancient diggings" as they are called, the copper rock was found.

The question here arises, was the Ontonagon boulder detached by glacial action and carried southwesterly along the drift to the point whence eventually it dropped into the bed of the river; or is it the product of the mining operations of that busy people, whose well-built boats, with each recurring summer in past ages, dotted the clear waters of Lake Superior, and whose keen search led them to the outcrops of copper as well among the inhospitable thickets of the main land as on the wave-lashed islands of the greatest of lakes?

Such is the question propounded by Mr. Edwin J. Hulbert, who spent the best years of his life in a study of the copper country, and whose recently published work on "The Calumet Conglomerate"[1] marks him as the most scientific explorer who ever accomplished great results in the Lake Superior copper country. Doubtless the question is unanswerable; but whether nature or man tore the copper rock from its original home, it stands today as the first considerable shipment of copper from the Lake Superior region, and the largest mass ever taken away from a mine. It is unique also in this: The mines of the Ontonagon region belong to the past. The great Minnesota, from which a 500-ton boulder, valued at $200,000, was taken, and whose stockholders received $30 for every dollar they put in, has long ago been surpassed by the Calumet and Hecla, whose ore contains but an insignificant proportion of mass copper. There are no more masses of virgin copper to be found, and the Ontonagon Boulder is not only the first, but it is also the last remaining representative of its kind.

[1] The Calumet Conglomerate. By Edwin J. Hulbert. The Ontonagon Miner Press, 1893.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE BARRY COUNTY BAR FORTY-FOUR YEARS AGO.

BY HON. JAMES A. SWEEZEY.

Within the past forty-four years the judges and lawyers whose familiar faces we were accustomed to see in the old court room of the Barry county court house have left us and gone to "the undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns," the writer being the only survivor of the resident members of the bar of the county at that time. It will readily appear that forty-four years is a long period to reach back in memory to the almost forgotten facts, and incidents dependant almost wholly upon personal recollection alone. It has therefore occurred to the writer that a brief reference to the individuals who comprised the bar of the county at the period named will, upon an occasion like this, be expected. "The recollections" of the practitioners at the bar of Barry county would be very incomplete, if confined only to those who were residents at the time of the county, as a large share of the business in the courts of record of the county was performed by lawyers residing at Kalamazoo, Marshall, Battle Creek, Grand Rapids, and other points in adjacent older counties, reference to whom is necessary to render the "recollections" even half way complete.

It appears by the record of the circuit court that Epaphroditus Ransom, of Kalamazoo, held the first term of the circuit court in the county on the 6th day of May, 1840. He was the first circuit judge of Barry county at this time under the provisions of the constitution of 1835, being attached to the county of Kalamazoo, which was in the third circuit, then composed of the counties of Branch, St. Joseph, Cass, Berrien, Van Buren, Kalamazoo, Allegan, and Calhoun, and the counties and districts attached thereto for judicial purposes. The constitution then required the associate justice of the supreme court to hold at least one term of the circuit court in each year in the several counties of the circuit in which he resided. Judge Ransom continued for about three years to hold two terms a year in the county, but he finally made an entry upon the journal of the court, "that as the business of the county did not

seem to require more than one term, that thereafter only one term would be held in the county in each year until the further order of the court." At this early day the supreme court consisted of four judges, called "associate justices," there being only four judicial circuits; the associate justice of the supreme court was the circuit judge for the judicial district in which he resided. Judge Ransom continued to hold court in Barry county up to the April term, 1847, his last term closing on the 14th day of April of that year. This term was held in the old schoolhouse, then situated near where the barn of Nathan Barlow is now located, the court house having been destroyed by fire. After Judge Ransom made the order by which the county should thereafter have only one term a year, it will be seen that Barry county was not a place very inviting as a home to a lawyer who expected to support himself and family by the practice of his profession. At the general election in 1847 Judge Ransom was elected governor of the State, and there being no associate justice of the supreme court residing in the third circuit, other justices of the supreme court held for several terms the circuit court for the county, Judge S. M. Green holding the first term thereafter, and Associate Justice Edward Mundy held the two following terms and as circuit judge one term. Previous to the election of Judge Ransom as governor, the legislature had redistricted the State, by which the third circuit was composed of the counties of Kalamazoo, Van Buren, St. Joseph, Cass, Berrien, Allegan, Barry, Kent, and Ottawa. Judge Mundy being a resident of the third district, the first two terms held by him in the county, the journal was signed by him as associate justice of the supreme court, and the last term, or third term held by him, he signed the journal of the court as circuit judge. His last term was held on the 9th day of October, 1850. From present information it is understood that he died in the winter of 1850, or early in 1851, and that George Martin was appointed one of the justices of the supreme court and held his first term in the county as such. The constitution adopted in 1850 so changed the judicial districts that Barry county was placed in the eighth judicial circuit, composed of Barry, Kent, Ionia, Ottawa, Clinton, and Montcalm counties. The constitution of 1850 also so changed the supreme court, which before its adoption consisted of four judges appointed by the governor by and with the advice of the senate, was thereafter and for six years and until the legislature should otherwise provide to be composed of eight judges of the circuit court, to be elected at the spring election of 1851.

Hon. George Martin was elected judge of the eighth judicial circuit, and held his first term as circuit judge in the county on the 18th day of May, 1852. He continued to hold and discharge the duties of circuit judge in a most acceptable manner, until he was elected chief justice of the

supreme court under the law creating our present supreme court. The present recollection is that he was the only chief justice elected by the people, the law being afterwards so modified that after his term expired the associate justice, whose term was first to expire, should act as the presiding judge during the last two years of his term. Hon. Henry E. Hoyt, of Kalamazoo, who was clerk of the circuit court when the writer commenced practice in the county, and to whom he is under obligation for many facts contained in this paper, in a letter he recently wrote, says, "I never think of the courts of Barry county, and the lawyers, but that eminent jurist and princely gentleman, Judge George Martin, does not arise before me, and the thought of what he might and ought to have been, only for the yielding too freely to the generous impulses of his noble character." All who were intimately acquainted with Judge Martin as he was when the judge of this circuit will heartily concur in the kindly sentiments and recollections of the man, so well expressed by Mr. Hoyt, who knew the judge so intimately and well. Mr. Hoyt further writes that when he settled in Barry county, in the year 1849, Isaac A. Holbrook was the only practicing lawyer residing in the county. Hiram Greenfield was here, but was not at the time practicing law. Henry S. Jennings had formerly been here, but had left the county, and he subsequently returned, taking up practice again. After two years he again left the county, since which time he has not resided here and the last information obtained relating to him indicated that he was residing in the northern part of the State, if living. The writer's recollection is that in the year 1851 Mr. Jennings had ceased to practice in the county as a resident attorney, but that he appeared at two or three terms of court in the years 1851, 1852 and 1853, and that his last appearance in court was at the November term, 1853, at which time as attorney for Jared S. Rogers and Isaac Messer in the case against Philo Dibble and Andrew L. Hays. This case had been tried once and the plaintiffs had recovered judgment against the defendants, which was reversed in the supreme court, and the case sent back for a new trial. The case was commenced, and the second trial had proceeded to the second day, and before the case had been submitted to the jury, Mr. Jennings for the plaintiffs moved to discontinue the case, the costs to be paid by plaintiffs. This case had been pending for several years, and was probably the most important case before the court at any time previous to that date. Soon after the year 1853, Mr. Jennings was known to be practicing his profession at Davenport, Iowa, but how long he remained there or whether he continued the practice of law after leaving Iowa, or where he moved to, no definite information has been obtained; but seven or eight years since he was in Hastings, and from information then obtained from him the impression was left

that his home was in one of the northern counties, and within the past two years it has been stated that he was dead. From the brief acquaintance I had with Mr. Jennings the impression was formed that he was a lawyer of more than ordinary ability, and as he left Barry county about the time Judge Ransom made the order by which the county was thereafter to have only one term of court a year, it is fair to assume that he had concluded that future prospects were not sufficiently inviting to induce him to longer remain in the county.

Nathaniel A. Balch, of Kalamazoo, was for forty years a regular attendant at every term of the circuit and county court, and it is said that he did not pass a single term of the circuit court for forty years. At the time or soon after the organization of the county he was appointed prosecuting attorney, and filled the office acceptably, as he did every position in life, professional or social. He was employed in nearly every suit of importance in the courts of the county for a great many years, and no client ever gave him a retainer that did not receive a full benefit of his legal abilities; and, if the circumstances demanded, of his physical ability also, which was of no ordinary force. Mr. Balch was born in Vermont and his nature partook of the rugged mountainous surroundings of his early life. He was a graduate of Middlebury College, and commenced the study of law in Bennington, Vermont. He settled at Kalamazoo in 1837, taught in the Literary Institute a part of the year, continued his study of the law in the office of Stuart & Webster, and in the year 1838 taught in the Academy at Marshall, Mich., returning to Kalamazoo the same year, and entered upon the practice of his chosen profession, and was a successful and able practitioner up to the time of the impairment of his health. He died in 1894 at the age of eighty-three years. In all branches of law he was thoroughly conversant, but in medical jurisprudence his knowledge excelled by far that of any lawyer that ever practiced at the bar of Barry county. He could quote from memory more Scripture than most professional clergymen, and often in the trial of a cause found the opportunity to apply some appropriate passage in his argument in a most forcible manner. Although a man of quick, impetuous temper, and often quick to anger, yet he was a man of a kind and forgiving character, and thoroughly conscientious in all his conduct and business.

The case of Rogers and Messer against Dibble and Hays, to which reference has already been made, as the first important and ably contested by N. A. Balch, Horace Mower and H. S. Jennings for the plaintiffs, and Abner Pratt and John Van Arman, of Marshall, for the defendants, and the trial of the case elicited great interest. Another case, which was ably and vigorously contested on both sides,

occurred in the winter of 1849 before Isaac A. Holbrook, who was then circuit court commissioner for the county. The parties were Morley & Co., of New York, against Kendall Woodward, of Grand Rapids. In the early days when Grand Rapids was so isolated from the rest of the world, that it seemed to be a good locality to run the plunder obtained by fair or foul means into, and to hold it as against the legitimate owners, some party would go to New York or Boston, purchase a large stock of merchandise, and get it into Grand Rapids, sell it out to some one and divide the proceeds, leaving out the eastern creditor. In this case Morely & Co. came on and arrested Woodward for fraud, and he was committed by the court at Grand Rapids to jail. The defendant's attorneys came over into Barry county, and succeeded in obtaining a writ of habeas corpus, and the defendant was brought over into this county for hearing, and the merits were most ably argued by Messrs. Abel, Holmes, Miller, Seargent, Withey, and Eggleston, all of whom were bright lights in the professon. In the little hamlet of Hastings great interest was taken in the proceeding, and it was a great occasion. D. Darwin Hughes, who at this early day was a resident of Marshall, was also a prominent, and frequent practitioner at the bar of this county. He was one of the most distinguished criminal lawyers of the State. His reasoning was always distinguished for sound logic and force, and he was engaged in many important cases in the county up to the time of his death, which occurred at Grand Rapids, where he had made his home for several years. It has before been stated that Nathaniel A. Balch was the first prosecuting attorney of the county. He continued to act as such for most of the time until the constitution of 1850 was adopted. Until this time the prosecutor had been appointed by the associate justice of the supreme court, holding the circuit; but under the constitution of 1850 the office was made an elective one, and Isaac A. Holbrook, who was then a resident practitioner of the county, was elected, and held the office for the years 1851 and 1852, and was reelected for the next term, and later was again elected, for one term, covering the years 1859 and 1860. Mr. Balch, who had for so many years preceeding the election of Mr. Holbrook, conducted the criminal business of the county in behalf of the people, ably assisted Mr. Holbrook in all the important trials during the latter's several terms of office. Mr. Holbrook was a fair practitioner, but his time was so largely occupied by real estate, and outside business, as to greatly interfere with his success as a lawyer, and which, during the later years of his life, resulted in more or less embarrassment and disaster. He was a man of a kindly social disposition and nature; always staunch and true to his friends, and ever foremost in aiding every measure tending to improve and benefit the place in which he had for so many years made

his home. His death occurred here at his home on the 19th day of April, 1875, in the 59th year of his age. In his private life, he was a kind husband and father, and he left surviving him a family who have honored his memory, and whose influence in society has always been for its best good, and who have been honored members of the communities in which their various lots have been cast.

Hiram Greenfield, who was the next oldest member of the bar, was county judge up to the first day January, 1852, was the fourth of a large family of children. His boyhood days were spent on a farm in the northern part of the state of New York. He educated himself by his labor as a teacher, studied law at LeRoy, and Ellicotville, in Genesee county, N. Y., and was admitted to the bar in 1835, at Batavia, N. Y., and moved to Michigan in 1838, settling near Flint. In 1840 he returned to Genesee county, N. Y., and practiced law there until 1844, when he again returned to Michigan, settling at Hastings. He purchased forty acres of land about one mile east of the village of Hastings, and cleared it. In the year 1846, he purchased a house and lot, situated where the house of the late Dr. Upjohn now stands in the then village of Hastings. The house was then a log house. Mr. Greenfield served the people as justice of the peace, county judge, and was elected prosecuting attorney to succeed Mr. Holbrook at the election of 1854. He removed from Hastings in 1857, to Keokuk, Iowa, and practiced law there, and at Colton on the Missouri side of the river. He died at Colton in 1859, and was buried on the Iowa side of the river, as he wished to be buried in a free state. He was in his fiftieth year at the time of his death. Mr. Greenfield was a generous and kind hearted man, and a kind father, though strict in his discipline. He left surviving him a family of children, all of whom honor and revere the memory of their father, and who are useful members of the communities where they reside.

The only other resident lawyers of the county, forty-four years ago, besides those named, were Norton S. Palmer, and the writer of this paper. Mr. Palmer had only been a resident of the county at that time a few months. He was the son of Ledyard Palmer, a farmer of the south part of the township of Grass Lake, Jackson county, where most of the early life of Norton S. was spent, up to the time when he commenced the study of law in the office of Johnson & Hawley, then the most prominent law firm in Jackson county. Mr. Palmer was admitted to the bar at Jackson, before removing to Hastings. He was a man of fair legal attainments, but had not attained much practice in the circuit at the time of his death, which occurred here in 1853 or 1854. He had succeeded in building up quite a large practice in the justices courts of the county, and when attorney for the plaintiff he was accustomed to use as an argument to the court or jury, that it was proof that

the plaintiff had a good action against the other side, or the plaintiff would not have commenced the suit.

Although the illogical and unreasonable character of such reasoning was apparent, yet many lawyers of much larger practice have often, in experience, found that such an argument before ordinary country justices and juries is about as effective as an argument based upon the facts in the case.

In the year 1853 a further accession was made to the bar of the county by the settlement in Hastings of Orlando White and William Burger. Mr. White removed here from New York, where he had been admitted to the bar, and practiced for several years. He was a careful practitioner, and looked closely to all technical questions affecting his cases. He died at Hastings in the year 1856. John E. Cropsey, who, as a student in the office of Mr. White accompanied the latter to Hastings, and was here admitted to the bar, was the first man admitted to the bar upon examination after the year 1851. After the death of Mr. White, Mr. Cropsey returned to the state of New York, since which time nothing has been learned of him.

William Burger, who had read law in the office of Hiram Gardner, at Lockport, N. Y., and admitted to the bar in that state, first settled after coming to Michigan, at Battle Creek, and from there removed to Hastings. Soon after settling in Hastings he was elected a justice of the peace. His business was principally confined to that office, and practicing in justices courts. He possessed a fair knowledge of the law, but his nature was so impulsive and erratic that he failed to make a success as a practicing lawyer. He afterwards held the office of circuit court commissioner for one or more terms. He was a fair justice and commissioner, but very unfortunate in his habits. He left Hastings several years since, and was supposed to have gone to Ohio or Pennsylvania, and was living up to two years since.

On the 24th day of April, 1856, Norman W. Falk was admitted to the bar upon examination, and after four years residence, he returned to the state of New York. He never acquired much practice in the courts while in Hastings, and what his success has been since removing is unknown here.

On the 28th day of October, 1856, Charles G. Holbrook, who had been a student in the office of his brother, I. A. Holbrook, was admitted to the bar and was the next year elected justice of the peace, and held the office for one term, during which time he acquired a fair law practice; was elected prosecuting attorney for two or more terms, and excepting two years that he was a resident in Dakota, he devoted his time to the practice of law in Barry county. He died at his home in the township of Rutland on the 29th day of December, 1894, in the 62d year of his

age. He was a man of fair abilities and participated in the trial of many important cases in the county. He was a man distinguished for his good nature, and kind disposition, and with his associates could always enjoy a good story, and his laugh was generally the heartiest.

In the year 1857 Benjamin H. Fuller, who had been admitted to the bar in the state of New York, removed to Barry county, and settled at Middleville. His practice was mostly confined to justices courts in the western part of the county. He died at his home in Middleville, the result of an accident, after some five years residence there.

Prior to the year 1860 Orrin L. Ray and Harvey Wright became members of the bar of the county. Mr. Ray, soon after settling in Hastings, was elected judge of probate, and served one term, after which he removed on a farm in the township of Hope, and after a few years residence there, he removed to the northern part of the State, where it is understood he still remains. He never acquired much practice in the county, nor any standing at the bar.

Harvey Wright, who first settled in the county at Middleville, was for several years circuit court commissioner. He was subsequently one of the delegates from the county to the constitutional convention in the year 1867, and was an able and influential member of that body. He was for many years a resident of Hastings, and a reputable and worthy citizen and a lawyer of more than ordinary abilities. He died at Eaton Rapids, where he had gone temporarily, hoping to have his health benefited by the use of the then somewhat distinguished mineral baths at that place. Mr. Wright was a true and reliable friend, pleasant and agreeable both in business and in social life.

In the year 1859 George W. Mills, who had previously been clerk of the county, was admitted to the bar. He subsequently formed a copartnership with Isaac A. Holbrook under the name of Holbrook & Mills, which was soon dissolved. He then entered into partnership with William Burger, which was continued for a few years, after which he removed to the western part of the state of Missouri, where he died about twelve years since. He was a man of good natural ability, but unfortunate in his habits. He never forgave a supposed wrong to himself, and never left unimproved the offered opportunity to injure a rival, or imaginary enemy.

Having already extended the limits of this paper to several years subsequent "to Forty-four Years Ago," and although the bar of the county has received many accessions to its numbers since the year 1859, several of whom occupy places well up in the profession, and several who with honor have occupied places of public trust in a manner that was a credit to the county and State. Men who we are proud to acknowledge as neighbors and citizens of our community; yet the scope of this paper

and circumstances necessitate leaving the "Recollections of the Barry county bar," after the year 1859, to some more able person who will give the subject more time and attention than has been possible to devote to this.

Among the attorneys who first practiced at the county bar, was Marsh Giddings. He first settled at Richland, near the southern boundary of Barry county, and often appeared in court in the county. He removed to Galesburg, and afterward, with General Dwight May, opened an office at Battle Creek, and later at Kalamazoo. Mr. Giddings, after his removal to Kalamazoo, was elected judge of probate, and was subsequently appointed governor of the territory of New Mexico, where he died in 1870.

In the early days to which it was designed to confine these "Recollections," many able attorneys practiced at the bar of Barry county. John Van Arman, Abner Pratt, D. Darwin Hughes, already named, of Marshall, also George C. Gibbs, then of Marshall, who reported the 3d, 4th, and 5th Vols. of the Michigan reports; also, Isaac E. Crary, of Marshall, and Abner E. Campbell, Benjamin F. Graves, L. D. Dibble, Alex Stewart of Battle Creek; N. A. Balch, already named, and Horace Mower, Charles E. Stuart, and Joseph Miller, of Kalamazoo, and Thomas B. Church, of Grand Rapids, frequently appeared. Most of them men distinguished for their legal abilities and learning. Horace Mower, it will be remembered, was afterwards appointed chief justice of New Mexico, and Charles E. Stuart was for many years one of the United States senators from Michigan.

On the 23d day of February, 1858, Louis S. Lovell, who had been elected circuit judge to succeed Judge George Martin, opened his first term of court in Barry county, and continued to preside as judge of the eighth circuit, until the circuit was divided, and Barry and Kent counties made a new judicial district. Judge Lovell was a man of great learning, a most upright and conscientious judge, and the only circuit judge that the writer in his practice ever knew that did not aspire to become a judge of the supreme court. Judge Lovell died at his home in Ionia within the past few months, at an advanced age, respected and regretted by all.

In submitting this paper, the writer begs leave to again refer to those men whose names and faces were so familiar to the members of the Barry county bar nearly half a century ago, including judges Ransom, Mundy, Pratt, Lovell, and Crary, Hughes, Campbell, Giddings, May, Balch, Joseph and James Miller, Mower, C. E. Stuart, Church, Eggleston, Abel, Holmes, Jennings, Greenfield, I. A. and C. G. Holbrook, White, Fuller, Wright, and Mills, all of whom were so familiar in the early days of the Barry county bar, have each and all left us, and been called to that higher bar of the unknown world.

EARLY HISTORY OF RAY TOWNSHIP, MACOMB COUNTY.

BY GEORGE H. CANNON.

The government land surveyors may, to a very large extent, be considered the pioneers, the leaders that preceded the settlement of this country—their work being a preliminary necessity. The surveys were greatly impeded by the war of 1812, which lasted three years, until the treaty of Ghent was ratified and confirmed by the American senate, February 15, 1815. This official act left the country at peace and the Indian allies of the British were transferred to the care of the United States, with their former rights and privileges, together with their possessions unimpaired. The Indians in their several tribal relations were the owners of the vast wilderness region of the great northwest. The policy of the government then adopted was to deal with these tribes as wards of the nation, and to acquire their lands peaceably by treaty and purchase before extending over them the land surveys, an admirable system which was then in use. This, seriously checked by the war, was now renewed with vigor, and many surveyors were in the field extending the linear surveys and marking out the wilderness into townships of six miles square and subdividing these into sections of one square mile. This method gave easy access to the land to be explored, and the land looker or home seeker could follow the blazed lines through the wilderness with great facility and easily note desirable locations for settlement. Coming up from the south the surveyors were already at work in the southern portion of the territory. On the 20th day of November, 1816, William Preston having been appointed deputy surveyor, entered into contract with Edward Tiffin, the United States surveyor general, for the Northwest Territory, whose office at that date was located at Chillicothe, Ohio, for the survey of a large district in the territory of Michigan. This tract began on the base line in range 13 east, and extended north to township 6 north, including that town, thence east to the foot of Lake Huron and southward along the boundary line to where the base line intersected Lake St. Clair. This extensive district was densely timbered, and abounded with numerous streams, both large and small. Terminating at the head of St. Clair river, where is now Fort Gratiot, its survey necessitated the meanders of the right

bank of the river St. Clair and lake southward to the base line, as well as the meanders of the crooked Huron river, now called the Clinton, which ran eastward across the southern portion of the district. At that date the Indians were numerous, especially along the river and Lake St. Clair, but so far as known, gave the surveyor no trouble or interfered in any way with the progress of the work. As a matter of general interest, I wished to obtain a copy of Mr. Preston's contract with the government for the survey of this district, and much to my surprise, was informed by the honorable commissioner of the general land office, under date of February 1, 1896, that "the book of contracts made by Edward Tiffin, surveyor general, purporting to contain contracts for surveying public lands for the years 1815 to 1831, contains no copy of a contract with William Preston, nor any contracts for the years 1816 to 1822 inclusive." Thus it appears that for some unexplained reason the archives of the general land office contain no record of contracts for six full years with the many deputy surveyors who, with great energy, were marking out the public domain and rendering it possible for settlement. The amount paid the surveyor at that early time for so important and responsible work was very small, and it would seem from our standpoint of today entirely inadequate. In a subsequent letter from the commissioner I am informed, "That the contracts on file show that in 1815 the rate was $2.50 per mile for township and section lines, in 1823, $3, and in 1824-5-6, $2.50 per mile." From this statement it would appear that the ordinary sized township which contains sixty miles of line, the surveyor would receive $150 for its survey. Mr. Preston must have begun work in the field soon after obtaining his contract. He had completed the survey of the three townships to the south by the close of January, 1817, and was at work in town 4 north, range 13 east, in February of that year, which he appears to have finished on the 17th of that month.

In the field book of Mr. Preston we find the following certificate: "Pursuant to a contract with Edward Tiffin, Esquire, surveyor general of the United States, bearing date the twentieth day of November, 1816, I have admeasured, laid out and surveyed the above described fractional township and hereby certify that it has such marks and bounds, natural and artificial, as are represented on said plat, and described in the field notes made thereof and returned with this plat unto the surveyor general's office. Certified this 18th day of February, 1818. William Preston, deputy surveyor." The following certificate was also appended and made a part of his returns to the office:

"I hereby certify that the persons employed in chaining the district lately surveyed by me in the territory of Michigan, north of the base line,

previous to entering upon their duty were qualified by me to perform the same faithfully and accurately by taking each an oath to that purpose."

GUSTAVUS WILSON,
ANDREW D. STAUGHTON.
———— KING,
———— DUBOY.

He also adds his own certificate to the foregoing in these words: "Not knowing or considering it essentially necessary that the chainmen should subscribe their names to the oath I omitted obtaining it. Certified to, this 18th day of February, 1818. WILLIAM PRESTON, D. S.

The township of Ray, with no waste land in its border, and conceded by all to be classed as among the very best agricultural townships in this portion of the state, it will be of interest to note what the surveyor's impressions were as he run its section lines throughout its whole extent in the snows and storms of winter. Its surface was level and densely timbered, no lakes or hills were found and no marshes or waste land, many small streams flowing southward gave a plentiful supply of water, and everything would appear to make it desirable for settlement except its heavy growth of forest trees which abounded everywhere in stately trunks of tall and thick growth. These may well have appalled the stoutest heart and most resolute to conquer. We will copy from the field book of the surveyor his notes of a few section lines taken at random in various portions of the township. In going north from the corner of sections 31 and 32 on the south boundary at 40 chains he set a post for quarter section corner, his witness trees were a sugar maple 12 inches in diameter and a white oak 30 inches. At 46 chains he came to a marsh which was 16 rods wide, at 66 chains and 50 links he marked a maple for a witness tree, which was 30 inches in diameter and at 80 chains he established the corner for sections 29, 30, 31 and 32. This corner is now the center of the village of Davis. Of the land on this mile, he says: Land good second rate, timber, white oak, ash, elm, lynn, sugar and beech, with undergrowth of spice, prickley ash, ironwood and beech. In running west from this corner at 58.46 chains, he marked a white oak three feet in diameter for a line tree, and at 63.70 chains he passed a run 8 links wide running south and at 70.20 chains he came to the west boundary 95 links south of the corner. The soil on this mile he calls good second rate, with timber same as before. We turn now more to the interior of the town and go north between sections 22 and 23, and at 80 chains he set a post in a willow marsh, where was a run 3 links wide, course east, for the cor-

ner of sections 14, 15, 22 and 23. He calls this land good second rate, with timber of oak, beech, sugar and elm, undergrowth of prickley ash and beech. We will now go east between sections 15 and 22. At 29.10 chains he found a creek which was 66 links wide, course south, at 80 chains he intersected the east boundary of the section 52 links south of the corner. This land he calls very good second rate, with sugar tree, ash, beech, lynn and elm timber, undergrowth of sugar, beech and spice. North on line between sections 5 and 6 at 10 chains a run, 3 links wide, course east at 24 chains a creek 50 links wide running east, alongside same, at 32.50 chains, the same course northeast at 85.57 intersected the north boundary of the town 6 links from the corner on same. Land good second rate, timber, beech, sugar, ash, white oak and lynn, undergrowth beech, ironwood, plum and hawthorne. This was the last mile run in the township by the method then in vogue in subdividing a town, and the date given was February 17, 1817. The area of the township was found to be 22,763 acres and costing the government much less than one cent per acre for its survey. On its surface a thick growth of timber everywhere abounded, growing rank and tall on a clay loamy soil, very rich, it was all of the deciduous variety and not in all its borders were found any of the conifer species. Beech, hard and soft maple, oak, lynn, black and white ash, with much elm interspersed, were the main varieties of timber prevalent. The land was in due time offered for sale by proclamation of the president of the United States, the land office for this district being located at Detroit. The first parcel of land sold in the township was conveyed to Reuben R. Smith, who gave his residence in Macomb county, his selection being the east half of the southeast quarter of section 6, January 7, 1824. Only three others selected and bought land in that year, Joseph Chubb, October 14; Nathaniel Thompson, October 18 and Josiah Lee, November 3. In 1825 sixteen persons made their selections of land, nine in 1826, ten in 1827, five in 1828, one in 1829 and fourteen in 1830. From this date on the buyers were frequent, many taking up land in 1831, the rush being in 1835-6 and 7. The last parcels of land sold by the government in the town were taken by Green Freeman in section 25 and by Henry R. Mizner in section 13 on February 13, 1853. It will be seen that in less than thirty years *all* of the government land in this township had passed into the hands of private parties. The buyers were mostly young men and their holdings were acquired for the purpose of building up homes, but very few, if any of the selections, were held for speculative purposes, and were generally in small parcels of forty or eighty acre tracts. The largest land buyer was Joseph Chubb, who bought 640 acres, section 22 entire. James Thompson bought 560 acres, Nathaniel Thompson 480, Andrew Southerland, John Inman, Jr., and

Joseph Durfee, Jr., each 400 acres, Joel Thompson and Noah Webster 320 acres each, Benjamin N. Freeman, Hiram H. Lillibridge, William Gass and Lewis Davis 240 acres each, while eleven bought 160 acres each, a large number buying 80 and 40 acre tracts. Several women evidenced their faith in the future prosperity of the town by acquiring title to a considerable portion of its real estate. Clarissa Bump bought in section 1, Lois S. Holman in section 4, Lydia Garvin in sections 14 and 21, Naomi Southerland and Huldah Hall bought in section 25, Almira Tuttle in section 26, Polly Owens in section 27, Irene Bates in section 30, Margaret McGregor in section 32, Lydia Stone in section 33, Elizabeth Jones and Susannah Roberts bought in section 35. The majority of the settlers came from central New York and from the counties of Genesee, Ontario, Yates, Monroe, Greene, Seneca, Livingston and Niagara. One hailed from New Hampshire and one gave his residence as state of Virginia. Two came from Washington county, Rhode Island. One from New York city and one from Upper Canada. As a matter of interest it will be of value to note the names and year in which the first owners secured their title to the lands in this township. Section 1 was taken by Stillman Goff in 1827, John Perry in 1831, Silas Nye and Maxwell Bray in 1833, Clarissa Bump and William Pratt in 1835, Nelson Perry in 1836, Richard Case in 1837, and Benjamin C. McArthur in 1839. Section 2 was secured by Sanford Wood in 1827, William Giddings in 1830, N. M. Millspaugh and Miriam Titus in 1831 and 1834, Andrew Southerland in 1832, William G. Hathaway in 1835. Section 3 was patented to William R. Hicks, Lewis S. Holmes and Moses R. Smith in 1831, Charles Marble, Jr., in 1833, Cyrus Hewitt in 1834, Daniel Hewitt and John McKinster in 1835. Section 4 was bought by Seamans Filmore and Arnold Lanfier in 1830, Lois S. Holman and Benjamin L. Perkins in 1831, Benjamin Proctor, John M. Crawford and Seamans Filmore in 1832. Section 5 was taken by Benjamin N. Freeman in 1826, Isaac Thompson in 1827, Benjamin and Aaron Howard in 1830, Horace Dowd and Noah Webster in 1831. Section 6 was bought by Reuben R. Smith in 1824, Benjamin N. Freeman, Reuben Smith, Noah Webster, Edmund Stuart and Daniel Evans in 1825, Anson Rowley in 1827 and John Proctor in 1829. Section 7 was taken by Rufus Hall in 1826, Simon King in 1827, Benjamin Proctor in 1828, Noah Webster in 1830, Anson Bristol, Anson Rowley and Isaac Stone in 1831. Section 8 went to Nathaniel Thompson in 1824, Charles Redway and William Hall in 1825, William H. Baker in 1826, Carpus Redway and Benjamin Proctor in 1828 and to James Thompson in 1830. Section 9 was selected by Nathaniel Thompson in 1824, William Hall in 1825, John M. Crawford in 1830, Jeremiah Jewel, Andrew and David Southerland in 1831. Section 10 was patented to Andrew Southerland in 1831, David B. Ben-

nett and Stephen Smith in 1834, Daniel Hewitt, Franklin Moore, Joel Thompson and D. S. Perry in 1835, and to Hiram King in 1838. Section 11 went to Alexander Southerland in 1826, Andrew Southerland in 1831, Elisha Corby in 1832, Abner W. Benton and James Steward in 1835 and to Joel Thompson and James Steward in 1836. Section 12 was sold to Alexander Southerland in 1825, William Giddings in 1832, Thomas F. Dryer and William Giddings in 1836, William M. Vallet in 1837 and to Richard Case in 1844. Section 13 was bought by Nehemiah Cole in 1832, Joseph M. Caldwell and Newell S. Cole in 1833, Joseph M. Caldwell in 1834, Carleton N. Brown in 1835-6, Azariah Prentis in 1836, Seyman Young and Orlando B. Skibs in 1837 and to Henry R. Mizner in 1853. Section 14 went to James Colwell in 1832, Simon Perry, Lydia Garvin, Abner W. Benton and Nehemiah L. Cole in 1835 and to William M. Milley and Orasmus Lathorp in 1836. Section 15 was taken by Josiah Lee in 1824, Joshua Price in 1827, James Thompson and Samuel Butterfield in 1832 and 1835. Section 16 was bought of the State by A. Freeman in 1839, S. Stone, A. Miller, M. T. Howell, F. Hiff in 1842, P. Miller and D. and Josiah Lee in 1842 and N. Gray, Jr., in 1845. Section 17 was bought by Nathaniel Thompson and Elijah Stone in 1826, Dennison R. Rose in 1827, James Thompson in 1828 and 1831, and Heman Dye in 1831. Section 18 was sold to John R. Perry and John D. Smith in 1830, Thomas Mitchell, John Dicken, Valentine Lamb, Milton H. Webster and John Inman, Jr., in 1831, and to Anson Bristol in 1832. Section 19 was obtained by Silas Hayden and Abraham T. Powell in 1825, Mayor Webster in 1826, John Ferguson, James Collins, John Inman, Jr., Bissell Robinson and Philander Miller in 1831. Section 20 was sold to Zelotus Stone in 1826, William M. Nilley, John Inman, Jr., Benjamin Miller and Heman Nye in 1831. Section 21, Isaac Monford bought in 1827, Edward Arnold in 1831, Nathaniel Garvin and Henry Morris in 1832, Simon Stone, Theophilus Stone and Samuel Inman in 1833, Lydia Garvin in 1835 and Theophilus Stone in 1836. Joseph Chubb bought entire section 22 in 1824-5. Section 23 was sold in 1835 to William J. Loucks, Martin Priestly, Lyman Wheeler, Joel Thompson, Wilson W. Miller; in 1836 Ira S. Perry, U. C. Smith and Elisha B. Strong. Section 24 was taken by Rous Card and John Miller in 1835, Azariah Prentis, Dennis Turner, Daniel Lee, Samuel Meek and Jonathan T. Flint in 1836, B. C. Southerland in 1851 and William Armstrong in 1852. Section 25 was sold to Huldah Hall, David B. Tuthill and Charles Wyckoff, Norton Wyckoff in 1835, Richard Breed, Hiram Roberts, Walden King and Royal W. Jenney in 1836, Naomi Southerland in 1852 and to Green Freeman in 1853. Section 26 was patented to William H. Drake, William McCurdy and James Jones in 1837, Stewart Taylor, Ovid Allen, John F. Seaman, Urban C. Smith, William Tuttle, Simon W. Newberry,

Harvey S. Higgins, Josiah Parks and Almira Tuttle in 1836, and to William Richards in 1845. Section 27 was conveyed to John Matthews, William Stevens and Samuel Everets in 1825, Robert Warner in 1832, Urban C. Smith, Thomas G. Omans in 1835, to William M. Milley, Polly Omans and Lewis Curtis in 1836. Section 28 was secured by Henry Morris in 1831, William Gass in 1832, and to Jacob Shemerhorn and William Gass in 1833, to Marvin Stone in 1835, and to Edwin Jerome in 1836. Section 29 was sold to John Inman, Jr., in 1831, John Gass, Jr., in 1832, William Gass, John J. Steel, Thomas Payne and William Gass in 1833. Section 30 was bought by Eli H. Webster in 1826, Isaac Milley and Edward Arnold in 1830, Daniel Wilber in 1831, and Irene Bates in 1832. Section 31 was taken by Lewis Davis in 1830, Norman Rowley, Levi Hoard and Austin Rowley in 1833, Alden Fenner and Edwin Arnold in 1834. Section 32 was sold to Joseph Durfee, Jr., in 1827-8-30, Margaret McGregor in 1832, Nicholas Johnson in 1833, Lewis Davis in 1834-5. Section 33 was patented to Nicholas Johnson and Jacob E. Shemerhorn in 1833, Samuel Hoxie, Joseph Durfee, Joseph Durfee, Jr., and Lydia Stone in 1835, Daniel McGregor and William Lyons in 1836. Section 34 was sold to William Warner in 1833, John F. Seaman, Hezekiah De Graff, Hyman H. Lillibridge and Newell Durfee in 1835, and to Elijah Anderson in 1836. Section 35 was entered by Nelson R. Holdridge in 1831, Russell Roberts, Austin Holdridge, Beverly Robinson, Henry Polkinhone and William Warner in 1835, Elizabeth Jones, Jacob Seamans, Susannah Roberts and William Warner in 1836, and to Benj. B. Kercheval in 1837. Section 36 was bought by Jacob A. Crawford, David Crawford, Nelson R. Holdridge and Ira Crawford in 1831, Stephen C. Crawford in 1834, David B. Tuttle, Stephen, Daniel C., Enoch and Jacob A. Crawford in 1835.

Originally Macomb county formed a portion of Wayne, as organized in the days of the Northwest Territory. The Indian title to its lands was extinguished by treaty in 1807. It was established as a county in Michigan Territory in 1815. It now consists of fourteen townships, three of which are fractional, bordering on Lake St. Clair. The township of Ray, erected April 27, 1827, comprised all of the county of Macomb north of the third township, in the thirteenth range, and the first town meeting was held at the house of Noah Webster, the last Monday in May, 1827. The act of March 7, 1834, directed that surveyed township 4 north, range 14, be attached to and form a part of the town of Ray; and that the division between the townships of Clinton and Harrison should, thereafter, be the line dividing the 13th and 14th ranges. The act of June 22, 1832, attached township 5, range 14 east, and the east half of township 5, in range 13 east, to Macomb county, and directed that the country so annexed should form a portion of the town of Ray. It is now known

on the public land surveys as township 4 north, of range 13 east. Noah Webster was from Monroe county, N. Y., and had bought eighty acres of land in section 6, the 13th day of June, 1825. At the first town meeting held May 28, 1827, at Noah Webster's, Reuben R. Smith was chosen moderator and Edmund Stewart clerk. The election resulted in the selection of Reuben R. Smith, the man who had made the first purchase of land in the town, for supervisor, Edmund Stewart as clerk, and Chauncey Bailey, William Stephens and John Proctor assessors, Moses Freeman constable and collector. On the 9th day of July following, the township cast 16 votes for John Biddle, who was elected a delegate to congress from the Michigan Territory. In the autumn of that year, William A. Burt was a candidate for the Territorial legislature. His home was in the adjoining township of Washington. He was well known throughout the sparsely settled region, and had a local reputation as a surveyor and millwright. The election was held November 5. Mr. Burt received 16 votes and was elected. It does not appear that Mr. Burt had any opposition. However that may be, in 1827 Ray township possessed but very few voters. In the spring of this year the whole number of voters on its registered list is near 400. Among the many large families who have identified themselves with the history and development of this township, we may mention the Butterfield and Gass families. John Gass, Jr., bought 160 acres of government land in 1832, on section 29. His family consisted of his wife and thirteen children, six boys and seven girls. These all obtained farms and settled near the old homestead, all the places adjoining. The Rev. J. E. Davis' family numbered nine sons, as he remarked all of them boys. There were several other families with a goodly number of children, and among the settlers the families were usually much larger than among an equal number of families of today, and much more robust and strong. In the family of James Gass were four sons named from the cardinal points of the compass, North, South, East and West. Had there been more, it is not known what names they would have carried. The first earnest care of these settlers, aside from the erection of their log shanty and clearing of the land, was the building of churches and schools. Today there are three church edifices and eight schoolhouses in the township. A Masonic Lodge, No. 64, was organized 29th of April, 1853. The following are the names of those who have served the township since its organization as supervisors: Reuben R. Smith, county commissioner for five years; Charles Marble, Josiah Lee, Alexander Jackels, Neil Gray, Jacob A. Crawford, John M. Crawford, J. E. Davis, Joel Thompson, Hiram Barrows, Deliverance S. Priest, Ezra Nye, Watson W. Lyons, M. W. Davis and A. N. McGregor, several of these serving for many years. Reuben R. Smith, 14 years; D. S. Priest, 10; Ezra Nye, 12. D. S. Priest was a representative in the

State legislature for two terms, serving in that honorable body for four years with credit to himself and his constituency. More than seventy-two years have come and gone since the first parcel of land was bought from the government in this township, now these many years the work of the pioneer has been done. The forest has been felled, roads made, its numerous streams spanned by bridges, no necessity now to ford them or cross over on the fallen tree. The log shanty has gone, and in its place stand the comfortable and beautiful dwellings so abundant throughout its whole extent. This change in all the long and weary years has been accomplished only by the most persistent toil and many hardships; often sickness and want was no stranger to the household, and the struggle to make a home and rear the family was most severe. Joys and sorrows came to every household, while the angel of hope beamed a benediction upon every home. A sense of sadness lingers over the thought that nearly all of those heroic men and women whose active labors have wrought this marvelous change have gone on before. They rest from the toil on the other side of the river. Let it be ours then, and held as a sacred duty, to cherish with gratitude the memory of the pioneers of the township of Ray.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS IN COLDWATER AND VICINITY.

BY HARVEY HAYNES.

In the early days those who settled as our family did a mile from neighbors, and on the border of heavy timber had only two evening entertainers, the wolf, who, with his clarion voice, especially in the winter, would often keep us awake half of the night, and he was assisted by the solemn owl, who would come in pairs and light upon the dear old well sweep, which stood in our back yard, and by the aid of which,

> The old oaken bucket, the iron bound bucket,
> The moss covered bucket arose from the well.

There upon the well sweep they would give in the silent night some solemn and impressive solos, which deeply impressed my youthful mind that the poet was right when he said it was not possible

> For grave and formal to pass for wise,
> When man the solemn owl despise.

Commercial as well as judicial affairs have very much changed during the more than three score years of my residence in Coldwater. The Indian trail was the only road through Branch county in 1832. The Chicago turnpike had been laid out but was not completed until 1834. James B. Stewart and one or two others had bought some lands in what is now known as the western part of the city of Coldwater, and in 1832 laid out a large village (on paper) and called it Masonville, named after our youthful governor, Stevens T. Mason. Anticipating that as soon as the turnpike was completed there would be a great amount of travel on the road, they commenced hewing timber for a large two-story hotel, which was the first frame building of any size erected in Branch county. Six men were preparing the timber for use in Masonville. Two miles east of there two brothers, William H. and Robert Cross, had each a hundred and sixty acre tract of burr oak land; each had a log shanty built and were preparing the ground for crops. A mile east of there, on the line of the Indian trail, was a log hotel kept by a man by the name of John Morse. One bright morning in June, 1832, there came along over the trail a tall young man carrying a cow bell over his shoulders, which he was anxious to sell. His asking price was three dollars. Soon after he left the hotel it occurred to Mr. Morse that the bell had been stolen. This thought so impressed his mind that he resolved to follow him and have him punished. Westward he started, and when he came to where the Cross brothers were, they joined with him, and onward they went at a rapid pace. When they arrived at the place called Masonville, they found the bell man with the men who were hewing timber for Stewart's hotel. Mr. Morse laid the subject before the crowd, and as they were all great believers that the wicked should not go unpunished, they soon elected A. F. Bolton judge, and John Morse, prosecuting attorney. The cow bell man was soon arrested.

Fortunately the fall previous, Harvey Warner and William H. Cross, as they were wending their way from western New York to the woods of Branch county, stopped in the little village of Clinton, some sixty miles east, and boarded near a month with a man by the name of Keyes. Mr. Keyes owned a cow and that cow carried a bell strapped around her neck. These two men became perfectly acquainted with the sound and looks of the bell. They knew this was the bell that belonged to the cow where they boarded. The testimony of these two men would convict any man in any court. The judge soon pronounced him guilty of stealing the bell. A few steps away Mrs. Bolton, the wife of the judge, and another lady were sitting upon a log knitting. The prisoner, with tears in his eyes, appealed to them for mercy, claiming that he had been tried at Cæsar's court and unjustly found guilty. They told him he had not been tried at Cæsar's court, but at a branch of that higher court, the

great Chancellor of whom never makes an erroneous decision, and from whose decision there is no appeal. The sentence of the judge was that the prisoner should bend over a huge log, and that each one of those present should give him a severe blow upon the rotundity of the body, with a piece of board four feet long and six inches wide. As these were all young men, and very ambitious to excel each other, it is unnecessary to state that the blows were very severe. After the punishment the prisoner straightened up, and with tears rolling down his dusky cheeks, started westward over the Indian trail. The young man was a man of culture and probably had seen better days. He had doubtless wandered away from home where there was bread enough and to spare,but whether he ever returned to help eat the fatted calf, as did the historical wanderer, I have never been able to learn. This was the first lawsuit ever held in Branch county, and was known as the "cow bell suit." Two days later there was great rejoicing when inquiry came along over the trail to know if anybody had found the stolen bell. The bell was returned with great pleasure to its owner in the village of Clinton. This judicial transaction occurred several years before the Honorable Alpheus Felch was our circuit judge, and often did the early lawyers declare that he was the most competent judge that ever presided in Branch county, always excepting the judge who presided at the cow bell suit. Work progressed on the hotel and soon it was completed. When the turnpike was done the hotel was crowded with citizens traveling over the road. Hoping to get the county seat located in the ideal village, several families secured lots and built small homes and stores. At least fifteen or twenty families located in Masonville. Among them were three Baptist families, and in 1836 there came along the road a minister, an old friend of these families. They were very anxious to have him stay over the Sabbath and preach. There was no room of any size except in the hotel. Mr. Stewart, in order to keep on good terms with his neighbors, told them that their friend might preach in his dining room. This greatly pleased them and they sent word all around that there would be preaching at Stewart's hotel on the following Sabbath. At the appointed time, the dining room was filled with earnest Christians. The seats were planks laid upon blocks of wood, for chairs were scarce in those days. Now Mr. Stewart had a very bad reputation as a moralist. He was accused of being a counterfeiter and of harboring counterfeiters, horse thieves and doing everything to demoralize society. Just as the congregation had finished singing the last hymn before the sermon, Mr. Stewart came in from the bar room and took his seat in the back side of the audience. The minister who had heard all about his character arose and with great solemnity took for his text these words, "Behold they that have turned the world upside down have come hither also." Under the circumstances,

I thought this the most appropriate text I ever heard preached from in my life. But landlord Stewart was permitted to turn the world upside down only three years before the Great Commander ordered him to doff his armor, cross the Rubicon and give an account of his stewardship.

Commercial transactions were very different in the early days from what they are now. If you entered one of the little stores then, you would see on the right hand about ten feet of counter and shelves covered with very plain, cheap dry-goods. The next ten feet covered with leather of various kinds, and back of that the shoemaker's bench with the cobler at his post ready to make or to mend according to circumstances. Opposite the dry-goods you would find about ten feet of groceries and back of that the hardware, which consisted of nails and bars of iron, while back of all was a table upon which was a barrel of pure corn whisky. Every person who traded with the merchant was expected to step back and take a drink. The price of this article was two shillings per gallon or one bushel of corn. It was manufactured three miles from the village in the town of Coldwater. Back in the woods of the county was located a noble, sturdy farmer. He had a log house built and a few acres chopped down. His wife was a heroic helpmeet, and devoted her time to making and mending the clothing for the family in a very efficient manner. While busy at work, she broke her last needle. What to do the good woman knew not. She finally told her husband she could not keep their clothes in order, unless he would go to Coldwater and get her a needle. He had no penny to pay for one, but he looked and found a large hen's egg, which he put in his pocket and started for Coldwater, a distance of eight miles. When he reached the little village, he went to the leading merchant and told him what he wanted. The merchant gave him the needle, and then the farmer said, "I suppose I am entitled to a drink of whisky." "Certainly," said the merchant, "step and help yourself." He drew a tumbler half full, then said to the merchant. "I never drink whisky without an egg in it." The merchant stepped back, took the same egg, broke it and dropped the contents into his whisky. It proved to be a double-yolked egg. The farmer swallowed it with great pleasure. Now, said the farmer, since that was a double-yolked egg, don't you think I am entitled to two needles instead of one? Well, said the merchant, I think, upon reflection, you are. So he handed him another needle, and the men shook hands. The merchant thanked him for his patronage and they were great friends for years.

Money was a scarce article in Coldwater in the early days. Some of the pioneers brought with them some New York Safety Fund, but as it cost a large amount to build homes for them, as nails were twelve cents a pound, the money was soon gone. The next paper put in circulation called money was "Indiana Red-dog" and "Michigan Wild-cat." This

paper was considered very unsafe, hence it changed hands very rapidly, showing that it was properly named "Red-dog" and "Wild-cat."

What created a great deal of excitement and anxiety in the early days in Coldwater, was the arrival, secretion and transportation of slaves. Very frequently in the summer, slaves would come from their old Kentucky home through the state of Indiana, and when they reached Coldwater, they felt quite safe. The people of Coldwater would hide them, feed them, and when night came frequently a wagon was secured, box half filled with straw, the slaves lying down, blankets thrown over them, a team secured, and with a heroic driver started eastward towards the Queen's dominion. This was called the underground railroad. In fact, Coldwater was the veritible Gibralter for the poor slaves between bondage and liberty for many years. The early settlers of Coldwater and vicinity belong to that class of inhabitants that President Andrew Jackson called the "Independent yoemanry of the country whom gold could neither buy nor awe." Although they were great readers of the Apostle Paul's writings, they could find nothing in Holy Writ that could make them believe it a Christian duty to put human beings upon the auction block and sell them like cattle for the shambles. Hence no slaves were ever captured in the vicinity of Coldwater. The early settlers of Coldwater, who came there in their manhood, were as noble a band of pioneers as ever penetrated the forests or downed the sturdy oaks. But they have nearly all moved to the great region beyond. Yes

> They have ploughed their last furrow,
> They have reaped their last grain,
> No morn shall awake them to labor again.

Only a few who came there in the days of their boyhood are still tenting on the old camp ground, but as they glance back over the more than three score years of their residence there, they feel proud to see what their ancestors did to make Coldwater such a beautiful place in which to live, and they are only waiting till their shadows are a little longer grown, when they hope to meet their dear parents and friends in the celestial kingdom. How changed in sixty years.

> Yes, everything is different now from what it used to was,
> For men are always tampering now with God's great wondrous laws;
> But what on earth we are coming to, does anybody know?
> For everything has changed so much since sixty years ago.

EARLY HISTORY OF MICHIGAN.

BY WM. W. WARNER, ALLEGAN, MICH.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Pioneers of Michigan, 1896:

Sixteen hundred miles of coast,
Four or five thousand lakes we boast,
Two million people join in this toast,
Michigan! my Michigan!

Yes, more than two million—2,241,147. Michigan, first in iron, first in salt, producing more than one-half the output of the United States, prior to 1895, and in copper second only to Montana.

Michigan came into the union in 1837, the 13th added State. The world had heard of Andrew Jackson; he fought at New Orleans. The news got around slowly and the people had just heard of it a little before. They honored him for his patriotism—old "By the eternal." We have good evidence in Michigan of the popular regard for him. Look at the map—Jackson, Eaton, Cass, Ingham, Van Buren and Calhoun counties and so on; he and all his cabinet. And Lewis Cass—what a stalwart! When our trouble with Mother England was over and Cass was at Michilimackinac to confer with the Indians to get their titles (and he gathered them) when one of the Indians raised from his wigwam a British flag, Cass quietly walked in among that sea of red men, took it down and walked away with it. Those old pioneers had nerve, they admired his bravery and persistence and they came to his favorable terms.

When I came to Michigan, Yankee like, when I talked with a man, I asked him who he was? Where he came from? Whether he believed in predestination, etc. And I found everybody came from some place. My old neighbor, John Mallory, of Trowbridge, said, "Oh, yes; from Wayne county." "Oh, no; where did you come from there?" "Oh, from York state." "Oh, no, where did your people come from to York state?" "Oh, from Norwalk, Conn." Tryon landed there and killed all the cattle during the war of the revolution and burned all the houses, and when they rebuilt their meeting house, my father made every nail that went into it—wrought nails.

Prouty sailed the lakes. Lonson Hilliard, of Hopkins, was a lake captain and ran the first steamboat down the Lachine rapids, of the St. Law-

rence, August 19, 1840. The steady push from New England westward, by the lakes or on foot up through the nice soft roads near the west end of Lake Erie, I have heard the walking was bad and I believe it. But poor walking did not stop them. They came faster after the Erie canal was built in 1825.

Michigan sent 84,634 men to the civil war in 1861-65. No, they volunteered to be shot. Their expectations were realized, they were shot and the marvel is they were not all shot dead. Many of those who were not shot died, and their bones lie in every state where the great battles were fought. Fourteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-three deaths. No, they lost their physical life to gain imperishable renown—the gratitude of this generation and enduring fame—the well earned praises of generations yet to be. Allegan county furnished her full quota, to do—to die, and filled the contract. Their names live in memory. They were a gallant force, to preserve the institutions of civil liberty, religious liberty, equal rights (tolerably so) and just laws, Mr. Debbs, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

One of the first boats to navigate our beautiful Kalamazoo river was the "Pioneer," owned by Milo Winslow (who was drowned in Lake Michigan), and was built by Joseph Bush, a pioneer of Allegan. Captain James Fritz commanded this boat. Amos P. Bush and his brother, Horace, built two boats at Kalamazoo, the "Tip" in 1837-38, and the "Droop" in 1840-41. They were born shipbuilders, their father, Jonathan Bush and his brother, Moses, of Hartford, Conn., having served as shipbuilders for the government during the revolution, and having built the boats used by Washington to cross the Delaware, at Trenton, and the U. S. ship, "Constitution," that served in the Tripoli war. Philo Van Keuren commanded the "Tip" and Jacob Semon and Gil Blas Wilcox, now of Trowbridge the "Droop." Alonzo Wilcox, Wm. A. Knapp, Hiram Annis, Walter Billings, Jedothan Morse, Benjamin Dyer and Henry Allett could tell you all about the vicissitudes of river service on the Kalamazoo. The "Great Western" also was built in 1838, by Captain Zadoc Huggins, now living in Monterey, and the "C. C. Trowbridge" about the same time by Captain George S. Porter.

These boats were built for carrying freight between Allegan and Newark (now Saugatuck). The down freight was principally flour manufactured in Kalamazoo and taken to Allegan by teams. The up freight was general merchandise. The round trip was made in three or four days. The boats carried a sail and a fair west wind to commence with would greatly facilitate the return trip. The hard labor came in poling the boats and cargoes up the river. The poles used were from 16 to 20 feet long with a heavy steel pointed iron socket at the lower end weighing from 10 to 15 pounds.

It was proposed to build a railroad between Kalamazoo and Allegan connecting with the Central at Kalamazoo when it should reach there, and as it would take a long time to finish that road to Fort Dearborn (where the village of Chicago now is) it was thought that a steamboat line from Allegan to Singapore, taking all the east and west traffic to Chicago, to Milwaukee and to Buffalo would do a thriving business. From 1843 to 1846, D. S. Walbridge shipped large quantities of flour from Kalamazoo to Allegan by the river in boats and arks. In the winter he would send it down with sleighs and take back pine plank to build his arks. These were built of 16-foot plank, thirty-two feet long and sixteen feet wide. Coming down they would attach two of these together end to end, with oars attached as a raft, running from Kalamazoo to Allegan. Not much calking was done but they used to keep one man bailing most of the time. At Allegan they would put on double load and run to the mouth of the river. There they were unloaded at S. D. Nichols' warehouse and the rafts shoved out and let go. In the spring of 1846, one raft built at Allegan and belonging to Otsego parties, went from there to the mouth with 1,000 barrels flour. The D. S. Walbridge boats would carry from Allegan 300 barrels. Often two would come together to Allegan where one would take both cargoes and the other return. Starting from the warehouse in Allegan these boats would make the following points, still familiar names to those who are living, viz.: Bushong, Fox Springs, The West Place, Stout's landing, Swan creek (then Stout's, Bear creek landing, Bailey's landing, Wolf Skin, Rabbit river, Wine Arbor, where is a good spring, Mann's (Ralph R.) where Manlius bridge is now and the Red banks. Then you entered "the marsh," passing a short crook in the river called the Devil's Neck. The next is Mack's Landing, Town's Point, and Peach Orchard. This place had been cleared up and peach trees set there a good many years. It was quite a noted place where the Indians and traders used to often get together. St. Pierre's Point, about a mile above where Douglas now stands. There was nothing at Douglas then but hard land from there to Lake Michigan, Lake Kalamazoo or little lake, Newark (now Saugatuck). The principal settlers were William G. Butler and Stephen A. Morrison and his brother Sam, who had just started a tannery. There were a few buildings, an Indian burying ground and one or two nice store houses, one of them was fitted up very well with office, etc. I don't think anything was ever stored in it. They were calculated for something when the place should grow. There were settlers around—the Plummers, two of them. Singapore, Oshea P. Wilder, agent for the New York Company, built there a large sawmill, and there was a "wild-cat" bank there in 1837. Business was done and money sunk (no use to look for it there now). Artemas Carter went in there next, then the Stockbridge brothers, Frank and

Joseph. I think Senator Frank Stockbridge owned Singapore when it went down. Then the "mouth of the river." North side there was a stone lighthouse, which must have stood about 12 rods from the river—now the remains of it stand about the center of the channel. There was also a stone house for the lighthouse keeper, Stephen D. Nichols, to live in.

The first lumber ever floated down the Kalamazoo river was a raft run from Pine Creek in 1834, by Oka Town and Abijah Chichester (Ira Chichester's father), for William G. Butler, making the run to Newark in two days, stopping over night with Bushong, the Indian trader. The first settlement in Allegan county was at Pine Creek, which was laid out as New Rochester. Of the first settlers who came to this county in 1831, so far as I am advised, none are now living, Mrs. Alvira Sherwood, of Otsego, being the last survivor, died May 6, 1895, aged 89 years. Mrs. Betsy Fisk, of Allegan, was the last one buried of those who came in 1835.

Mention should be made of the Hollanders, about 300 or 400 of whom came to Pennsylvania, where they found land so high they came to Michigan. The advance guard, Dominie Van Raalte, John Grotenhaus and Harm Kok (Cook) coming in the fall and winter of 1846-47. The colony was located at the head of Black lake and the city of Holland founded. They were a most desirable accession to Western Michigan. The colony has grown and spread over a portion of Allegan county. In education, religion, good government and everything that makes for good citizenship the colony has been a very desirable acquisition.

Settlers in Allegan county in 1833-34 took their patents from Andrew Jackson and later from Martin VanBuren. Before leaving the east he procured a rifle for himself and a shot gun for the boys, and in Michigan built log houses where, around the big fireplace one, two or three families rallied in true frontier hospitality—one house doing duty till others were built—sending the children to bed early that there might be room for the adults. Punk wood from the heart of the maple and a piece of flint with a jack knife did duty to start a fire, and when these necessary means to an end were not at hand, one of the children would go half a mile to a neighbor's to "borrow fire." Salt was not very plenty, but the sight of a big deer brought in to such a gathering or around a camp fire was welcome indeed, and broiled upon the coals even without salt it served well the common use. Bear meat, too, when the fates made one captive, was passed from family to family. Wild turkey, too, and ducks from the marshes. The forests furnished sugar, molasses and "sweet" vinegar; and here the bees had stored their gathered wealth; indeed, we may attribute to these tiny workers among the flowers—the "stars of earth"—the prophetic foresight, as if they knew, before Greeley

said, "Go west, young man," that God had commanded the Anglo Saxon race to get the title, take, hold possession and occupy this territory; as if they, too, were specially charged to gather the native sweetness and store it for the Michigan pioneers. And we are told that the early pioneer was happily endowed with a corresponding gift, the instinct of finding that same stored treasure. How happily the story is told by Cooper. The old bee hunter, who was familiar with every deer path and Indian trail of the Kalamazoo river valley and its outlying forests, is represented as with his little outfit lining the bees; how as with well laden limbs they one by one rose from his sample, and, describing a circle upward, each laden bee takes himself in a "bee-line" to his hive.

Every school boy and girl should read Cooper; the town between Allegan and Kalamazoo was named for him. And Littlejohn's "Legends of Michigan." We knew him, and what he wrote should interest us. He had wonderfully good facilities for getting the true spirit of history in what he wrote of the native Indians. The Michigan Pioneer Collections are especially rich in reminiscences of Michigan, much concerning our county that I am glad to see preserved by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Reid, Judge Padgham and others and many old pioneers, are happily remembered and honored.

Much might be said of those early pioneers who came by the open door, the St. Lawrence, from France, in the seventeenth century, to the present site of Montreal; thence by portages and carriages and friendly native aids northwesterly through trackless forests, through seas of untouched timber, hundreds of miles to the French river connection with Lake Huron, to the falls of Ste. Marie. Jogues, in 1641, the first known white man who came to Michigan, returned, and was killed by the Mohawks, October 18, 1646. His body was thrown into the Mohawk, between Albany and Lake George.

Rymbault, his companion, soon died of disability incurred on the Ottawa. Misnard, in 1660, by terrible suffering, reached Lake Superior, preached and bore the cross one winter there with no white man nearer than Montreal—he went out one day to visit some Huron converts and was not, "for God took him." John Breboeuf too suffered martyrdom at the hands of Iroquois invaders of the Huron tribe March 16, 1649, at the St. Ignace mission. Allouez founded a mission on Lake Superior. Marquette, in 1668, founded the first Christian mission within the limits of Michigan, at Sault Ste. Marie. He founded the mission at St. Ignace, near Mackinaw, and center of Indian trade. Traders held the ground from a business standpoint around these posts, and from the scattered thousands the native Indian tribes gathered in the fruit of the forest. The solid foundation of many fortunes, which valuable product found its way to Montreal without the aid of the Canadian Pacific. What bold

adventurers! Marquette pushed on to the Illinois country, from thence returning by the east coast of Lake Michigan, he may have entered the mouth of the Kalamazoo, and he too, died at the mouth of the river that bears his name on Lake Michigan's east shore.

LaSalle, born at Rouen, France, 1643, educated among the Jesuits, yet preferring science to theology, of a daring spirit for adventure, he sailed for Canada at the age of 23 years. Of course he came to Michigan and via. the French route, the St. Lawrence, and he came via. the River Niagara and the lakes. In 1669, we find him with a Seneca guide on the Ohio as far as the rapids of Louisville. Here, abandoned by his men, he retraced his steps alone, and in the following year, 1670, embarking in a canoe on Lake Erie, reached the straits of Detroit, coasted Lakes Huron and Michigan and descended the Mississippi to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude below Memphis. Assured that the Mississippi discharged not into the Pacific, as he had supposed, but into the Gulf of Mexico, he returned to provide means of further exploration. He had rich relatives, twice he revisited France. He had the friendly cooperation while he did picket duty around Montreal, of the governor who administered the affairs of Canada. Together they planned a post on Lake Ontario, far beyond the settlements of the St. Lawrence, Fort Frontenac, which might overawe the Iroquois and turn to France the stream of wealth that was inuring to the Dutch and English from the fur trade.

If the project of a passage to China across the continent proved delusive, he would anticipate the Spanish and the English in their occupation of the great west. He would colonize it with Frenchmen, develop its resources, make friends of the Indian tribes, and by controlling the mouth of the Mississippi secure an outlet for a vast trade in the future.

As necessary to his scheme, he proposed to build a vessel for the navigation of the lakes, above the Niagara, where only canoes had been seen before, sufficiently large for the purposes of such an enterprise. The name of this first vessel that sailed the upper lakes was the Griffin. She was a vessel of about sixty tons burden, and was built at the mouth of a creek on the west Canada side, six miles above Niagara, a two masted schooner, double decks, she bore on her prow a huge figure skillfully carved in imitation of an heraldic monster, the arms of Frontenac, and above it an eagle. The vessel was finished early the spring of 1679. It was well equipped with sails, masts, arms, provisions and merchandise. Thirty-four voyageurs embarked August 7, 1679, with a favoring breeze, and on the 11th of August they entered a strait, thirty leagues long and one broad, in the language of the French, the Detroit, and the next day, August 12, they reached the beautiful expanse of waters now known as Lake St. Clair. The beauties of the passage from Erie to St. Clair

filled the voyageurs with rapturous delight. The shores had high banks and were covered with timber. Hennepin, the historian, records the loveliness of the shores, the prairies and the forests.

The Griffin was covered with game and fruits gathered in great abundance with little effort. The fruits were chestnuts, walnuts and butternuts, apples, pears, plums and grapes. The game of deer and many smaller animals and flocks of swans, ducks and turkeys, and they feasted on the meat of a bear they had killed. Father Hennepin adds, "they who shall have the happiness some day to inhabit this pleasant and fertile country, will remember their obligation to those, who first showed them the way." But we cannot today follow the fortune of the Griffin through the furious storm off Saginaw when everybody fell on his knees to say his prayers and prepare for death, except the pilot, who did nothing but curse and swear against M. De LaSalle, who had brought him hither to perish in a nasty lake and lose the glory he had acquired by his long and happy navigation of the ocean. Today we cannot follow them as they escape the fury of the storm and reach St. Ignace, the center of the Jesuit mission at point St. Ignace. How the Jesuits hated LaSalle, who had boasted that he would make the eagle fly above the raven, alluding to the black coats of the Jesuits.

The traders and the Jesuits were hostile to his enterprise, since it threatened their private gains. In this far wilderness white men from France met not as friends but as enemies. LaSalle came on to St. Joseph. The Griffin started on her return with store of furs and was to come again by the straits to St. Joseph, where a fort should be built and preparations made to descend the Mississippi. But the Griffin was never heard from again, her pilot probably perished in the "nasty fresh water" of Lake Huron. LaSalle returned across the Michigan peninsula on foot to Fort Frontenac.

Again he returned to his fort on the Illinois, to find in a solitude that the dreaded Iroquois had driven off or murdered his friendly Illinois. The plain was strewn with mangled bodies, no tidings of "Tonty," the man of the "iron hand."

One word more of pioneer LaSalle. Again he returned to Fort Frontenac, with small recognition of his services by his government, at home or in the new world. He turns his estate a large portion of it to his creditors, and again abandoning shipbuilding, dragging canoes on sledges, we find him with a small party launching out on the Mississippi, on the 6th of February, 1682, and on the 9th of April, 1682, at the outlet of the great river LaSalle planted his standard and took possession of Louisiana. "In the name of the Most High, Mighty, Invincible, and Victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre," that is what LaSalle said of the king. Alas for the glory

and pride of earth. What did the King of France say about him? Louis, king of France, wrote the Governor of Canada, "I am convinced like you, that the discovery of the Sieur De LaSalle is very useless, and that such enterprises ought to be prevented in the future, as they tend only to debauch the inhabitants by the hope of gain and to diminish the revenue from beaver skins."

Louis the Great was a smart enough boy. He declared himself of age at fourteen, and took possession of the government, but he was not the "Most High;" he was not "mighty;" he was ordinary, plain, weak, fallible man, although he could say, "I am the State." He was not "invincible." By the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, he restored to the Dutch what he had taken from them in India to Spain, his conquests Catalonia and Flanders, with many strong fortresses. To the Germans what he had taken to Lorraine its legitimate sovereign, and lastly recognized William III. as King of England. He revoked the edict of Nantes, let loose the hell hounds of religious persecution, and by his edict as a religious bigot combining the power of the church with the state with a zeal not according to knowledge or discretion, he drove 800,000 of his best subjects, the most conscientious, worthy and intelligent, drove them out of France to the Netherlands, to England, to America; by his bigotry and narrowness he sent the cream of sunny France to this land with such earnestness and deep conviction as should lay broad and deep in America the foundation of our civil and religious liberty. I digress, but it is because much as I honor LaSalle, I hate such fulsome praise of kings who have trodden the people of the earth under their feet as grasshoppers, who have been goverened by their ambitions, their pride of heart, their selfishness, instead of cultivating peace among the nations and the kindly grace of Christian fellowship between man and man.

Louis of France was carrying out LaSalle's desire to give the eagle ascendancy over the crows, to give the right and truth on earth the ascendancy over bigotry and superstition, but it was in a way that accorded with a higher ordering than his, a way far different frim his poor judgment. I do not wonder as the old bible prophet Isaiah saw the oppressions that were done under the sun by the kings of the earth that with prophetic forecast, he saw the good time coming and in his soul knew that there should be a time when a king should reign who should reign in righteousness. He came, He gave hope and cheer to the oppressed, He took the poor by the hand and their feet and ankle bones received strength. He lifted them up, He was the carpenter's son. Let the laboring man take courage. He lived his brief life on the earth, and religious bigots murdered Him on cavalry. He called himself the "Son of Man;" today countless millions proclaim him the "Son of God, the Wonderful, the Counselor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace."

On the beautiful river the Ohio, July 4, 1754, Washington was compelled to surrender to the French, at Great Meadows, but made terms and marched his little army back to Virginia. Again in 1755, when Braddock went with his 1,200 regulars and cannon up the Potomac by one of its branches to Cumberland, then known as "Will's Creek," rejecting the counsel of Washington, the surveyor, the American militia man and the proffered aid of Captain Jack, the "Black Rifle," the famous fighter of the woods, Braddock met his fate at the hands of two hundred and thirty Canadians and six hundred and thirty savages. This was July 9, 1755. He died July 13, and Washington read the service at his burial in the wilderness.

In 1753, November, through winter's storms, Washington had been sent by the Virginia governor to Lake Erie to the French Commandant, Chevalier De St. Pierre, to protest against the French aggressions on the Ohio. It came to nothing. Canadian France, by a chain of forts extending southwest, joined hands with France in Louisiana and the probable boundary between the French and the English in America was the Ohio, and a line drawn from some point on the upper Ohio to the great lakes between Erie and Ontario, the flag of England had gone down before the lilies of France.

What were the English and Dutch doing, while the French, those daring explorers, were going over these western wilds, like a man in a balloon getting delightful views of the scenery, zealous for the glory of God and the honor of King Louis XIV., the Great, synonymous then,—always allied with the Indian tribes north of the great Lakes, yet these alliances and the old question cui bono, what will ever come of it? the ever recurring subject for reflection, pipes, silence, some talk at a thousand Indian camp fires. What were the English and Dutch doing in this latter half of the eighteenth century? In New England the colonists were not visitors; they had come in 1620 and in 1635 to 1640, and after that in frequent arrivals. They expected at that asylum in the wilderness to stay and there to enjoy religion, for they had it and had it hard, and they wanted to enjoy it but England, like an unnatural mother, drove them out. Did I say England? I beg pardon. No, not England, the common people loved the Lord in His day. The common people were ever good and kind, but James II. and the religious bigots, who were running affairs in religion, drove them out. That is better said, and I want to be truthful. Who commissioned him to run anybody's religious business? The Lord certainly never did. He would have known better, but the Pilgrims came and their sufferings and privations and faithfulness have been told their children's children as they ought to be by the historian, and in song and story and each July 4th till this day, nor can I tell you any new thing. They came

to stay, not for a visit. They built a road, twelve miles inland from Boston, and calculated that was as far as any road would ever be needed. Their settlements grew, they extended westward slowly, they possessed the land. They established the firm foundation of civil and religious liberty on this continent. Their principles took shape and form in the local governments they established. One former is worth a hundred reformers. They conquered a lasting peace from the Indians of New England. Our friends from Holland took and held the mouth of the Hudson, and that colony grew without the aid of legislation. The governor of Virginia complained of the Dutch and their aggressions on "his territory" on the Hudson. He also protested against worthy colonists from England coming any more to the New England settlements at Plymouth, as the soil was so poor there that corn would not grow unless a herring was put in every hill, but along the coasts in the several settlements the English at New England, in Virginia and the Dutch on the Hudson, a common purpose and aim inspired them, they possessed and occupied this land that God had given them. The time came in the middle of the eighteenth century for the settlement of questions at issue, as to the occupancy of the soil between the English and the French. It was settled on the side of homes instead of tomahawks. Homes instead of traders and adventurers. It was not the colonists who came to the St. Lawrence to Canada, rich and powerful with titled honors, home aid, and encouragement, and "a' that" who, when the trial came, finally possessed the land, but the men who came for conscience sake to the shores of New England, to New Amsterdam, to Virginia and the Carolinas.

On September 18, 1759, Quebec, the door to the French possessions on this northern continent, surrendered to the English. The battle was fought on the Plains of Abraham and in 1760, September 8, Montreal, too, was surrendered to General Amherst, the British Commander. Amherst sent General Robert Rogers to take possession of the posts at Detroit and Michilimackinac and deliver oaths of allegiance to their citizens. He left September 13, started from Quebec, via the lake, the river, and Lake Erie to Presque Isle, and diverged to deliver dispatches to Gen. Monckton, at Fort Duquesne. He reached Detroit November 29, 1760, and the French commander surrendered the post. Seventy-seven days out from Quebec, he took possession of Fort Miami, on the Maumee, of Fort Ouatanan, on the Wabash (the lower Ohio was then called the Wabash), it was too late for the upper lakes, and it was not till the fall of 1761 that the forts at Michilimackinac, Sault Ste. Marie and St. Joseph were garrisoned by English troups. August 25, 1758, the English had crossed Lake Ontario and captured Fort Frontenac, a quadrangle mounted with thirty cannon and sixteen small

mortars. The garrison surrendered with military stores for Fort Duquesne and interior posts also nine armed vessels each carrying eight to eighteen guns. At Ticonderoga the English suffered defeat. South Carolina sent 1,250 Highlanders, 350 Americans joined them, Pennsylvania sent 2,700 men, Virginia sent two regiments, 1,900 men, with Washington as their leader, and this force marched on Fort Duquesne. The first attack failed, the second advance was intrusted to Washington. It was successful, and on November 25, 1758, Washington, who had here suffered defeat, entered victorious, pointed out to officers and troops the meeting of the rivers, raised the English flag and named it Pittsburg. Here in the center of this new world raising the most enduring monument to England's great statesman, whose illustrious name thenceforth stands inscribed on this gateway to the west.

England by an untiring struggle of the centuries had her bill of rights, her magna charta, her recognition by settled principles of constitutional law, a legislative branch of government, her recognition of the principle of local self government, had wrought out a recognition of the rights of man, and this inheritance was, by these important events, established as an ascendant star and principle on this continent to the colonists to their children, and their grandchildren for all the people of every school district, town, county and state in this broad land, not fully wrought out but good seed sown. Following the surrender of France, in 1763, came the great conspiracy of Pontiac. The Indians were not yet weaned from the love of France. This conspiracy was to retake every post on the great lakes and the Ohio, and with the exception of Niagara, Detroit and Duquesne, it was successful. At Detroit they failed after a long siege. Detroit was the center of British influence in the northwest.

From 1763, till the Quebec act by the parliament in 1774, Michigan had no civil government. It was under a military commandant, Sir William Hamilton, lieutenant governor and superintendent at Detroit. His zeal for England was never questioned; scruples he had none. The Indian power in the northwest was great. The French had lost their hold on the Indian, the British grasped it, and used it unscrupulously under Hamilton, regarding neither infancy, sex nor age.

What a treacherous thing is power over men. What power saved this great northwest, that its vast territory should ultimately be divided into independent and sovereign states, governments of the people, by the people, where the sword, having conquered a lasting peace, the principle of local self government with liberty should have an abiding place on the earth. Let us award honor where it is due, for today we speak of pioneers, and these before me who have done so well, need not scruple or fear that when they too have gone to their final reward

other hearts shall sympathize with all that they endured for the general welfare and other tongues shall be loosed and call them blessed.

In the city of Richmond, Va., stands a public statue to an Indian fighter, Andrew Lewis. It was erected in his honor, and they who placed it there knew their man. In September, 1774, Lord Dunmore, being colonial governor of Virginia, the Indian depredations from the Ohio country being one long drama of horror, in September, 1774, Lewis fought with half his force, Dunmore evading the union with Lewis as agreed. Lewis fought the Indians where the Kenawha mingles with the Ohio, and though Dunmore could have been there and was not, Lewis gained the victory, though he lost one of five of his force. Lewis and his Virginians put an end to that long drama of horror. Lewis lived to see Dunmore driven out of Virginia and to do it, and to this day the state of Virginia does him honor and the woods and forests of Michigan join the strain. Virginia and Michigan were equally interested in the event. This has been called the first blood of the revolution. It was believed and on reason too, that the treacherous Dunmore planned the slaughter of the patriot army to quench the growing spirit of liberty by depriving the young republic of its stalwart defenders.

April 19, 1775, the first blood of the revolution flowed at Lexington, Mass. June 15, 1775, George Washington was elected commander-in-chief of the American forces. On his way to Boston he heard of Bunker Hill. July 2, he was at Boston, and July 3, 1775, assumed command of the American army. Yes, the colonists would fight. But how about the northwest. There was great activity, and Hamilton was the instigator among the Indians against the colonists.

George Rogers Clark, a land surveyor, a Virginian, was then a conspicuous figure in the Kentucky settlements. Hamilton sent Indians to "fall on the scattered settlers" on the Ohio and its branches. The "Girty brothers" were in his pay. When Indians invaded the Kentucky settlements resistance was made. In 1777 and 1778 a warfare was kept up. Clark knew the situation. Virginia and North Carolina claimed jurisdiction over Kentucky. The people called themselves Virginians and in June, 1776, they chose Clark and Jones as representatives in the Virginia assembly. There was no law for the election. Clark disclaimed it, but went as agent, but he got no help from Virginia, and turned his back on the assembly with the remark that "a country not worth fighting for was not worth having," determined to go to the frontier and found an independent state. The assembly saw he meant what he said, and they sent him gunpowder for frontier use. He gathered a force at the falls of the Ohio, and in August, 1778, captured the post at Vincennes (the oldest town in Indiana settled by whites in 1802), and soon the Detroit commander was startled by the

intelligence that instead of being driven over the mountains the settlers on the Ohio were holding the posts in the Illinois country. Clark, with ready address, gained the good will of the French settlers, made them permanent friends, and had their aid to come to an understanding with the Indians. December 17, 1778, Hamilton, in person with soldiers and Indians, appeared and demanded the surrender of Vincennes, and took it with one man, who capitulated and marched out. Clark collected 176 men, retook the post February 23, 1779, captured a force equal to his own, all the stores; he also took Hamilton himself, and a few days later the "Grand Judge of Detroit," who appeared with more supplies. Hamilton and the Judge were sent to Virginia and kept there some time. Depeyster succeeded Hamilton. Detroit continued a plotting ground during the revolution. Judge Cooley, in his history of Michigan, justly does great honor to Clark for his valor, considering the ultimate results of his conquest to the entire northwest. He says "the conquests of Clark indicated with unerring certainty that the proper boundary between the two countries in this part of the world was the line of the lakes instead of the Ohio, and on the conclusion of a treaty of peace, the British Commissioner did not seriously dispute it, though the Quebec act of 1774 had named the Ohio."

By the treaty of peace of 1783 Michigan, before then a part of Canada, became a part of the United States, but possession was not actually surrendered until July, 1796. This delay was unfortunate; it left the occasion of further plotting with the Indians against the peace of the frontier. Gen. St. Clair was governor. He was defeated November 4, 1791, fighting the Indians on the Miami. He was in his tent with the gout. He was surprised. His men, regulars and volunteers seem to have had no confidence in him. Of fourteen hundred men, his command, eight hundred and ninety enlisted men and sixteen officers were killed or wounded. No wonder that the name of Mad Anthony Wayne is held in honor in Michigan. At our metropolis they write it often and write it big, for on August 20, 1794, on the Miami, under the very walls of the fort still occupied by the British, the Kentucky and Ohio settlers fought under Wayne. Wayne as before he had carried Stony Point opened the fight by a charge with cold steel which scattered the foe. We do him honor, and the gallant Kentuckians who fought under him, once for George R. Clark and again for the victory with Wayne, and once more that in our great struggle to preserve us a nation that the pioneers had carved out for us, the state of Kentucky sent fifty-five regiments to the cause of the union. It is to her lasting honor.

Aye—All honor again undying fame and ceaseless gratitude in the hearts of all who love our country and its welfare, to Abraham Lincoln, that grand Kentuckian who, against the clamor of all extremists, pur-

sued that calm, settled, constitutional course that was so potent in the crucial hour in holding Kentucky and Tennessee, West Virginia and Maryland to their supremest destiny and good, their anchorage to the constitution and the laws. This should be said in connection with the fact that Kentucky gave fifty-five regiments to the union. The humble Kentuckian was the grandest of pioneers.

July 11, 1796, the American flag was first raised above Detroit, Wayne in command. He died in November, 1796, at Presque Isle. August 11, 1796, Wayne county was formed. It embraced all of Michigan, northern Ohio, and Indiana, and a part of Illinois and Wisconsin. By act of congress of 1802, the Northwest Territory ceased to exist by that name. The state of Ohio was organized and the territory of Indiana was formed, of which Michigan was a part, Gen. William H. Harrison as governor. January 11, 1805, a legislative act was passed for the territory of Michigan, Gen. William Hull, governor. It included Michigan as it now is, except the Upper Peninsula. In 1818 Illinois was admitted as a state, and what is Wisconsin was added to the territory of Michigan. Hull reached Detroit July 1, 1805, having made the long journey of the lakes, he found the smoking embers of desolated homes and the people in temporary shelter. The first duty was to provide homes and shelter, lots and houses. The public calamity was turned to public blessing, the town was laid out better. Hull and Woodward went to Washington, then a long journey, congress responded in behalf of the stricken city, and passed an act granting a village lot to every person over seventeen years of age who, at the time of the fire, had owned or occupied a house in the old town. Everybody became freeholders. Wayne had taken from the Indians cession of a strip six miles wide west of Detroit river. Hull, in 1807, got a cession of all that portion of the territory (not before ceded) lying east of the principal meridian, and extending north to the line of White Rock, in Lake Huron. The Indians of Mackinac would cede no lands. The trouble was brewing among the Indians. Our own Kalamazoo River writers, Cooper, in "Oak Openings," and Littlejohn, in "Legends of Michigan," each gave truthful pictures of the situation. Time 1805 to 1810. The natural alliance of the Indians with the British, the influence that worked with the Indians, the Chief, who urged that Indians stop killing one another and kill whites, this was the situation. Judge Littlejohn gives a good picture of the lay of the land where three rivers form the St. Joseph, and works out a very pretty fight there between the Indians of respective bands, traversing the lands north and south of Three Rivers, and much more worth perusal. This was the fact. Tecumseh was among the Indians with a second Pontiac scheme to confederate the tribes, urging them to the agreement, that

no tribe should sell any land till all the tribes were agreed. On this rock, the Indians struck at Tippecanoe, for Harrison had bought the Indian title to the Wabash lands. Harrison fought the Indians November 7, 1811, on their own ground, and they suffered bitter defeat. Harrison's loss: Killed, 62; wounded, 126; total, 188.

Hull was literally between two fires. The Canada militia were twenty to one to his little band. The Indians were conspiring against him. Lake Erie was in possession and control of the British. He surrendered to Gen. Brock, August 16, 1812, without firing a gun, and Michigan passed under the control of the British. The very same day the garrison of 55 men at Mackinac surrendered to the British forces. Hull's troops were not defeated; he was defeated in his mind before he surrendered. Had Cass been in command something else would probably have happened, but a towering monument stands in sight of Niagara in honor of Brock's great victory. We do not always have things to please us. Perry fought on Lake Erie September 10, 1813, under adverse circumstances, but his mind was in its normal condition. Fort Dearborn, Chicago, was surrendered August 15, 1812, in pursuance of Gen. Hull's orders, and the garrison in returning was captured by hostile Indians and in part massacred. Perry captured the British squadron September 10, 1813, at Put-in-bay. Gen. Harrison took this fleet and transported his army to Canada. Proctor commanding Detroit prepared to dismantle Malden and Detroit preparatory to flight. Tecumseh was angry but it availed nothing. Malden and Detroit were abandoned, and Sept. 29, 1813, were again occupied by American troops. Harrison defeated Proctor at the River Thames, and October 13, 1813, Lewis Cass was appointed governor, which office he held till made a member of Jackson's cabinet in 1831. The upper forts and Dearborn were reoccupied by Americans at the close of the war of 1812-14.

I am done. What I can say here is soon ended. My spoken word goes out like the wind and breath. It is but the wind may bear a seed with life in it to some retentive soil where, nourished and watered by the dews of heaven and the refreshing rain, it may take root and grow, and in turn yield its food for man and beast. So I would fain hope a word here spoken may find lodgment in some retentive niche of memory and bear the sweet fruit hereafter of a better patriotism, a more thoughtful love of country, and its institutions of local self government and national union; that these forty-five republics may be sister states indeed; that the school district and the township, these miniature republics may still be the germinal sources under the constitution and laws of our greatness, that the schoolhouse and the Christian church may, under God, the Supreme Ruler of us all, and His great blessing, still be as in the past our anchorage and our hope; our firm unshaken

reliance for the countless millions yet to be, that through the labors and the sacrifices of all true pioneers they shall enter into that sublime assurance of all the ages that kingdom whose watchword shall be love, kindness, gentleness, and peace; that kingdom that shall be without end.

MICHIGAN, MY MICHIGAN!

[Composed on a bed of sickness, March 6, 1896.]

BY ENOS GOODRICH.

Home of my life for sixty years,
Michigan, my Michigan!
My brightest hopes, my darkest fears,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Home of a million plans and schemes,
Of daiy thoughts and nighty dreams,
Of building mills and driving teams—
Michigan, my Michigan!

Land where a hundred kindred forms,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Have sunk before the wide world's storms,
Michigan, my Michigan!
My gray haired sire, my mother dear,
Four brothers and one sister here,
I've followed on the sable bier
In Michigan, my Michigan!

Nor could my sorrows find an end,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Till lost was my fond bosom friend,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Dear comrade of my life's turmoil,
Through fifty years of ceaseless toil
On Michigan's adopted soil,
Michigan, my Michigan!

Friends whom my early childhood knew,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Beyond Lake Erie's waters blue,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Who came with me to this far wild
When I was yet almost a child,
By hope's refulgent star beguiled,
To Michigan, my Michigan!

Who burned with fiery fevers thrill,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Who shook with ague's shivering chill,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Who watched their kindred fade away,
Clinging to hope's delusive ray
Until their forms had turned to clay,
In Michigan, my Michigan!

We felled the woods with anxious toil,
Of Michigan, our Michigan!
We plowed, we dragged, we hoed the soil
Of Michigan, our Michigan!
Until the boundless forests fled,
And towns and cities rose instead,
And spires upreared the sacred head,
In Michigan, our Michigan!

Our ranks grew thin, around us grew,
In Michigan, our Michigan!
A race our childhood never knew.
Michigan, my Michigan!
Till wan and sad, and bent with years,
With vanquished hopes and gathering fears,
Till naught but memory endears,
To Michigan, my Michigan!

And still 'tis meet that we should come,
Michigan, my Michigan!
And whilom leave our cherished home,
Michigan, my Michigan!
And here, between these spacious walls
Of our own legislative halls,
Whose glance the majesty recalls,
Of Michigan, our Michigan!

For, as we shake the trembling hand,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Of these old patriarchs of the land,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Our joys are mixed with grief and woe,
For when without these walls we go,
Perchance we'll never meet below,
In Michigan, our Michigan!

How many of the sons of toil,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Who, after their long life's turmoil,
In Michigan, our Michigan!
Feel that the world has ill repaid
The sacrifices they have made—
Life's hopes still blasted or delayed—
Michigan, my Michigan!

And this sad thought will cast a gloom,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Around the precincts of the tomb,
Michigan, my Michigan!
And still eternal hope will rise,
That in a world beyond the skies
They yet may win the hoped for prize—
Reward for all their sacrifice.
Michigan, my Michigan!

So now, as we must soon let go,
Michigan, my Michigan!
Of all our prospects here below,
Michigan, my Michigan!
We'll cast our dim eyed glances o'er
The waters of the farther shore,
Forgetful of the toils we bore,
In Michigan, our Michigan!

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, ITS SURVEYS AND SURVEYORS.

BY C. S. WOODARD.

At the close of the Revolutionary war, and the acknowledgment of the Independence of the United States, a definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was concluded at Paris, September 3, 1783, in which the boundary of the United States was agreed upon as follows, viz.:

"From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix river to the highlands—along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river, to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. From thence, by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraqua (St. Lawrence). Thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie. Thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron. Thence along the middle of said water communication into Lake Huron. Thence through the middle of said lake to the water

communication between that lake and Lake Superior. Thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Philipeaux to the Long Lake. Thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods to the said Lake of the Woods. Thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi. Thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the River Appalachicola or Catahouche. Thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river—thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean. East by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those that fall into the River St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and east Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia."

It will be seen that this boundary included a large territory of what was then called waste and unappropriated land, outside of the definite boundaries of the thirteen original States. Several of the States set up claims to portions of this territory on the basis of grants from the Crown of England. It was thought by some, and not without some show of reason, that as the whole was purchased by the blood and treasury of all of the States, all should share in the interest in it. Considerable jealousy, discontent, and dispute arose on the subject and at times seriously threatened the perpetuity of the confederation. Indeed, it was, no doubt, the good and wise counsel of the noble, unselfish and patriotic statesmen of those times that saved it. A thousand pities that we have not more of that class in these times.

"On the 6th of September, 1780, congress passed a resolution recommending that every State holding claims in this territory should relinquish a liberal share of such claims to the general government, as custodian, for the good of the whole. The first to act in this patriotic movement, was the state of New York, who, through her delegates in the Continental Congress, on the 1st day of March, 1781, executed a

deed of cession to the general government. Then followed Virginia, March 1, 1784; December 30, 1788; Massachusetts, April 19, 1785; Connecticut, September 13, 1786; South Carolina, August 9, 1787; North Carolina, February 25, 1790; Georgia, April 24, 1802." Thus by these several acts of cession from seven of the original states, (colonies prior to July 4, 1776) of the Union, the United States came into possession of all that portion of the public domain lying east of the Mississippi, and north of the 31st parallel of north latitude—total cession by the states to the United States, 259,171,787 acres.

It will be noted that during the whole time of the cessions of land by the states to the national government, the Mississippi river was the international boundary, and that it continued to be until the French cession in 1803.

The Mississippi was the western boundary of all cessions or claims by states except New York. Such was the public domain then—it has been extended by treaty or purchase, until its western boundary is the utmost western boundary of the United States.

But another problem now came before the Continental Congress—how best to locate and dispose of this land. The members of congress from the several states had seen the evils of the working of the several systems or rather lack of system of location and sale of land in their individual states, and were anxious to see some better arrangement adopted in the disposal of the government lands.

"The present system of survey of the public lands was inaugurated by a committee appointed by the Continental Congress, and consisting of the following delegates:

Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Chairman, Virginia.

Hon. Hugh Williamson, North Carolina.

Hon. David Howell, Rhode Island.

Hon. Eldridge Gerry, Massachusetts.

Hon. Jacob Read, South Carolina.

On the 7th of May, 1784, this committee reported an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of lands in the western territory. (This ordinance required the public lands to be divided into hundreds of ten geographical miles square, and those again to be subidvided into lots of one mile square, each to be numbered from 1 to 100, commencing in the northwestern corner, and counting from west to east and from east to west consecutively.)"

"This ordinance was considered, debated, and amended, and reported to congress, April 26, 1785, and required the surveyor to divide the said territory into townships of 7 miles square by lines running due north and south and others crossing these at right angles; the plats of the townships respectively shall be marked by subdivisions into sections one

mile square or 640 acres in the same direction as the external lines and numbered from 1 to 49, and these sections shall be subdivided into lots of 320 acres. This is the first record of the terms township and section."

"May 3, 1785, on motion of Hon. William Grayson, of Virginia, seconded by Hon. James Monroe, the section respecting the extent of townships was amended by striking out the words 'seven miles square' and substituting the words 'six miles square.' It did not seem to have occurred to the members until the 6th of May, 1785, that a township six miles square could not contain 49 sections of one mile square. At that date a motion to amend was made which provided that a township should contain 36 sections and the amendment was lost. The ordinance as finally passed, however, on the 20th of May, 1785, provided for townships 6 miles square containing 36 sections one mile square." The first public surveys were made under this ordinance. The townships 6 miles square, were laid out in ranges extending northward from the Ohio river; the townships being numbered from south to north and the ranges from east to west. The region embraced by the surveys under this law forms a part of the present state of Ohio, and is usually styled the "Seven Ranges." Several other acts of congress concerning the survey and sale of the public lands followed; such as that of May 18, 1796; May 10, 1800; February 11, 1805; April 25, 1812; April 24, 1820; May 24, 1824; May 29, 1830; April 5, 1832; July 4, 1836; March 3, 1849.

The surveys of the public lands have been made substantially the same as under the act of February 11, 1805; May 29, 1830; April 5, 1832, down to this time. This is called the "Rectangular System." Since the adoption of this system of public surveys, May 20, 1785, twenty-four initial points or intersections of principal bases with surveying meridians have been brought into requisition to secure the certainty and brevity of description in the transfer of public lands to individual ownership. From the principal bases, townships of six miles square are run out and established with series of numbers, counting north and south thereof, and from the surveying meridians a series of ranges is numbered both east and west of the principal meridians.

"The first principal meridian divides the states of Ohio and Indiana, having for its base the Ohio river (the meridian being coincident with 84° 51′ of longitude west from Greenwich), the meridian governs the surveys of the public lands in the state of Ohio. Twenty-three other meridians have been located by their longitude west from Greenwich, which govern the surveys from first meridian to the Pacific coast. The State of Michigan has a meridian and base of its own, from which the public lands were surveyed. Its longitude west from Greenwich (as given in Donaldson's "Public Domain," page 180, is 84° 19′ 09″ and by the Lake Coast Survey 84° 21′ 43.4″.

The public lands being under the entire control and direction of congress, that body has from time to time enacted various laws creating agents to sell and otherwise dispose of the public domain and from 1776 it has made grants. It also created a general land office which has become a bureau in the interior department. A commissioner of the general land office is appointed by the president and confirmed by the senate; he performs, under the direction of the secretary of the interior, all executive duties appertaining to the surveying and sales of the public lands of the United States, or in any wise respecting such public lands, and also such as relate to private claims of land and the issuing of patents for all lands under the authority of government.

Surveying districts are set off which may be a state or territory, or two or more of either of them joined together for such purpose by law, and in charge of a surveyor general with assistants. The first surveying district, state of Ohio, afterwards Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, with office at Cincinnati, moved to Detroit, June, 1845, and was abolished in 1857.

The surveyor general employed a sufficient number of skillful deputy surveyors who employed a force of men as chainmen, axemen, etc. The surveys were made under the contract system; they were paid by the mile for each mile run, the first rate being three dollars per mile. The surveyor general selected the deputy, congress fixing the compensation. The surveying districts are closed by act of congress when all public lands are surveyed, and certain archives, plats and field notes therein, transferred to the state in which the lands lie. Those of Michigan are at the State Land Office at Lansing.

The execution in detail of the surveys of public lands of Michigan were in general as follows:

Assuming that the meridian and base line had been run and their intersection established, this intersection became the starting point for subsequent surveys, and is known as the northwest corner of the congressional township designated as T. 1 S., R. 1 E., and the northeast corner T. 1 S., R. 1 W., the southeast corner of T. 1 N., R. 1 W., the southwest corner of T. 1 N., R. 1 E. The names of the corresponding civil townships are Henrietta and Rives of Jackson county, and Leslie and Bunkerhill of Ingham county. The first designation is called congressional, because established and continued unalterable in extent by act of congress. The second is called civil because established for civil purposes by choice of the citizens, and may contain any number of congressional that best accommodates the inhabitants.

The deputy surveyor, with his force of men being at the initial point above described, runs a line south on the meridian which he now enters on his field book as "South on the east boundary of section 1, T. 1

S., R. 1 W." His axman follows him, marking or blazing, on the north and south sides, such trees as are convenient to the line. The chainmen follow, making the measurement. If the line fairly strikes the centre of a tree, the surveyor orders the axman to simply cut two notches on the north and south sides of the tree and four or five feet above the ground. This is called a line or station tree, and the chainmen note the kind and size of the tree, with its distance from the starting point. The surveyor proceeds with his line, the axman marks it, and the chainmen keep in their minds the distance to all objects of interest as to the geography and topography of the country, such as the crossing of streams, size and course, lakes, entering and leaving of swamps, ascending and descending of important hills and valleys, Indian trails, etc. When they have run 40 chains, or half a mile, they announce the fact; the surveyor then requires them to give him the notes of distances to the different objects met with, which he enters in his note book and adds "40 chains set quarter section stake." In the meantime the axman has made a stake about four feet long and three or four inches in diameter, sharpened at the small end and flattened on two sides near the top. He drives this stake in the line, and at the 40 chains one of the chainmen with a marking tool cuts on the stake ¼ S., meaning quarter stake. The surveyor sets his instrument at the stake, and selecting two trees convenient to the stake, and if possible on the west side of the line, orders the axman to blaze on each one, about a foot long near the ground, and cut a notch across the blaze; also to take about a foot square of bark off of the trees four or five feet above the ground. (These marks always facing the stake). The chainmen with their marking tools cut on the lower blaze B. T., meaning bearing tree, and on the upper blaze ¼ S., same as on the stake. The surveyor now takes the course of the trees from the stake, as also the size and kind of tree. The chainmen give him the distance from the stake to the trees, all of which he enters in his field book as witnesses.

They now all proceed in the same order, the chainmen, instead of commencing anew with their measurement, keep the distances from the starting point. When they have run 80 chains or one mile, the fact is announced, and they give to the surveyor the notes they have taken since leaving the quarter stake with the distances counted from the starting point, which he enters in his field book, and adds "80 chains set stake for corner of section 1 and 12, T. 1 S., R. 1 W." The axman makes a stake as before, but squares it near the top and drives it in line at 80 chains and with its four corners in the cardinal points. On the north corner he cuts one small notch, on the south five notches, denoting that it stands one mile from the north line of the township

and five miles from the south line. Two witness trees are selected and marked at the bottom, same as at the quarter stake. If these trees are sizeable, and one stands southwest and the other northwest of the stake, the bark is taken off as in the first case, and a chainman marks the one to the northwest S. 1, T. 1 S., R. 1 W., meaning section 1, town one south, range one west. The one standing southwest is marked S. 12, T. 1 S., R. 1 W. If the witness trees are not suitable for these section trees, as they are called, other trees are selected and marked. Section trees are not necessarily witness trees, but may be. The proper courses, distances, size and kind of witness trees are entered in the field book, and following is a short description of the land passed over, such as quality of soil, hilly or flat, wet or dry, etc. Thus one mile of the east boundary of T. 1 S., R. 1 W. has been run, which is also the east boundary of section 1 of the same township. The surveyor now proceeds south on the same course, and in the same order, only that he now enters in his book, "South on east boundary of section 12, T. 1 S., R. 1 W." and the chainmen start anew with their measurements from this section corner, but keep them in the same manner as before, only changing their count at each section corner, giving each section its own measure and notes.

In this order the survey proceeds until the end of the sixth mile is reached. After recording the previous notes of this mile, he says, "80 chains set post, corner of towns one and two south, range one west, and of towns one and two south, range one east. This corner is witnessed the same as section corners, but now four section trees are selected, one on each township. The one southwest is marked S. 1, T. 2 S., R. 1 W.; that on the southeast S. 6, T. 2 S., R. 1 E.; that on the northeast S. 31, T. 1 S., R. 1 E., and that on the northwest S. 36, T. 1 S., R. 1 W. With the field notes and general description of the country passed over, this completes the survey of the east boundary of township one south, range one west. All the stakes set on this line belong exclusively to this township, except under certain conditions, they may be common to the township next east. These conditions will be explained later.

The surveyor and his party may now retrace their steps to the starting point. Starting again from this point, he enters in his note book, "East on the south boundary of section 31, township one north, range one east." He proceeds to run the line, have it marked, measured, and notes taken as before. At 40 chains he sets a quarter stake, but the facing of the stake is now toward the east and west, and the witness trees usually on the north of the line. At 80 chains he says, "Set stake between sections 31 and 32, T. 1 N., R. 1 E." The stake here set has one notch on the west corner and five on the east. Witness, and espe-

cially the section trees, are north of the line one of the latter to stand on section 31, and the other on section 32, and marked respectively S. 31, T. 1 N., R. 1 E., and S. 32, T. 1 N., R. 1 E. Proceeding in the same order—running, measuring, marking, setting the proper quarter and section stakes, and witnessing them, recording the required notes with description of land until the end of the sixth mile is reached, here he says, "80 chains post corner, of townships one south, ranges one and two east, and one north, ranges one and two east." The stake is witnessed and the four section trees, one in each township are marked, the one southwest, S. 1, T. 1 S., R. 1 E.; that southeast, S. 6, T. 1 S., R. 2 E.; on the northeast, S. 31, T. 1 N., R. 2 E.; and on the northwest, S. 36, T. 1 N., R. 1 E. It will be observed that while this line is called the south boundary of sections 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36, of township one north, range one east, it is also the base line and run at right angles to the meridian, and the stakes on it belong exclusively to the township north of the line, except they may become common to the township next south under certain conditions, which will be explained later. This arrangement holds good for the south and east boundary of all townships. Now, the surveyor may turn and run south from this last stake, and as nearly as possible, parallel with the meridian and making measurements also to correspond as nearly as can be with those on the meridian, making it a duplicate of the meridian, so far as course and distance are concerned. Having fulfilled all the requirements of running, marking, measuring, recording notes and description of land of each mile and arriving at the end of the sixth mile, he says, "80 chains set post corner of townships one and two south, range one and two east." The stake is witnessed the same as the others and has four section trees, one in each township, marked with the proper section, township and range.

If he has run due east exactly 6 miles on the base line, and lastly due south parallel with the meridian just 6 miles, he ought to be exactly 6 miles due east of the township corner on the meridian. If now he turns and runs due west parallel with the base line, and the measurements are just the same, he will strike his township corner at just 6 miles. But there is an "if" in the way. If he does, he will be very fortunate; it is seldom done. His line will most likely fall north or south of the corner, and his measurement fall short or overrun. As both he and his men are under oath, their notes ought to tell the truth as to how this turns out. The surveyor knew, or ought to have known, that it was not at all likely that his line would close at post, and so should only mark and stake temporarily. If he has closed north or south of post, his notes should state how much, and also the true length of line according to his measure. He then returns, sets the stakes into

line, witnesses them, marks section trees and corrects his notes in accordance with the facts, and leaves the line as nearly as possible in as true shape as if he had actually closed at post. As to distance, the stakes may remain the same by throwing the excess or deficiency into the last mile; this is allowable. Thus the lines enclosing one township have been run. This township is designated at T. 1 S., R. 1 E.

This order of survey has not always been adhered to strictly, nor need it be, if the lines have been run and measured and the field notes kept in accordance with the spirit of the law. The number of townships in such and such ranges to be surveyed are set forth in the contract, and the surveyor extends his work thus begun in the same spirit.

It was early learned that some of the provisions of the law could not be carried out, as when it is required that two range lines 6 miles apart shall be run due north and south, and still keep 6 miles from each other. This cannot be done, as two meridians approach each other going north or recede going south. This is called the convergency of the meridians. That is, two range lines 6 miles apart at the beginning will be about 43¼ feet nearer each other at the end of 6 miles going north, so that if this convergency is not in some way checked, it will soon tell on the area of the township. Unfortunately, in the early surveys of Michigan, this convergency was little regarded, and to keep the townships as nearly the size required by law, the range lines could not be kept in the meridian, and the result was, that hardly any two range lines ran the same course and no two townships were the same size. In the later surveys, new base or correction lines have been ordered run at intervals of four townships or 24 miles and from these "Guide meridians" run at intervals of 24 miles from the principal meridian. Township lines are then to be run in accordance with these lines. It will now be seen that in making new and full measurements along these correction lines, the township and section corners will not correspond with the corners previously set in the surveys from the south, and consequently jog in all the north and south lines along this correction.

Thus far we have spoken only of the surveys of meridian, and base and township lines. But the townships are to be subdivided into 36 sections, each one mile square as nearly as can be. The subdivisions are also made under the contract system. The surveyor general chooses the deputy but government fixes the price. The surveyor contracts to subdivide so many townships. He is given his instructions, and furnished with a copy of the field notes of the township line surveys, which have been made perhaps years before and often by a different surveyor. We will now suppose that he starts with his force of men to subdivide T. 1 S., R. 1 E. By his instructions he is to go to the southeast corner of the township, and if the stake is still standing, all right. If not, he

re-establishes it by the field notes. He heads his note book "Subdivision of township one south, range one east, giving day and date, with the variation of the needle. He now retraces the east line of this township for a mile or so, in order to see how his instrument agrees with the course given by that of the township line surveyor. His chainmen remeasure the line several times in order that they may make their measurements correspond with the original measures. Having satisfied himself about this line, he turns west and does the same thing for a mile or so on the south boundary, and for the same purpose. Now, according to instructions, he goes to the corner on the south boundary, between sections 35 and 36, and here commences real work. Giving day and date and variation of his needle, he says, "North between sections 35 and 36." He runs the line as nearly as possible parallel with the east boundary of the township. The axman marks the line and the chainmen measure it, keeping the distance from this corner to all line trees and other objects of interest on the line. At 40 chains or half a mile a halt is made. He receives and records the notes given him by the chainmen, and says, "40 chains, set quarter post," which the axman has made and driven and the chainmen marked, and given distance to witness trees, etc., the same as the quarter posts on north and south township lines as above described. They proceed with the line, and at the end of the mile, after recording the notes of the chainmen, says "80 chains, set post corner of sections 25, 26, 35 and 36." The post is squared near the top and set with its corners east, west, north and south, with one notch on the south, five on the north, one on the east and five on the west, meaning that it stands one mile north of the south boundary and one mile west of the east boundary, five miles south of the north boundary and five miles east of the west boundary.

The stake is witnessed, four section trees, one on each section, are faced off and marked, showing the number, town, range and section on which it stands, a short description of the soil, surface, timber, openings, swamps, etc., being also noted and recorded. Now the surveyor turns east and says, "East on random between sections 25 and 36." He is now aiming for the corresponding stake on the east boundary of the township, and, as they go, the axman blazes the trees very lightly on the east side just enough to trace the line back by, and at every 5 or 10 chains a small stake is set in line, which is called a tally stake, and at the half mile he records the chainman's notes and says, "40 chains, set temporary quarter post," continues the line, and if he hits the stake at 80 chains, all he has to do, is to record the notes with description of country and says, "West marked on true line at 40 chains," permanently sets and witnesses the quarter stake, and so returns to the section corner. But if, which is more likely, he misses the stake,

and the measure overruns or falls short, the fact must be recorded with the field notes as to the length of the line and the distance that he closes north or south of post. In this case he says, "West corrected between sections 25 and 36." Going back, the line is corrected by proportional offsets from the tally stakes, and now fully marked. Coming to the temporary quarter post, it is set over into true line, and, at half distance between the section corners, is now permanently set and witnessed as all quarter posts are on east and west lines, continuing to correct and mark the line back to the section corner. Now the notes read, "North between sections 25 and 26." The same system of running, marking, measuring and note-keeping as before. Always setting a quarter stake at 40 chains and a section stake at 80 chains, marking and witnessing them, marking properly the four section trees and giving a description of the country passed over. Then turning east on random, and finally correcting the same as before.

Thus he continues to run north and east until he has established the line between sections 1 and 12. He now continues north between sections 1 and 2, establishing a quarter stake at full half mile. On arriving at the town line, if he there hits the original stake and the measurement, is 80 chains, all is well. This original stake then becomes common to both townships, and is witnessed, and two section trees properly marked, one on section 1, the other on section 2. But if he has closed east or west of the stake, and the measurement overruns or falls short, both facts, with all the field notes, must be recorded, and under the instructions for the older surveys, he is allowed to set a stake on the town line between sections 1 and 2, wherever he intersects, giving the distance of the stake from the south and distance east or west, as the case may be, from the original stake, witnessing the stake and marking the section trees on sections 1 and 2. Here, it will be seen, are two stakes near each other, neither of which is common to the two townships, but stand independently of each other. This explains what was said in the township line surveys, that stakes might, or might not be common to two townships. Whatever the whole length of the line between sections 1 and 2 was, the quarter post remains as set, at 40 chains, and the overplus or deficiency is thrown into the north part, these two sections thus becoming fractional. This also shows why we see jogs on our town lines. The surveyor and party now retrace their steps to the south boundary of the township, and go west to the stake on the town line, corner of sections 34 and 35. Noting day and date, variation of compass, etc., he says, "North between sections 34 and 35." The same order of running, marking, etc., is gone through with as before. At the end of the mile, the notes will read, "80 chains, set post corner of sections 26, 27, 34 and 35," and this is

witnessed, 4 section trees (one on each section) are marked. The stake is now notched one on the south, two on the east, five on the north and four on the west, followed by the description of the land, etc. Then he says, "East on random between sections 26 and 35." This random is run, slightly marked, measured, and tally stakes with temporary quarter stake set as before. He now hopes to strike the stake at the corner of sections 25, 26, 35 and 36, which he had set a day or two before. If he does, all right, and after recording the notes of the mile, he says, "West marked on true line between sections 26 and 35," establishes his quarter stake and returns to the section corner. But if he has not closed at post, and the measurement is more or less than 80 chains, he says, "West corrected between sections 26 and 35," and so goes back correcting, fully marking the line and setting the quarter post in true line and at half distance and witnessing it. It will be noticed that the east and west lines in the subdivisions are called "randoms," and if they do not close at post, are so and have to be corrected. If the line between sections 25 and 36 closed at post, it was most likely parallel with the south boundary of the township; so, if the line between sections 26 and 35 did not close at post and had to be corrected, it is not likely that the two lines were coincident but would show an angle or crook at the corners of sections 25, 26, 35 and 36. This explains why we do see these crooks or angles at most of the section corners.

In this manner another tier of sections is laid off. The closing at the town line between sections 2 and 3 is not likely to be at post, nor the same as that between sections 1 and 2. On this account, the quarter stake on the town line cannot be common to both towns, and thus there is a jog at the quarter lines also. Quarter stakes on the north and west boundaries of the north and west tiers of sections in a township were not set, in the older surveys, by the government surveys, but left to be established at half distance between section corners, by the surveyor who might subdivide the section, giving due weight to the area of the section as computed by government. Having finished another tier of sections they return again to the south boundary, and start in again from the corner between sections 33 and 34, and pursue the same method until the whole township is subdivided, except that running north between sections 31 and 32, and east between sections 29 and 32, and, before going north again, the line between sections 30 and 31 is run west, marking it fully and measuring and setting quarter post at 40 chains, throwing the balance, whether more or less, into the west part of the section, and if not closing at post, setting a stake at the closing point on the meridian, or range line, as the case may be, and recording the facts of the case. If the line did close at post, the corner is common to both townships and is witnessed from

trees on the east side of the line and two section trees, one on section 30 and the other on section 31 are marked. If the line did not close at post, then a stake is set at the closing point, with the distance from the east and also from the original post, and is witnessed and the proper section trees marked. Here again is an explanation why the original stake may or may not be common to both townships. It may be well to note here that, in the later government surveys, the surveyor is required to correct the last or closing mile on the north or west, so as to make the section and quarter section stakes common to both townships and so do away with the second stake and jogs, the measurements out remaining the same and leaving the north and west tier of sections still fractional, but less so. After recording the required notes of the line they return to corner of sections 29, 30, 31 and 32, and continue north as before, and at the end of every mile, after establishing the corner and recording the notes, they run east and establish the line; return, run west, as in above cases, and so continue until the township has been entirely subdivided.

But this may or may not complete the surveys in this township. It has already been stated that the field notes should show the distance to the crossing of all streams, lakes, etc. If the stream is crossed, either by township or section lines, that is regarded as navigable, or a lake lies across the line, a stake is set at both banks of the lake or stream and witnessed; these are called meander stakes. The Huron river in this State, for instance, was regarded as navigable for a certain distance up from its mouth. It enters the township of Ypsilanti on the north line of section 5 and goes out on the east side of section 24. At its crossing by the town lines and all section lines, a meander stake was set on each side. To know how the river runs inside of the sections, the surveyor started at the meander post on the north boundary of section 5, and on the right bank (the bank at the right hand facing down stream), and took the courses and distances of all the straight and curved portions of the right bank down stream to the north line of the French Claim. Here he crossed over, and ran down on the left bank, giving the courses and distances between the meander stakes at crossing of section lines, also the distances to all objects of interest, such as inlets, high or low banks, quick or sluggish current, swamps or dry land, timber, etc., also noting the width of the stream at various points, thus furnishing the data for correctly platting the river, and calculating the quantity of land in the several sections made fractional by the meandered stream which forms the boundary line between lands on each side. So when a lake is met with, a meander stake is set in line and on both sides. The distance across the lake is usually measured by a system of triangulation or by running around on one side

by offsets, until the stake on the opposite side is reached. Starting from one of these meander stakes, the shore line is meandered from stake to stake, with the proper courses and distances given to all objects of interest, such as inlets and outlets, high and dry, or low and wet shore, character of soil, timber, etc. In this way the shape and area of the lake is determined. With this system of survey faithfully executed on the grounds, and the maps made from the notes returned to the surveyor general's office (a copy of which is always in the land office of the district), any one can get a pretty good idea of the country without going on the ground. But if one desires to see for himself, and will make himself acquainted with the marking and numbering of the townships and sections, he need have no fear of getting lost.

After the surveyor had finished his contract for work in the field, he returned his notes and maps to the office of the surveyor general, made oath as to their correctness, and, if accepted, received his pay. Among some of the early surveyors there must have been very little regard for an oath, as large quantities of land were returned under oath as surveyed, which was either not done at all, or so badly done that it had to be resurveyed and paid for a second time, the fraud not being discovered until the surveyors had made their escape. In latter years surveys have been examined on the ground before being accepted.

Not only does this rectangular system of surveys facilitate the making and the certainty of description of land to purchasers, but it materially aided in the geological and mineralogical surveys of the country, especially in the mineral regions. In the surveys of the Upper Peninsula, the surveyor was required to note the out-crop of all rock met with, on or near the line, and also to obtain a small specimen of the rock, which was quilted into a piece of cotton cloth and so numbered and referred to in his notes that the location of the out-crop could be found at any time, and these specimens were returned with the field notes to the office of the surveyor general. As early as 1845, under the direction of the lamented Dr. Douglas Houghton, the geological surveyors were following up the land surveys in execution of their work.

If a good sectional map of Michigan is examined, it will be observed that considerable land was not included in the rectangular system, for these lands were held as grants. They may be seen in the vicinity of Detroit, Monroe, and for a distance up the Rivers Huron and Raisin. "The grants, in what is now the State of Michigan, were for agricultural lands adjacent to the town of Detroit." "Some of these grants dated back to the French discovery and occupation, and came from the French Governor of Canada and Louisiana. About the year 1700, they were issued by the Commandant of the King, at Detroit, next by the Gov-

ernor and Intendant of New France and Louisiana in the years 1735 and 1737, and confirmed by the king. There were additional grants after these by the same power. After 1763, by a proclamation of the King of Great Britain, grants of land were made by the Governor of the Province of Quebec, of which the present State of Michigan formed a part until after 1783." "Commissioners were appointed by congress, under the act of March 26, 1809, to consider and report upon all these claims." See report of G. Hoffman and Fred Bates; also of Judge A. B. Woodward, Vol. 1, Public Lands, American State Papers. "These claims, as reported, were confirmed upon equitable principles, and were for small tracts of land, and affected a little more than 500 settlers. The largest grants made under the French governors seldom exceeded 360 acres, but were generally much less. Under British rule, there were about 100 claimants for land held under grants. The surveys of these grants were made by special surveyor, Aaron Greely being the surveyor for Michigan prior to 1825. He made surveys at Michilimackinac Island as early as 1811.

With the subdividing and running of the meander lines, if any, ends the field work of the government surveyor, as it has now been shown that the government never runs any lines, nor sets any stakes inside of a section. Still, as government sells quantities of land from 40, 80, 160, 320 acres up to full sections, it contemplates the subdivision of the section in accordance with its system and laws. The law requires that all township, section and quarter section corners that can be identified by the government field notes or other undoubted evidence, must stand even if they are known to be in error. The corners are regarded as monuments, so to speak, and monuments govern all courses and distances. To subdivide what is termed a full section, a straight line must be run between the north and south and the east and west quarter stakes, and at the intersection of these two lines is the center of the section without regard to measurement. These lines divide the section into quarters, hence the terms quarter stake and quarter line. These quarters are divided into eighths by running a straight line north and south between a stake equidistant from a quarter stake and a section corner, and one equidistant from the center of a section and an east or west quarter stake; and a quarter is cut into 40 acres, or one-sixteenth, by running a straight line between a stake equidistant from the center of the section and a north or south quarter stake and from one set equidistant from an east or west quarter stake and a section corner north or south of it. Where no quarter stakes have been set for the north or the west tier of sections, one must be placed equidistant from the N. E. and N. W. or the N. W. and S. W. corners of a section, as the case may be, giving due weight to the quantity of land sold by

government as fractional. Where no quarter stakes have been or could be set at streams, lakes, or private claims, the quarter line must be run at an intermediate course between section lines. If a survey is made strictly in accordance with the system and the law governing it, it is no matter what surveyor makes the survey. An erroneous survey is not right simply because it has been made by a county, or any other surveyor. Such, in general, was the method pursued in the early government surveys of Michigan, and intended to be carried out in the final division among purchasers.

But it may be asked, "How do the surveyors live while making the surveys?" surveyors being in a very real sense pioneers. There were no roads, except the Indian trail, no houses except the Indian wigwam, no inhabitants except the red man and the wild beasts. Well, they are a sort of nomadic class. Their home is often where night overtakes them. Before going into the woods, the surveyor must, of course, provide some sort of food and shelter for himself and men, and implements to work with. For a party of six men for four months, he will need for food 8 barrels of flour, 3 barrels of clear salt pork, 3 or 4 bushels of white beans, 2 bushels of dried apples, 150 pounds of good dry sugar, 60 pounds of ground coffee, 10 pounds of tea, 10 pounds of saleratus, or better, an equivalent of soda and cream of tartar, 1 pound of good pepper, 1 small bag of table salt, 25 pounds of rice, 25 pounds of oatmeal, 5 pounds of castile soap, and such other articles as he can afford and thinks best.

Camp furniture—A large soldiers' tent for party, a small one for the packer, Mackinaw blankets, axes, matches, tin pails, basins, plates, knives and forks, spoons, frying pans, tin cans for lard and saleratus, tin pepper box, soldier-drinking cups, etc., all depending very much on the nature of the country to be surveyed and the facilities for moving materials. For packing, one or two horses or mules, bells and spancels for horses, pack-saddles, a quantity of good bags, large and small, for packing provisions and use about camp. Instruments, compass, chain, tally-pins, tape line, marking tools, pocket compass, hatchet, whetstone, files, pens, ink, paper, field books, etc. All these and much more have to be deposited at a general depot, as near the work as possible, and packed thence to the party as needed. From this depot or some other more convenient point the party starts out for the commencing point of work, each with about as much of a pack on his back as he can well stand under, consisting of his own scanty effects, with such portions of provisions, camp material, etc., as may be assigned to him.

They usually follow up previous surveys, an Indian trail or cut a trail for themselves. Arrived at the point, the tent is pitched, and, if

there is grass in the vicinity, enough is gathered to cover the ground floor of the tent a foot deep, or if in an evergreen country, the small boughs of fir are picked and used for the same purpose. On this are spread blankets, which answer at once for carpet, bed and table. While the tent is being prepared, wood is cut and a large log fire is built in front of the tent for warmth if it is cold, or otherwise for cooking. Where no cook is employed, each one takes his turn in cooking, and at first, at least, some funny cooking is done. The first move is to cut some pork and fry it at the fire in a frying pan. This affords some lard; next, a yard square of cotton drilling is spread on the blanketed floor, flour enough for a baking poured on the drilling, and a hollow made in the middle of the pile, some warm water in which cream of tartar and soda is dissolved, together with some melted lard, is turned into the hollow and mixed with the flour with a spoon until thick enough to knead with the hands. Frying pans are filled with the dough and set before the fire to bake. In the meantime some dried apples and rice are being cooked in tin pails over the fire, and tea and coffee are also being made in pails. This simple meal is not long in being prepared, and the men sit around on the floor of the tent, help themselves, and if hungry, eat with a relish. Night comes—with a good blazing log fire in front of the tent, the men sit around, smoke their pipes, tell yarns until sleepy, and then each one wraps himself in his blanket, and with his boots or whatever he may have for a pillow, gives himself up to balmy sleep, providing that too many mosquitoes are not presenting their bills with their fascinating songs, or a bevy of hooting owls are not holding a pow-wow on the trees over the camp fire, or one or two wolves are not prowling around, howling enough to make a novice think there are a dozen of them.

With dawn of day, sleep or no sleep, often the latter, the party is astir, breakfast is prepared, eaten, dishes washed, and each one taking a piece of bread and a slice or two of raw pork, putting them into a wallet, all start off to work. Noon comes—a small fire is built, each one sharpens a crotched stick, and on it hangs a slice of his pork and broils it over the fire, letting what fat he can fall on his bread as a lubricant. If fortunate enough to be near a stream, lake or pond, he may get some sort of water to help wash down the pork and bread. After a little rest, work proceeds until time to return to camp. It not unfrequently happens that streams have been crossed, and have to be recrossed, or a shower overtakes the party, and they arrive at camp often after dark, wet to the skin, tired, cold and hungry.

If, before leaving in the morning, they had time to partly cook some pork and beans, it will not take long after a fire has been built to prepare a bean soup, and with apple sauce, rice or oatmeal and tea or

coffee, a very good supper is had. When work gets too far from camp to be convenient, camp is moved to some more accessible place. The tent is struck, everything is packed up and carried on the backs of men to the place designated. Beside his share of camp fixtures, and provisions, each one has his own pack of clothing, blankets, etc., to carry. Pack straps are furnished each man and it is sometimes required that each one work all day on the line with his pack on his back.

They must sometimes have washing done, but very little. A woolen shirt, a handkerchief, and a pair of stockings is about all. These he can sometimes wash at night before sleep, on a rainy day, perhaps Sunday, or if he chances to be near a running stream, he can tie his clothes in the stream and let it do the washing. Meanwhile the packer is alone with his horses, packing the provisions from the main depot to designated points near the work, where, with poles and crotches against trees, he makes a scaffold and deposits his load high enough to be out of reach of wild beasts, and covers it with canvas, boughs, or bark of trees to keep it from the storm until it is needed and is then packed by men to camp.

It may be thought that the above is a rather exaggerated case of hard fare. It is not. Much worse often fell to the lot of the early surveyor, and the man who says he never saw such fare was singularly fortunate, or else he never saw much of the surveyor's life. True, much depends upon the facilities offered by the country for getting supplies, and some men take better care of their help than do others, as some do their cattle. Where plenty of good wholesome provisions are provided, and a good cook to prepare them, so that when the party comes into camp they find it nice and tidy and a good, clean, well-cooked meal, though ever so coarse, is ready for them, that is one thing. Where men come in tired, wet, cold, and hungry and then have to turn in and help prepare a meal as best they can, is quite another side of the matter. So they lived and worked, exposed to heat and cold, wet and dry, sickness and accident and many other things that go to make the life of the surveyor a hard one. Pioneers! if not, who are?

SKETCH OF THE SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF ISABELLA COUNTY.

BY J. E. DAY.

The county of Isabella was named after the celebrated patroness of Columbus, and was separated from contiguous territory by legislative act, dated March 2, 1831, but was not separately organized until twenty-eight years later, March 11, 1859. In the year 1854, entries at the Land Office were made under what was known as the "graduation act," by eight or ten settlers, at the price of 50 cents per acre. These persons very soon began to clear and improve the land so purchased, and one at least (P. H. Estee), still resides on the original plat. The first highway into the county was from the south, by way of Gratiot county, which boasted of the villages of St. Louis and Alma, each of which at that time consisted of two houses and families. This road was opened in November, 1854, and made just barely passable that winter, so that three families, viz., Joseph and Thomas Roberts and Patrick Fanning, moved in and have the honor of being the first permanent settlers. Later in the same fall the road was pushed on west and in February, 1855, John M. Hursh settled on a farm just south of where the city of Mt. Pleasant now stands, and thus formed an opening in the forest near the central portion of the county. Almost simultaneously, John M. Frazer and one or two others had crossed the Tittabawassee river and cut a road along the Pine river to the old Indian Mission, a little northwest of the present city, and met the newcomers from the south. It would be profitless and tiresome to recount the hardships and trials of these pioneers, for they were not different from the hardships and trials which attended the settlements of other counties. Most were poor and found that after payment on the land was made, and the expense of the transit was met, little was left in the wallet, and opportunities for replenishing it were not numerous.

The nearest mill, store and postoffice, were 45 miles, so the settlers ground their corn in the hand mill or pounded it in the stump mortar,—went without "store goods" and got their letters when they could. Game was plenty and easy to obtain, so they need not want for meat.

In 1855, a treaty was made by the government with the remnants of several tribes of Indians, mostly Chippewas, who were scattered through Clinton, Saginaw and Gratiot counties, and nearly all of six

townships of land were ceded to them for life. The remaining land of the county was then withdrawn from market and no sales were made until 1863. The placing of these Indians on the reservation made it necessary that something be done by the government to maintain them, so the "Indian mills" were soon built, upon the Chippewa river, and a nucleus made for a cluster of houses, since known as "Isabella City." The machinery and fixtures for the mills, also much of the merchandise needed at the hamlet, were brought up the Chippewa river by canoe or raft, or rather by two of them fastened together and decked over and poled up the stream against the current. The saw mill and flouring mill was a needed blessing to the white man as well as the Indian, and for a time business seemed to settle there. But other causes were in motion, which soon turned the business current into other channels. The Indians on the reservation numbered at first 1,600, but in 1876 had been reduced to about 600, and at the present time scarcely number 300, aside from those connected with the Indian school. "She-mo-ko-man" trickery and "She-mo-ko-man" whisky were elements in the process of civilization with which the Indian could not successfully contend. They were divided by the agent or commissioner into two classes, called "competent" and "not so competent," those of the first class being at once initiated into the mysteries of full citizenship, including the power to sell or mortgage the portion of land which had been the gift of the government, and to be outwitted and defrauded by the white at his will. Those of the second class could not alienate their claims without consent of the commissioner, and as a result those of the less intelligent class were the longest stayers. A characteristic of the Indian nature is to have little care, and to make no provision for the future. So if one gave a mortgage upon his freehold, he made no plan to pay it, but when it became due he gave it up to some speculator and took in place of it a "wild forty" farther back, where the same process would be repeated. Often some speculator would agree with an Indian who had not been granted his allotment, to make his selection and sell to the speculator at a nominal sum, perhaps not a tenth of its value; sometimes, too, by a convenient change of Indian names, the same party could select land more than once, to the benefit of a waiting white. Their land was good and with proper treatment would yield ample returns for labor bestowed upon it, but few made any success in agriculture and most of the reservation is now owned by whites.

The first court house was located at the center of the county, some eight or ten miles northwest from the present location, where a company of men, Jeffries, Isbell & Lee, had located some land upon four corners of contiguous sections, and tried to work up a boom for the county seat but failed.

The present site was selected in May, 1860, and the first court house was built by W. H. Nelson at a cost of $140. The legal business of the county was not large and the record of court proceedings for the first decade, would scarcely cover a dozen foolscap pages. Up to January, 1864, the county held but one lawyer and he was more disposed to settle cases than to make himself business. The business of the term of that date consisted in the granting of a divorce to an Indian, and the admission of a young lawyer to practice in the courts. Hon. J. G. Sutherland was judge, and which of these acts was of greater importance still remains an open question, but results may help to decide. The Indian has disappeared from view, while Hon. I. A. Francher, after thirty-two years of honorable practice, is still "doing business at the old stand."

The first suit in the county was about some sap-troughs, in which the sum of $4 was involved. The first money paid into the county does not reflect credit upon those early inhabitants, as it was one dollar for assault and battery. The first marriage was that of Daniel Robinson and Jane Foutch, by W. H. Stewart, and the latter was paid in coon skins, but at what rate we are not told. The crops of 1858-9 were a failure on account of frosts, and many of the people were reduced to desperate straits to keep the "wolf from the door," so one of the first acts of the county was to issue bonds to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars, to be loaned in such amounts as were necessary to those most needing it. These bonds were to be negotiated by William R. Robins, agent, at a rate of not less than 75 cents on the dollar, and by his report it seems that $500 were so used and the balance returned to the county. During these early days the people depended largely upon the production of maple sugar to furnish means to purchase some of the needed things of common life. In the spring of 1860, four men loaded the product of their spring's work, consisting of eight hundred pounds of maple sugar in a canoe, and started for Saginaw. The load was heavy and they had not gone very far when the boat ran upon a log lying below the surface of the water and capsized, and all the sugar was lost. To the same man, in after years, the loss would have been trifling, but at this time it represented not only the loss of days and weeks of hard labor, but the loss of prospective comfort for months to come. Only one man went on, for only he had anything wherewith to make purchases, and he—Mr. Frazer—to his credit be it told, helped his neighbors in the strait to which the accident had brought them. H. O. Bigelow, of Shepherd, one of the early blacksmiths, performed the feat of shoeing a yoke of oxen; making the nails out of the backs of old scythes, and the shoes out of

two old axes. Pages of such incidents might be written, but they belong to local history and would be of little interest to the State society.

In 1891 measures were set on foot looking to the establishment of an Indian industrial school, on or near the reservation, a bill was introduced in congress and in due time became a law establishing such a school. A fine tract of land comprising 320 acres in sight of the court house, and a splendid school building erected, together with farm and other buildings, suitable to the needs of such an institution. Appropriations have been made from time to time amounting to eighty-five thousand dollars, and additional buildings are now being erected. The school consists of 150 pupils of both sexes, and a corps of educational and industrial tutors. The government appropriates $167 to the maintenance of each pupil one year. The proceeds of the farm are deducted pro rata from this amount.

Altogether it is one of the attractions of the young city and presents a fine appearance.

Almost simultaneously efforts were put forth by our citizens to establish a normal school, which should be managed by the State, and known as the "Central Normal School of Michigan." A site was procured and building erected at a cost of about $35,000 and a school equipped and started, and then offered to the State as a free gift if the State would assume and maintain the school as a normal institution, on a par with other schools of a like character. By an act of legislature of 1895 the school was accepted by the State and is now a fully fledged normal school.

Mt. Pleasant, the county seat, naturally prides herself on these two accessions to her educational endowment; but aside from these the city has $40,000 worth of school edifices, and a court house and sheriff's residence, fine churches and business blocks, together with electric lights, and a fine system of water works and electric fire alarm, all of which compare favorably with any city of its population and age in the State. The county of Isabella comprises sixteen townships, mostly all of excellent land and nearly all in cultivated farms. The southern portion was settled by people from New York and Ohio. The western, from Ohio, the northern largely from Canada, and the northwestern from Clinton county, being mostly Germans. We have a fertile county and a prosperous and worthy people.

SKETCH OF PETER NAW-GAW-NEE, A CELEBRATED INDIAN OF THE ISABELLA COUNTY RESERVATION.

BY. J. E. DAY.

There has lately died upon the reservation, one of the last of the warriors of the ancient but nearly extinct Chippewa tribe of Indians. He was up to his death one of the living links connecting the civilization of the present with the history of the past. He was the son of Sha-sa-boc (Timber full of holes), and was born near the site of the village of Fenton, at what was known to the Indians as Long Lake—near the close of the last century. He was present at the battle of the Thames where Tecumseh was killed, a scout at the age of fifteen. As this took place in 1813, our hero must have been born in 1798. Sha-sa-boc was a warrior of note under Pontiac and participated in the siege of Detroit, the massacres on the Wabash, Maumee, and Bloody Run. He was employed by the English as a scout in the warfare against the French previous to the revolution. It was during the bloody scenes of the war of 1812 that young Naw-gaw-nee began the remarkable career so lately closed. Being of almost reckless bravery, and of marvelous endurance, and withal exceedingly fleet of foot, he was chosen to go on many an important mission. Tecumseh, the renowned chief of the Shawnees, and his brother prophet, had raised the war whoop, and sent round the war belt, to the neighboring tribes, urging them to join in a confederacy against the whites. Most of these tribes joined in the league, but the death of their leader at the battle of the Thames, disorganized the band and frustrated their plans. During this time Peter Naw-gaw-nee was frequently at Detroit, and knew Gen. Hull, Lewis Cass and many others, whom he designated only by the cognomen given by the Indians. He remembered Hull as a tall, fine looking man, a lover of games, and often both a witness and an active participant in Indian sports. One day a foot race was arranged between the Wyandots and the Chippewas, in answer to a challenge from the former, and Gen. Hull selected the boy, Peter, to run the race, which he won, and received as his prize $30 and a suit of clothes. After peace was established Naw-gaw-nee lived with his people at Long Lake, and soon became as renowned in the hunt, as he had been in the battle. He could walk erect to his wigwam under the weight of two deer, without fatigue. Bear, moose, and elk, were plenty, and often fell before his gun. About

1820 he made a trip alone to the west, past the site of Chicago to the great river, then down to the Ohio, up this and down the Maumee, seeing only slight traces of the white man's presence. One of the pastimes of his tribe was wrestling for the championship. Gathered on a set day each of the contestants stood by his post or stake, and as each was defeated his post was thrown down. Each was provided with a knife in his belt, and when angry did not hesitate to use it to the disadvantage of his opponent. One day, says Naw-gaw-nee, a brave became angry at his rival and stabbed him in the neck so that he died. He then stood at his post and cried, "who comes next?" The next met the same fate, and others, until the chief put an end to the carnage. Naw-gaw-nee was present and participated in the treaties at Detroit and Saginaw, and often met agents and commissioners of the government, as representative of his tribe. He remembered Cass as a portly, bald-headed man, kind to the Indian in peace, but severe in war, and from him received many tokens of favor. In 1848 the government gathered all the remnants of the Pottawatomies and located them on a reservation in Kansas. Some of these were among the Chippewas and the wife of Naw-gaw-nee was one of them. Her husband was employed to hunt these Pottawatomies out and get them on the reservation, but he would not report his wife as one. She, however, became frightened and fled to Canada, and he had to console himself with another dusky lady. He early moved to the northeast, and settled near Saginaw and in 1864 moved to the Isabella county reservation, where he lived up to the time of his death in 1895. Some years ago he was converted to Christianity and has since lived a quiet and peaceable life. In 1882, two sons by the second wife, grown up to be stalwart men, joined a company and went to Europe to exhibit the manners and dress of the American Indians, and having made a successful tour were on their return on board the steamer Servia as steerage passengers. When off the coast of Newfoundland she collided with the steamer Scotia and sunk. By the rules in such cases the first-class passengers had the first chance of being saved, and the lower grades in their order. As a large portion of the boats and provisions had been destroyed in the collision, all could not be saved, so when a call was made for the second-class passengers the boys got in the boat and were ordered out by the captain. Upon their refusal he struck one and split his skull with a boat ax, and the other was thrown overboard and drowned. This severed the last living link connecting Naw-gaw-nee with the rest of humanity. Wife and family dead, tribal relation lost, and the tribe itself fast passing away, he passed from earth a veritable instance of "the last of the Mohicans."

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS ABOUT GULL PRAIRIE.

BY FRANK LITTLE.

[Read before the Kalamazoo Pioneer Society August 15, 1895.]

Ethnologists do not agree as to the origin or antiquity of the Indian races. Some claim that they have existed as a separate department of nations from the earliest ages of the world, that they are as indigenous to this continent as its plants and animals. Columbus found them in great numbers when he landed at the Bahama Islands in 1492. As a species it would seem undeniable that the American Indians were originally created in the form, semblance and with the characteristics of men; that they were undeniably and, we may say, lawfully, in peaceable possession of this continent, and that only by force and bloody wars of extermination were they driven from their homes.

When our pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock in December, 1620, it is said, "they fell on their knees in devout thankfulness to Almighty God for the preservation of their lives through a long and perilous voyage." Not many months, it may be, thereafter, they having been fed and kept from starvation by these very savages, they mercilessly fell upon the aborigines and put them to the sword.

From that day on, all along the line of settlement, the Christianized, civilized white man as a rule, has characterized the North American Indian as a beastly, unmitigated, bloodthirsty savage, incapable of civilization or Christianization, according to the white man's standard; a cruel, false, thievish, murderous animal, with no genuine human instincts or rights, save that of annihilation. This has been the average orthodox white man's view.

A few more fair minded and mercifully inclined, who believe that the Indian has suffered gross wrongs and abuses, have said that if the Indian had a literature and an historic ancestry, had known the art of printing and of letters, he would have written a different and much more attractive history of himself, would more truthfully have delineated his natural impulses and characteristics, and perhaps shown some redeeming traits. But it was foreordained, undoubtedly, that the Indian was to go.

INDIANS AT DETROIT.

My first acquaintance with the Indians of Michigan began at Detroit in October, 1831, when, as an emigrant boy, I landed from the steamboat William Penn at the foot of Woodward avenue. Numbers of them stood on the banks of the river gazing at us as we came on shore. I had read of Tecumseh and the cruel Indian massacre of the early settlers of the West, and I looked at them with mingled feelings of curiosity and dread. Detroit had been a prominent Indian trading post since its first settlement by the French in 1670. And when we came in 1831 the native Indians were still in full possession of the territory. It was not until 1833, when, by treaty stipulation, they vacated the territory and the various tribes went or were removed west to their several reservations.

Our party of emigrants, mainly a colony from Vermont, consisted of eleven men, three of whom were teamsters, three women and seven children. Leaving Detroit our route mainly followed an old Indian trail or "blazed" trees to guide the way. Fording streams and marshes we were two weeks on the journey with horses and ox teams from Detroit to Kalamazoo county, arriving at Toland's Prairie, November 5, 1831. Our teams were frequently scattered at wide intervals through the woods and utterly defenseless. Not a gun or a dog with any of the wagons to my knowledge. The men, women frequently, and teamsters walked, the children rode with the goods. Nearly every day we encountered roving bands of Indian men, squaws, papooses, ponies and dogs traversing the woods in various directions. They seemed peacefully inclined, making no effort to tomahawk or scalp us. Every Indian had a weapon of some kind, rifle, tomahawk, bow and arrows, clubs and hunting knife. They were usually in full Indian dress, their hair long and braided, a badger, beaver or fox skin worn as a turban and surmounted with hawk or eagle feathers; Mackinaw blanket, deer skin hunting shirt leggings and moccasins ornamented with porcupine quills, wampum belt, turkey call, pipe and tobacco. The men were tall, straight and stern looking, their faces usually hideously and grotesquely painted, well calculated to strike terror to the heart of the timid, pale-faced New England boy, who had read the history of King Philip's bloody wars. The women were short, thickset, mild-mannered, kind-hearted, and of cheerful disposition —good, motherly, hospitable creatures I thought, as I frequently visited their wigwam homes in early boyhood.

Of the leading tribes of Michigan Indians were the Hurons and the Chippewas in the Saginaw valley, the Ottawas—a numerous, powerful tribe in the Grand River district—their chief Noonday, whom I remember quite well, a notable Indian of commanding form, lived to be

100 years old. The Pottawatomies were mainly in this and the Niles district, with Pokagon as their chief; the Nottawas were to the southeast and the Shawnees to the southwest. These different tribes intermingled and intermarried more or less, understood each other's language and used many words in common. Your speaker acquired the language sufficiently well for all practical purposes.

THE BLACK HAWK UPRISING.

In the spring of 1832, news came by post riders of a formidable uprising of Wisconsin Indians, headed by Black Hawk, a noted Sac chief. Although this outbreak was remote from Kalamazoo, yet it caused great alarm among the early settlers here, for the messenger reported that all the Indian braves in Wisconsin, Illinois and western Michigan were going to join Black Hawk's standard, and with pillage and blood he was going to lead his forces through Michigan on his way to Malden, Canada. Following these tidings came a postrider from Pigeon to Gull Prairie with military orders from General Brown for able bodied men to meet at the house of Col. Isaac Barnes to organize for defense and for volunteers. With my father I went to this meeting, about a mile from our home. The men were drawn up in line, the orders were read and four men volunteered. One I knew, Mr. Oka Town. He died this last winter at Otsego, over 90 years of age. A few days after this I attended a grand council of Indian chiefs held in a mammoth wigwam near the west shore of Gull Lake. This was to ascertain the temper of the Indians of the locality in reference to the Black Hawk insurrection. The chiefs in full dress were seated in a great circle upon valuable robes, mats and skins of animals spread upon the ground. A more dignified, grave, imposing body of men I never saw. The calumet, or pipe of peace, of elaborate, ornamental workmanship was slowly passed around the circle, and each one took a whiff in silence. Then the speeches began in regular order, according to age and rank. It was found that the young men were for war, but the older, experienced sachems counseled peace. Rev. Leonard Slater, Baptist missionary, and two converted Indians, Jonathan Going, and Joseph Elliott, acted as interpreters.

For an unknown period prior to white settlement, and before the acquisition, survey and sale of lands in this district by the United States government, the great Indian double trail from Toledo to Mackinaw crossed Gull Prairie from the southeast, about one-half mile east of the present village of Richland. It was one of the great Indian overland routes from Ohio, Indiana and southern Michigan, to Grand Rapids and Mackinaw, one of their principal trading posts. The Indians usually traveled in groups of twenty-five to fifty, young and old, ponies and

dogs, always in single file, one right behind the other. This trail crossed a tract of wild prairie land my father had purchased for a farm and our first log house stood close by this great Indian thoroughfare.

I shall always remember that memorable spring of 1832. We had just moved into our log house when the Black Hawk war broke out. Strange Indian braves in full war paint and feathers, mounted on fleet horses, riding at breakneck speed, brandishing their tomahawks, whooping and yelling like demons, passed and repassed on the trail nearly every day. There was great alarm, a constant watch was kept. No one felt secure. But news came in a few weeks from the west that Black Hawk had been captured and his band dispersed by General Scott. The fright then gradually subsided.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE.

Whatever is given here is simply an attempt to relate personal observations and experiences and recall scenes and incidents that happened many years ago. Although a mere lad I fully shared with my father and mother the hardships and privations incident to seeking to establish a new home in an unbroken wilderness—a land peopled with savages.

Keenly alive to the difficulties in the way, sympathizing with my parents in all their discouragements and forebodings, all that transpired seems indelibly impressed upon my memory, not to be effaced so long as life shall last.

We found the interior of Michigan, prairie, oak openings and timber in the primitive undisturbed condition of nature. Not a tree cut, not a furrow plowed; not a fence, bridge, or defined traveled roadway in any direction. A few log cabins had been built here and there on pre-empted claims by the pioneer settlers; usually on the edge of the timber or by some marsh, lake or stream.

Here the Indian, deer, bears, wolves, foxes, turkeys, prairie chickens, quails, partridge, and innumerable quadrupeds, birds, reptiles and other living things harmoniously had their primeval homes.

> "All parts of that stupendous whole,
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul."

The Indians, undisturbed by the encroachments of the whites, lived in their respective villages and roamed at will, hunting, fishing and trapping furs. Their chiefs had sold the land a short time before to the United States government. It had been surveyed and offered for sale to the settlers in June, 1831. We came into the county in November, 1831.

With stern, stoical resignation and seeming indifference, the Indians were looking forward to the near abandonment of their happy hunting

grounds—the homes and graves of their ancestors for countless generations. My heart went out in tenderness and sympathy for them, as I saw them in 1833, with all their belongings strapped on their ponies or backs, on their sad, silent march to a strange land in the far west. The principal food of the Indians was venison and bear meat, turkey, wild geese, berries, maple sugar, wild honey and fish. They cultivated, in a rude fashion, small patches of sugar corn, beans, squashes and melons. They were expert in killing game, trapping furs, tanning, dressing and handling skins. These they exchanged with the French traders for blankets, guns, powder, lead, hatchets, knives, camp kettles and a great variety of special articles and ornaments, of which latter they were very fond. They made in season large quantities of maple sugar which they stored in bark boxes called mococks.

The squaws were industrious, patient, ingenious workers—always busy, always happy. They embroidered beautifully hunting shirts, leggings and moccasins with beads, silk and porcupine quills. They also wove elegant mats from wild grass and rushes and made a great variety of baskets.

Among the pioneers it was proverbially said that an Indian was always "buckatah" hungry. Food of any kind never came amiss. Loosening his belt his capacity was simply immense. Wherever he went, from cabin to cabin, he levied heavy contributions upon the wives of the poor, defenseless settlers for "ginshigun," bread.

ARTIFICIAL EARTH MOUNDS.

Centuries ago, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the great Mississippi valley, artificial earth mounds abounded. There were probably two or three hundred of them in this county alone, one in Bronson park, Kalamazoo. The native Indians knew nothing of their age, origin or purpose. Archæologists agree that the mound builders were a more civilized distinct race; that they mined copper at Lake Superior ages ago. Later there is no doubt that this county was numerously populated with Indians within a comparatively recent time. Remains and signs of large permanent villages were abundant. In the vicinity of these were numerous caches—circular pits about three feet deep dug in the ground, lined and covered with bark for the storage of corn, dried and smoked meat, etc. The Indians had no salt for preserving meat or for food.

In the later years they practiced moving their lodges or wigwams from place to place three or four times a year. Everything the Indian owned was portable, easily transported on the backs of the ponies and squaws. No housecleaning or chamberwork to do. No taxes to pay. If the sani-

tary conditions about his tepee became unhealthy, he simply pulled up stakes, took his squaw and papooses and went to a fresh spot.

The usual mode of burial among the Indians was in a shallow trench dug in the ground. In it the body in full dress was placed, with bow and arrows, hunting knife, venison, pipe and tobacco by side, the whole covered with boughs and bark. Sometimes the corpse was placed upon a frame of poles, elevated six or eight feet from the ground, out of reach of the coyotes and left to decay.

In mourning the Indians painted their faces red and black and their howling and wailing would discount any full-blooded Irish wake.

In the woods near our house on Gull Prairie in 1832, was a rude box above ground, made of small poles, containing the body of an adult Indian in a sitting posture facing the east, dressed as in life, with gun, powder horn, tomahawk, tobacco and pounded corn by his side—a startling sight. It remained unmolested more than a year after I first saw it, until some civilized doctor despoiled the tomb and stole the body away.

In love-making the young Indian braves musically inclined constructed a species of flute from hollow reeds. With these they serenaded and wooed the dusky object of their affections. The tones, weird and peculiar, somewhat resembled the Scotch bagpipe. While not the sweetest music in the world it probably did the business for the Indian lovers.

The Indian mothers usually had their young papooses strapped in a curious frame or box of quaint workmanship and bandaged so tightly—body, arms and legs, that they could only move their heads. I never heard an Indian baby cry or show any symptoms of impatience or restlessness. Neither did I ever witness the act of nourishment; howbeit, they were always plump and well fed. "Straight as an Indian" is a proverbial saying.

THE STORY OF MAUNGWUDAUS.

Some years after the scenes narrated I became intimately acquainted with a noted Chippewa chief. Craving your indulgence a brief sketch is submitted.

In 1840-52 there was an Indian mission of about fifty families, mostly of the Ottawa tribe, located three miles north of Gull Corners. This mission was in charge of Rev. Leonard Slater, a Baptist missionary—Noonday, the venerable chief of the Ottawas, with his baptized daughter Rachel, lived at the mission. There was another missionary station near Green Lake, north of Yankee Springs, conducted by Rev. Mr. Selkrig, an Episcopalian.

During the later years named—1848-52, in company with my father-in-law, Deacon Rockwell May, we kept a general store at Gull Corners,

Richland. The Indians from both missions traded extensively at our store. I knew most of them by name and had a partial knowledge of their language. At the time there was a daily line of stages running from Battle Creek to Grand Rapids—breakfasting and changing horses at Gull Corners.

One morning in June, 1850 or '51, a richly dressed stranger of noble, commanding form and majestic features, alighted from the stage at the Judson hotel across the way and went in to breakfast. He did not resume his seat after breakfast and go on with the stage, but soon came across the street to the store. He was upward of six feet tall, erect, well proportioned, of massive build, a Websterian head, remarkably penetrating eagle eye, very intelligent look, perfectly self-possessed, and great ease of manner. He impressed me at once as being a distinguished character—I thought the completest, most perfect specimen of a man I had ever seen. He appeared to be 45 years of age. His complexion was slightly bronzed, but I did not suspect him of being an Indian. He spoke English fluently. He introduced himself as Maungwudaus, a Chippewa chief, whose native home had been in northern Michigan. He had just come from Washington. He said that some twelve or fourteen years before Mr. George Catlin, an eminent American traveler and explorer among the North American Indians, had selected a troupe of superior Indian men and women—ten in number, himself one of them, and had educated and trained them for public exhibitions. They had traveled over all Europe, Mr. Catlin in charge, exhibiting before crowned heads and at royal palaces. Maungwuduas showed me a number of gold and silver medals, presented to him by kings, queens and emperors, and one from President Zachary Taylor, all tokens of personal genius and merit. The Indians under Catlin did not thrive. They pined for their wigwam homes and native woods. The artificial mode of living, diet, clothing, sleep, etc., preyed upon their health. They sickened, and many died. Finally the troup disbanded, and Maungwudaus came home to America.

He said he wished to organize a company of Indians on his own account. He had heard of Slater and Selkrig missions, and had come to Gull Prairie to see if he could find any suitable material for his band. Did I know the Indians hereabouts? Were there any that I thought would answer his purpose? I told him I knew a remarkably fine looking, Indian woman—Taundoqua by name—partly French I thought, about twenty-five years old; did not know whether she was single or not; but was a prize worth securing. She had been attached to the Selkrig mission but was a frequent visitor at Slater's. We took a carriage and went to the mission. Taundoqua was not there. We left word with an Indian for her to come down to the store. The next day, Taundoqua and a number of Indians came and stopped on the green in front of the store. Maungwudaus saw her through the window. He exclaimed, "Oh, she is

beautiful"—nishiskin—good. He bought a number of presents and sent me out to distribute them among the Indians. Did not go out himself. The Indians came again soon. I introduced Maungwudaus to them. He continued to buy presents, but Taundoqua was very shy.

Maungwudaus remained there a number of weeks. He gave me a detailed sketch of his early life and travels in foreign lands. We became much attached to each other, hunted, played chess, visited the Indians and were close intimate friends. He said he was a Mason of high degree, ranking next to Gen. Cass. He was quite urgent for me to go with him as general manager of the troupe and to give a brief introduction each evening on the stage. I did not go.

TOOK TAUNDOQUA AS A BRIDE.

Maungwudaus and Taundoqua went away together. I received a number of letters from him after he left Richland, all of the most affectionate import, calling me his dear brother, "Pangotigoninne" and signing himself "Kec Kaun, Maungwudaus."

He had an elegant massive neklace of grizzly bear's claws that he wore on state occasions. Some few years after the events narrated, while I still lived at Richland, the good chief honored me with a visit. Being at Kalamazoo on his way to Chicago he stopped off, hired a carriage and driver, and came up to see me, decorated with his medals and grand necklace.

Our meeting was cordial in the extreme. His eyes moistened as he took my hand at parting and said: "Good bye, my dear brother." We have never seen each other since.

Years afterwards I was in Mr. Stanley's studio at Detroit. He was at work upon his famous painting, "The Trial of Red Jacket." I asked him if he had ever seen Maungwudaus? He said yes, and showed me a daguerreotype of my good friend, the Chippewa chief.

Maungwudaus was at the National hotel in Washington April 2, 1850. He made the acquaintance of Hon. Henry Clay, who conducted him into the parlor and introduced him to some fifty or sixty persons, ladies, officers and gentlemen. Mr. Clay said: "I cannot help envying the chieftain his splendid form, ample chest, manly strength, height of stature and dignified face."

The chief called upon President Taylor and presenting him a pair of large snowshoes said: "Venerable father, having traveled in many countries beyond the sea and been welcomed to the hearthstone of chiefs and sovereigns of Europe, I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude to the Great Spirit for His goodness in conducting me back to the home of my fathers; and before visiting my kindred I desire to grasp in friend-

ship the hand of the father of this great people." President Taylor replied: "That he was happy to extend the hand of friendship to such a worthy representative of the Chippewa nation," and expressed a warm personal interest in their welfare. He then presented the chief an elegant silver medal as a token of esteem and remembrance.

Maungwudaus had been ordained as a Methodist minister. He translated the missionary hymn, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," into the Chippewa language. A copy of this with all his letters to me is carefully preserved * * * * The Chippewa nation was one of the large formidable tribes of American Indians of stalwart form and excellent features. They were quite numerous in Michigan, the head waters of the Mississippi, Lake Superior, Hudson's bay and other points in the great northwest. Their language was similar in some respects to that of the Pottowatomies with whom they affiliated and intermarried. In the later years they were peaceful and friendly to the whites, unless wronged and their rights invaded; and this was true of all the other tribes of interior Michigan.

INDIAN FUNERAL SCENE.

BY M. D. CHATTERTON.

In 1851 there were but three dwelling houses, and they of logs, between Okemos and Lansing. Asa Proctor lived one-fourth mile west of the mouth of Pine Lake outlet, on the north side of the road; one-quarter of a mile further west, on the other side of the road, just east of the bridge across Cedar river, lived Horace Havens, the place where the writer commenced his residence in Ingham county; about half a mile further westward on the bank of the river nearly ten rods west of where the Botanical Labratory now stands, was the log shanty of Robert Burcham. A building one story high, the roof of which consisted of split logs, hollowed out like troughs, and laid according to the English style of tiling houses. The road leading to the "Middle Town" of Lansing left the plank road at a point near where the frame house now stands in the east orchard of the college farm, and running nearly in a straight line to Burcham's house, and continuing as now located to town. The country on each side of the road from Okemos to Lansing was an unbroken wilderness, except, two or three acres cleared around each of the log houses.

Roving bands of Indians, with their ponies and camp equipage was no uncommon sight to the early pioneer of 1851. The central figure of Indian history of Ingham county, around which all others cluster, is the

noted chief, Okemos. He was not a chief by reason of hereditary descent, but it was conferred upon him by the Chippewa tribe on account of bravery and skill exhibited by him as a warrior in the battle of Sandusky in 1813. His prowess had long ceased to exist, and he was known to the pioneer of that day as a harmless beggar, supplicating his daily food from the hand of the early white settler. Almost any old resident of Ingham county, referring back of 1858, can relate some instance of the chief's visits to his house for food. His reputation of being a "good Indian," as well as a noted chief, made him a welcome visitor, although a gluttonous eater. It was not unusual to see him loosen his girdle to accommodate his enlarged condition by reason of the hospitality of some friendly pioneer. He did not possess a social nature; it was with difficulty he could be persuaded to relate incidents of his own experience—questions propounded to him were generally answered by a "Ugh."

I remember some time before the Agricultural College was located, while a small boy returning from the summer school at Okemos, I found the old chief stretched at full length on the floor of our log cabin, sleeping off the effect of an overloaded stomach. He was a short, thick set person, and from his general appearance, had been a leader, and any one might claim, with a great deal of propriety, that at that time he was an hundred years old. On the left side of his head, near the top, was an ugly looking scar, four or five inches long, showing what was claimed to be a saber cut received by him in battle at Sandusky.

The only conversation I have any distinct recollection of as falling from his lips, was his account of hunting deer and wild turkeys. The former, he said, were not as difficult to capture as the latter. The seeming hesitating disposition of the deer, when approached, was to stop and investigate the situation to see if it really was an Indian or not. He said the deer would seem to say, "Guess taint Ingin;" while the turkey was a different nature, he never stopped to reason or to investigate, but would seem to say, "Ingin be G—d," and was out of sight.

The old chief had three papooses, two boys and a girl, John and Jim, the girl's name I have forgotten, or never knew. In the summer of 1852, while some Indians were camped on the south bank, at the rapids in the bend of the river, about eighty rods east of where the college buildings now stand, the daughter of the chief died. Three or four hundred Indians immediately assembled to perform their funeral services over the dead child of their distinguished leader. They constructed a rude drum by cutting off the end of a hollow log and stretched a deerskin over it, upon which the Indians kept a constant thumping night and day while the body remained in camp, in order to attract the Spirit of the Great Father to this spot who would take charge of the departed one, and safely conduct it to the "happy hunting ground" of the good Indians' future home.

During the first night of this performance, in company with those much older, we visited the camp to witness the scene. A number of Indians, with their squaws, collected around a fire and performed a sort of dance, without any seeming regard to order, and gave vent to the most horrid groans, screeches and gesticulations imaginable; echoes of their wild, hideous cries and lamentations reverberated through the dense forest. The moving bodies before the light of the funeral pyre reflected ghost-like shadows in the inky darkness, which seemed like the cast of Danté in describing his Inferno. The old chief sat in his tent, silent, sad, mournful and alone, the pictorial embodiment of grief. This hideous ceremony lasted the entire night, and we remained for hours the unmolested spectators of this strange drama, and, as we were informed, until their natures were exhausted, and the morning daylight appeared. My father's house was only about eighty rods from the camp, and long after we returned, could be heard the thumps on the drum, the groans of the mourners, and see the light reflected on the trees surrounding the scene.

My father and the hired man, at the request of John and Jim Okemos, had prepared the day before a long, narrow, straight rough board box as a coffin; the next morning, in company with them, we went to the camp with this rude casket. Indians fast asleep were seen in all directions, lying in the leaves about the camp. Nothing had the appearance of intoxicating liquors having been used. The dead body was lying upon a bed of leaves, finely and gayly dressed in a short skirt, moccasins on its feet, its neck, wrists and ankles were decked with strings of beads; its glassy eyes wide open staring at us as we passed along. After the body was placed in this rough box, our hired man, Mr. Solomon Bruce, made an attempt to nail down the lid, but was stopped by an Indian who said, "She could no get out." So an Indian pealed some bark and tied the cover to its place, it was then put in a canoe made of elm bark, and in company with two other canoes proceeded down the river to Shim-ni-con, an Indian burial ground near Portland, Ionia county, while the large company of Indians took the more direct route to await the arrival of the body.

This strange event formed an impression upon my young mind that time will never erase.

December 5th, 1858, the old chief died near De Witt, Clinton county, and was buried by the side of his daughter.

THE MICHIGAN-INDIANA BOUNDARY.

BY ANNAH MAY SOULE, M. L.

The history of the Michigan boundary is more interesting, certainly, than that of any of the Western states, for almost every mile of the boundary has been contested. With Ohio and Wisconsin, Michigan had long and exciting disputes in which that most dread of evils, civil war, was threatened. The struggle between Michigan and Indiana was short and unexciting, nevertheless it is somewhat interesting and certainly is worthy of study.

In 1787 Congress created the Northwest Territory, including within it all of the public domain lying northwest of the Ohio River.[1] In 1800 this region was divided into two territories, one called Indiana, the other retaining the name of the Northwest Territory. The line dividing these territories ran from the Kentucky River to Fort Recovery and then due north to the Canadian line.[2] Thus, the region now known as Michigan, was divided into two nearly equal parts, the one belonging to Indiana, the other remaining with the Northwest Territory.

This unnatural division of a peninsula did not last long, however. In 1802 the state of Ohio was created, and the whole of what is now Michigan became Wayne county of the Territory of Indiana.[3] Three years later this Wayne county was organized as the Territory of Michigan. The people of Indiana objected to losing this lake region,[4] but their protests were vain. In 1805 Michigan Territory was created and it embraced all the country lying north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan, until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States.

In 1816 Indiana was admitted as a state, with a northern boundary extending east from a point ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan.[5] This took from the Territory of Michigan a strip of land ten miles wide and one hundred miles long, but the act was unchallenged, at the time. No one in Congress was particularly interested in

1 Ordinance of 1787.
2 Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 58.
3 Proclamation of Governor Harrison in Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. VIII, p. 541.
4 House Journal, 1804-7, p. 207. Annals of Congress, 9th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 294, 297.
5 Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 289.

the subject, except the Indiana delegate. He was, of course, anxious to secure a lake port for his state. As chairman of the committee to report on the admission of Indiana he could largely control the debate upon the boundaries, but there seems to have been little need to do so.[6] Michigan was not yet represented, and who else would think about a strip of land in that distant region, or remember that the Ordinance of 1787 had prescribed boundaries for such a wilderness?

Soon, however, the news of this act reached the west, and the ever watchful Governor and Judges of Michigan, in 1818, put themselves on record as opposed to the northern boundary of Indiana, on the ground that it was both illegal and inexpedient to reduce the limits of the territory. They evidently realized that their protests would be in vain, for they state, in their memorial to congress, that they take this means to preserve "the just rights of the people of this territory, * * * * that it may not be hereafter supposed they have acquiesced in the changes which have been made." The final decision of the question they left to the future "when," they said, "the people of this country can be heard by their own representatives."[7]

They do not appear to have been "heard by their own representatives," however, in 1827, at which time a bill was passed, providing for the survey of the northern boundary of Indiana as defined in the act of 1816.[8] The request to have this line marked came from Indiana, and evidently grew out of a disputed jurisdiction.[9] But the dispute must have been chiefly on the side of Indiana, for the boundary was marked, as the bill had been passed, without opposition from Michigan authorities,[10] although the territory was by that time represented in Congress. Whether the silence of Michigan was due to indifference or to a feeling that the time was not yet ripe for opposition cannot be told. Certainly a few years later Governor Cass did advise the legislative council not to urge a claim to the disputed tract, as Indiana was in possession and it was best to wait until Michigan was admitted to a place in the tribunal which must decide the question.[11] This notice of the overlapping claims of Indiana and Michigan was made simply because Ohio was claiming a strip of land on their southeastern border, and Michigan people were asserting an inviolable right to all the country included within the territory in 1805.

This seeming indifference of Michigan to the western country apparently emboldened Indiana. In 1833 it was proposed in the national

[6] Annals of Congress, Vol. XXX, p. 254. Cong. Debates, Vol. V, p. 493 et im passim. Sen. Docs. No. 354, 23d Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. IV, p. 21.

[7] Memorial of the Governor and Judges, 1818, Archives State Dept., Lansing.

[8] Sen. Journal, 19th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 79. House Journal, 19th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 355, 379.

[9] Memoirs of J. Q. Adams, Vol. VIII, p. 16.

[10] Sen. Docs., No. 5, 20th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol IX. State Papers, No. 187, 20th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. V.

[11] Journal Mich. Legislative Council, 1831, p. 7. Sen. Docs., No. 354, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. IV, p. 31.

house of representatives, that the committee on territories be instructed to report on the advisability of extending Indiana to the St. Joseph river.[12] This attempt of Indiana to secure another lake port ended with the introduction of the resolution, and it seems to have been unnoticed in Michigan.

The following year Governor Mason appointed commissioners to treat with Indiana, as well as Ohio, regarding the boundary dispute, but the Hoosiers do not appear to have responded. In fact there was no reason for their being in the least distressed about the matter. The tract in question had always been under their jurisdiction,[13] and the Michigan Council said it should so remain until the courts decided its possessor—provided that decision was made, or suit leading to such decision was commenced before March of 1837.[14] The delegates from Michigan had just got reported to Congress a bill providing for the admission of the states "north of Ohio and Indiana,"[15] quite as if there was no question about the boundaries of those states. Indeed so secure was Indiana of her right to all the land which Congress had given her, that one of her Senators at this time supported the claims of Michigan against Ohio. Senator Tipton said in the debate on the Michigan-Ohio boundary that Ohio had no claim to the strip of land in question. Congress, he said, had power to divide the Northwest Territory as expediency directed. But expediency did not direct that Ohio should be given a region which Michigan had cultivated and improved. Expediency had directed that Indiana should be given a lake port and that state had been extended ten miles north of the line prescribed as the southern boundary of Michigan. But the strip of land then taken from Michigan was only nominally a part of the territory. It had never been organized, was in fact a wilderness.[16] In 1835 another petition for admission was made by Michigan, but it was expressly stated therein that the conflict with Indiana "is one which can easily be adjusted."[17] Michigan people appear to have had little desire to secure the land claimed by Indiana, and the only reason for demanding it was the desire to uphold the claim to the original boundary. But in 1835 the attempt of Ohio to secure what they thought theirs by all that was just and right, stirred the people of Michigan to a determination to stand for the "inviolability of soil" and "integrity of territorial limits" against all comers. It was declared that the

12 House Journal, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 106.

13 Ex. Docs., No. 207, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. V, p. 5.

14 Laws of Mich., 1835, pp. 9–12.

15 Letter of Lyon to A. E. Wing, Dec. 27, 1835. Sen. Journal, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 157–257.

16 Cong. Debates, Vol. X, pt. II, pp. 1899–1900.

17 Reports of Comm. 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, No. 380, p. 2. Judge Campbell says the people of the "strip attached" to Indiana were allowed to vote for delegates to the Constitutional Convention, (Michigan p. 443) if so it must have been by local authorities for the act providing for the election of those delegates makes no provision for them and the jurisdiction of Michigan had never extended over that territory. Laws of Michigan, 1830–35, p. 74.

Indiana line was illegal, the act establishing it being void, since it disregarded the Ordinance line.[18]

At once the best energies of the Indiana people were turned against Michigan. Not only her Congressmen opposed the admission of Michigan, but the legislature petitioned Congress not to admit the new State unless by her constitution she expressly acknowledged the present boundary of Indiana.[19] In vain the Michigan people protested that they had no disagreement with Indiana which Congress could not adjust.[20] The claims of Indiana rested upon an express act of Congress and the assent thereto of the people.[21] The claims of Ohio had never been confirmed by Congress, but on the contrary had been repeatedly ignored by that body, how could the question be the same? Michigan people held the Ordinance of 1787 as the basis of their claim to the one tract. If that was yielded, might not there be room for question whether an act of Congress could set aside any term of that contract? Lucius Lyon himself had once said that "an east and west line drawn through the southern extreme of Lake Michigan is unalterably fixed and established as the true northern boundary of the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, by the Ordinance of 1787; and all acts * * * of Congress conflicting therewith, are, and must be, null and void."[22] Could the people of Indiana sit down and quietly let Congress admit a state which included within her self-defined borders, twelve or fifteen thousand square miles of her territory, and the one and only lake port which Indiana possessed?[23] What if Michigan people did proclaim aloud that the possession of that strip of land could be settled in the courts after their admission.[24]

Possession might be nine-tenths of the law, and Indiana had possesed the territory for twenty years, but if the principle upon which Michigan insisted should be acknowledged, possession might not be secure, after all. So Indiana went over to the Ohio side, and, from saying Ohio had no right to a northern extension, urged that she be extended to a line several miles further north than was asked—to a line parallel with the northern boundary of Indiana.[25] People and politicians of Indiana talked and wrote and voted against the admission of their northern neighbor, they demanded that before she was admitted Michigan must not only acknowledge the northern line of Indiana, as established by Congress,

[18] Sen. Docs., No. 354, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. IV, p. 29.

[19] Sen. Docs., No. 72, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, p. 1. Cong. Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 37, 39, 1010. Lyon's letters to A. E. Wing, Dec. 27, 1835. Lyon's letters to C. K. Green, Dec., 1835.

[20] Sen. Docs., No. 211, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. III, p. 21. Above page.

[21] Enabling Act. Cong. Globe, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, Appendix p. 153.

[22] Sen. Docs., No. 354, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. IV, p. 29.

[23] Sen. Docs. 24th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 211, Vol. III, p. 5. Cong. Globe, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 27-8.

[24] Ex. Docs., No. 207, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. V, p. 5.

[25] Sen. Docs., No. 72, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, p. 1.

but Congress must again solemnly declare that boundary to be such as was described in the act of 1816, and marked in 1827. With Indiana and Ohio against her, who could be for Michigan? The act admitting Michigan, which was passed in 1836, was coupled with one which established the northern boundary of Ohio, on the line for which that state had long contested. The act establishing this line describes northern boundary of Indiana as that defined in 1816. The act admitting Michigan describes the State as bounded on the south by Ohio and Indiana.[26]

So ended a controversy in which Michigan people were never greatly interested directly, and which perhaps might have ended in a single case in a federal court had not the war with Ohio come. To retain what had always been within her jurisdiction, Michigan claimed territory which she had never sought to govern; and in which her people were little interested and she lost the whole.

There are occasional rumors that the boundary between Michigan and Indiana is now in dispute. Ex-Governor Luce, who has lived on the border for sixty years, says these rumors are false; to his knowledge there has never been any dispute of this kind. If there were, however, it would be of little moment since it would arise simply from the disappearance of the surveyor's marks and these could easily be replaced.

[26] Statutes at Large, Vol. V, pp. 49, 57.

THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN BOUNDARIES OF MICHIGAN.

BY ANNA MAY SOULE, M. L.

[Paper read before the Michigan Political Science Association at a meeting held in Grand Rapids, April 3 and 4, 1896.]

PART I.

THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY.

Few States of our Union have so interesting a boundary history as has Michigan. The flags of three nations have floated over this region, and the governors of five States and three Territories have claimed the right to exercise jurisdiction therein. The northern and eastern boundary lines were not definitely determined until after Michigan was a State. The southern line was contested for thirty years and was established only after civil war was threatened. The western boundary too was contested, and with as much persistency if not as much force as was the southern line.

The French were the first Europeans to discover the Great Lakes of North America, and until 1763 they held the country bordering upon those inland seas. After the seven years' war England fell heir to this rich country and held it for twenty years. In 1783 the United States obtained the title to the country by the terms of the treaty of Paris, but for some years the region did not pass into the hands of the general government. Even before it was definitely known that the lands north and west of the Ohio would be given to the United States as the fair earnings of the Revolutionary War, a number of the eastern States set up claims to large portions of the region.[1] Massachusetts and Connecticut based their assertions of ownership on the old "sea to sea" charters. Virginia said that, by the provisions of her charter, her domain ran up into the land "west and northwest." New York presented a vague and shadowy title built on a grant from the Iroquois Indians. But no trouble arose from these conflicting claims. Yielding to the pressure of public opinion and to their own impulses of nationalism, these claimant States gave up their western lands to the Government of the Confederation.[2]

Hardly was the Central Government in full possession of the first Public Domain than arrangements were made for its government. In

[1] Journal of Congress, September 6, 1789.

[2] Donaldson, "The Public Domain, Its History and Statistics," Vol. 1, pp. 65-75.

LAKE SUPERIOR
INDIANA TERRITORY
LAKE MICHIGAN
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
Mississippi R
Mississippi R
Ft Recovery
Ohio R
Ohio R
Ohio R
Kentucky R

1800.

1787 all the country lying east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio river was organized as the Northwest Territory. The famous ordinance by which this Territory was established provided for its division,[3] and in 1800 two Territories were carved out of the one. Indiana Territory included all the country west of a line running from the mouth of the Kentucky river to Fort Recovery and thence due north; while the country east of that line was to retain the name of the Northwest Territory.[4] By this arrangement the Michigan country was divided, one part being included with Indiana, the other in the Northwest Territory. But the division of an isolated peninsula created no surprise or question. The inhabitants of the western part were few and they, like those of the eastern part, knew more of their southern neighbors than of those who dwelt in the lower peninsula. The eastern portion was organized as Wayne County of the Northwest Territory,[5] and the inhabitants were most indignant when the State of Ohio was organized and they were not a part of it. They protested that it was illegal to exclude that county from the new State. The Ordinance of 1787, they said, forbade a further division of the Northwest Territory until the northern part could become a State, and to exclude the county from Ohio would ruin it.[6] But these protests were all in vain, because of political conditions, it was said at the time and with apparent reason. Wayne county was federal in its principles, the Republicans had just secured the presidency. Would they wish the creation of a State which might belong to their opponents if it was to include Wayne county? To win a republican State, Governor St. Clair said the people of Wayne county were "bartered away like sheep in a market."[7] So early did Michigan people complain that party need worked them injustice.

The act enabling the people of Ohio to form a State provided that Wayne county might be attached to the new State[8] if Congress saw fit. Fortunately Congress decided to attach it to Indiana Territory, and in 1803 Governor Harrison created a new Wayne county, which included almost all of what is now Michigan.[9] The Peninsula thus united was too strong to remain long a part of a Territory. After two years the Wayne county of Indiana became the Territory of Michigan,[10] in spite

[3] Ordinance of 1787, Article V.

[4] Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 58. Annals of Congress, VIth Congress, p. 1,320. St. Clair Papers Vol. I, p. 215. Vol. II, p. 325.

[5] Statutes of Ohio, Chase, Vol. III, p. 2,096.

[6] St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, pp. 228-229; II, 543-580. Burnet, "Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory," pp. 337-494.

[7] St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, pp. 229-233. Vol. II, pp. 557, 559, 560, 570, 576, 586, 588, 590, 594. Burnet's "Notes," p. 335 *et seq.* Chase, "A sketch of the History of Ohio," p. 23.

[8] Ohio Enabling Act. Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 174.

[9] Proclamation of Harrison, in Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. VIII, p. 541.

[10] Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 173.

of the objections of the Indiana people,[11] and in spite of the fact that the people of Ohio objected to its southern boundary.[12]

The boundaries of this new Territory were the international line between the United States and Canada on the north and east; on the west a line running through the center of Lake Michigan and thence due north to the international line; on the south a line "drawn east from the southerly *bend* or *extreme* of Lake Michigan until it intersects Lake Erie."[13] This southern line is the one to which Ohio objected, and for which in after years the chivalry and patriotism of Michigan prepared to shed its blood. To know why it is not now the southern boundary of Michigan we must read the annals of Congress for thirty years and more. The line which separates the States of Michigan and Ohio has a history, a history colored by the political and industrial movements of the first half of this century.

The enabling act, under which the State of Ohio was formed, prescribed for the northern boundary of the prospective State a line running due east and west "through to the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan."[14] The Ordinance of 1787 seemed to describe this as the dividing line between the northern and southern tier of States, provided Congress should decide to create five States out of the Northwest Territory,[15] and there was then no question of the fitness of the line. But while the Ohio convention was framing the Constitution for the new State an old hunter appeared on the scene, and learning of the prescribed boundaries, informed the state-makers that the southern extreme of Lake Michigan lay much farther south than they supposed or the maps indicated.[16] The convention therefore embodied in the constitution the boundaries prescribed in the enabling act, with the proviso: "If the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie or if it should intersect the said Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami river of the lakes then..... with the assent of Congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this State shall be established by, and extended to, a direct line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Miami bay," thence northeast to the territorial line and along that to the Pennsylvania line.[17] Unfortunately the Congressional committee on the admission of Ohio refused

[11] Statutes at Large, Vol II, p. 309.

[12] House Journal, 1804-7, p. 267. Annals of Congress, IXth Congress. 1st Session, pp. 294, 297.

[13] Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 19. Cong. Debates, Vol. X, pt. II, pp. 1901-1904.

[14] Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 309.

[15] Ordinance of 1787, Art. 5.

[16] J. Burnet to J. Delafield in "Historical Transactions of Ohio," Vol. I, 77, 116. Map in Senate Documents, No 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, pp. 13, 14. Burnet's "Notes," p. 361.

[17] Constitution of Ohio, Article 7, Section 6.

Territory over which the jurisdiction of Michigan has extended 1805, 1816, 1834.

to consider the proviso, because: 1st, It depended on a fact not yet ascertained. 2d, It was not submitted as were other propositions of the Constitutional convention.[18] This decision of the committee was accepted by Congress and Ohio was admitted without the assent to or a rejection of the boundary proviso.

This neglect or refusal, whichever it may be termed, to consider their wishes regarding the boundary was unsatisfactory to the people most concerned. So, no sooner were the Ohio congressmen seated, than they began working to secure formal congressional assent to the boundary proviso. Senator Worthington secured the chairmanship of a committee to consider the question, but to no purpose, for neither House could be persuaded to consider a question so unimportant as the boundary of so distant a State.[19] When the Territory of Michigan was organized, effort was again made to have the neglected proviso confirmed,[20] but it failed and the southern line of the Territory was, as we have seen, described precisely as Ohio did not wish.[21] Accordingly the three following Assemblies of Ohio instructed their Congressmen to endeavor to secure the passage of a law defining the northern boundary line of their State.[22] The last appeal was most urgent. The lands near the rapids of the Miami had recently been ceded to the government by the Indians, and settlers were moving into the country. The governor of Michigan appointed magistrates to exercise authority within the district, while the President appointed a collector to reside at the Rapids, describing the place as in Ohio. Surely it was time to say whether the region lay in Ohio or was a part of the Territory of Michigan.

Congress therefore answered this appeal, though not in the way hoped for by the petitioners. Representative Morrow of Ohio proposed a bill confirming the northern line proposed in the Constitution of his State, and was made chairman of the committee to consider the question.[24] But the bill which passed provided for surveying the boundary as established by the enabling act of 1802.[25] The cause of the failure to abide by the desire of Ohio in this matter is not easy to explain since reports of the debates are not given. Certainly Michigan's influence was not equal to that of the rival State and there remain but two other possible explanations: 1st, It seemed unnecessary as well as unwise to change the description of a line running through a country the geography of which was so little known. 2d, The line defined was considered invio-

18 Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 13–15, 16–18.
19 Above page 343.
20 Acts of Ohio, 1807, 1808, 1811.
21 Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 15.
22 Cong. Debates, Vol. X, pt. II, pp. 1901, 1904.
24 House Journal, XIIth Congress, p. 109.
25 Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 741.

lable since it was prescribed by the Ordinance of 1787 as the one which should divide the northern and southern States to be formed in the Northwest Territory.

In 1812, as has just been said, Congress passed an act providing for the survey of the northern boundary of Ohio as described in the enabling act of 1805. Had the act been carried out at once, the question might have been settled then, but owing to the hostility of the Indians and an absorbing conflict with Great Britain, the survey was not undertaken for three years and then but little was accomplished.[26] Meanwhile the tide of immigration was settling in the Miami[27] region and the question of jurisdiction was becoming more and more important.[28] Again the Ohio authorities urged the survey of the State line.[29] The President complied with the request and directed the fulfillment of the act of 1812.[30] The Surveyor General of Ohio, who had the work in charge, directed a Mr. Harris to run the line, but according to the proviso of the Ohio constitution, not in accordance with the act of 1812.[31] Mr. Harris had scarcely completed his work when General Cass, then Governor of the Territory of Michigan, wrote to the Surveyor General of Ohio, stating that report had come to the effect that the line recently run, purporting to be the line between the "State of Ohio and this Territory" was not run in a due east course from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, but further north. He asked by whose instructions this line was run, when run, and what were the returns of the surveyors, adding "This subject is important to the people of this territory and to the people living upon the Miami. A disputed jurisdiction is one of the greatest evils which can happen to a country. The sooner, therefore, this business is investigated the better."[32] To this letter General Tiffin returned answer that Harris had found the southern extreme of Lake Michigan to be seven miles and more south of the most northern cape of Miami Bay, and had surveyed a line between the two points. He also sent a map marked to show the line as surveyed by Harris and one as prescribed by the enabling act, adding "Let the proper authority say which shall govern." At the same time he expressed his own belief that the Harris line was the true one because Congress had accepted the Constitution of Ohio with the proviso that such a line should be

[26] Reports of Committees, No. 380, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II. p. 67. Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 108, 109, 113.

[27] H. S. Knapp, "History of Maumee Valley," pp. 536, 617.

[28] Niles Weekly Register, Vol. IV, pp. 3 5–316. Reports of Committees, No. 360, 1st Session, XXIVth Congress, Vol. II, p. 68.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid, p. 68. Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, p. 109.

[31] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 1, p. 110. Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 154.

[32] Letter published by the Michigan Convention in 1835, in "An Appeal to the People of the United States."

Line relative to position of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie, and seat of the "Toledo War."
Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. III.

the boundary, if Lake Michigan extended so far south as it was now known to do.[33]

Word of this correspondence coming to the Governor of Ohio he sent to the next assembly a message urging the importance of an early settlement of such an important question. So far as they could do it, the legislators settled the question by passing a resolution to the effect, that the Congress of the United States had accepted the proviso in accepting the Constitution of Ohio, and therefore the northern boundary line of the State was a line running from the most northerly cape of Miami Bay to the southern extremity of Lake Michigan.[34] The Ohio Assembly, however, was not the only body to consider the question. The Governor and Judges of the opposing Territory sent a memorial to Congress stating that the line recently run by Harris was not the one ordered marked, but another running from five to seven miles farther north.[35] Not satisfied with sending a memorial, they also sent a Committee to Washington to press the claims of the Territory.[36] This opposition to Michigan was so far successful, that, a committee of the House deciding he had the right so to do, the President directed the marking of the northern boundary of Ohio "according to the provisions of the Act of May 20, 1812."[37] Mr. Harris declined to do the work; so one Fulton was commissioned.[38] Two years later, President Monroe notified Congress that the northern boundary of Ohio had been marked according to the law of 1812.[39] The Ohio members asked to have it re-marked according to Harris's survey.[40] The House refused; but left the question of the boundary unsettled by also refusing to declare the line just marked by Fulton to be the true boundary.[41] Ohioans complained that the Fulton line was not run by order of Congress, but at the request of General Cass;[42] but their complaints were unnoticed and the question was not again considered by Congress for five years.

While Ohio and Michigan were discussing the Harris line, Indiana was admitted with a northern boundary line running east and west through a point "ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michi-

[33] Published in "Appeal to the People of the United States," 1835. Ohio papers published with the Message of Governor Lucas, 1835.

[34] Papers published with the Message of Lucas, 1835. Early Michigan History, Vol. I. The only copies I have been able to find of this and some other Ohio Acts are in the State Library at Lansing. They are catalogued under the head of "Early Michigan History, Pamphlets."

[35] Archives State Department, Lansing. Published in "Appeal to the People of the United States," 1835.

[36] Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. XII, p. 639.

[37] Reports to Committees from Land Office, published in "Appeal to the People of the United States," 1835.

[38] Ibid. Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 111, 115.

[39] House Journal, XVIth Congress, 1st Session, p. 292.

[40] Ibid, pp. 239, 287, 382, 436. Senate Documents, No. 149, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 14

[41] House Journal, XVIth Congress, 1st Session, pp. 449, 452.

[42] "Early Michigan History, Pamphlets," I, State Library at Lansing.

gan."[43] This cut off from Michigan Territory a strip ten miles wide and one hundred miles long; but the act passed unchallenged, doubtless because Michigan had no delegate in Congress, and there was no one else to question or even observe that this was a regranting of territory.[44] Once known to the world, however, the act was challenged. When the Governor and Judges of Michigan protested against Ohio's claim to a strip of land,[45] they also protested against the right of Congress to give Indiana a strip lying farther west. They knew it was too late to change the boundary of the new State, but they took that way, they said, to preserve "the just rights of the people of this territory.....that it may not hereafter be supposed they have acquiesced in the changes which have been made." The final discussion they left to the future "when the people of the country can be heard by their own representatives."[46] This was the beginning and would have been the end of the quarrel with Indiana, had not the difficulty between Michigan and Ohio forced each party to stand for its own rights. The strip given to Indiana in 1816 had never been included in organized Michigan.[47] The region was sparsely settled and little known by Michigan people, and when the line was run no opposition whatever was made, though Michigan was then represented by a delegate in Congress.[48]

With Ohio it was different. The contested strip lay in a most fertile region and near the center of population in Michigan. Naturally the question of possession must continually arise. While a congressional committee was deciding that the northern boundary should be re-marked because the Harris line was not made according to law,[49] the Ohio Assembly declared the Harris line to be the northern boundary of that State, and prepared to extend their jurisdiction to it.[50] The story goes that officers appointed by the rival governments met and agreed upon a division of their powers within the disputed tract.[51] However that may be, those higher in authority were not inclined to compromise matters. When word reached the Territory that the Ohio Assembly had officially declared the Harris line to be the northern boundary of the State, Governor Cass was absent; but Secretary Woodbridge lost no

[43] Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 289. "State Papers." XIVth Congress, 2nd Session, No. 3.

[44] Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 21. Annals of Congress, Vol. XXX, p. 254.

[45] Above page 351.

[46] Memorial of Governor and Judges, Archives State Department, Lansing, also published in "Appeal to the people of the United States."

[47] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, p. 7. Senate Documents No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 31.

[48] Senate Journal, XIXth Congress, 2nd Session, p. 79. House Journal, XIXth Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 355, 379. Senate Documents, No. 5, XXth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IX. See map in "State Papers," No. 187, XXth Congress, 1st session, Vol. V.

[49] Above page 351.

[50] Above page 351.

[51] W. W. Way, "The Toledo War," p. 19.

time before writing to the Governor of Ohio assuring him that the act was unconstitutional.[52] Believing that plenary power rested only with the general government, he wrote also to John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, stating that he had been "advised by the magistrates and others living on and near this contested tract of country that serious difficulties are threatened them from the apparent determination of the constituted authorities of Ohio to enforce their claims." He begs that Michigan be protected against Ohio, which he says, "has swollen to the dimensions of a giant," and says, that, inasmuch as Michigan is a frontier State it should be strong to protect the Union against "countless hordes of savages in the Northwest" and the rapidly increasing power of Canada.[53] The spirit of 1835-6 is shown in the Secretary's letter, when he says he "could not feel justified in resisting the calls of that people" (those of the disputed tract) "for some official interference in their behalf. I have exhorted them to avoid every measure which should lead to a breach of the peace, but at the same time, in no instance to admit, directly or indirectly, the validity of the claims of Ohio."[54]

For some reason this ended the dispute for that time. The Ohio authorities made no persistent effort to enforce their jurisdiction to the north, though they reiterated their right to do so,[55] and Michigan authorities quietly exercised their jurisdiction. Local officers occasionally disputed each others authority, but the conflict caused no trouble.[56]

In 1825, *apropos* of the desire of the northern counties to be cut off from that Territory, the Legislative Council of Michigan asserted that Congress had no power to alter the boundaries prescribed in 1805, but made no specific mention of the Ohio difficulty.[57] The following year, however, there was considerable excitement over the matter. The Ohio delegation in Congress secured the appointment of a committee to consider the expediency of marking the line dividing Ohio from Michigan Territory.[58] Similar proposals in other days had specified that the line should be according to the proviso of the Ohio constitution.[59] Were the Ohio people willing to yield their claim or had they only grown wary? The answer cannot be given, as the proposal was not considered.[60] But

[52] Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 34-37. Senate Documents, No. 235, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 5-9. Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, pp. 13-15.

[53] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, p. 18. Senate Documents, No. 235, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 9-10. No. 354, Vol. IV, pp. 37-39.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, p. 21. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 39.

[56] Knapp, "History of the Maumee Valley," p. 243. (This fact is substantiated by Ex-Governor Felch of Ann Arbor. He lived in the disputed region, and as an officer had some experience of a disputed jurisdiction.)

[57] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1825, p. 25.

[58] House Journal, XIXth Congress, 1st Session, p. 305.

[59] Above pages 349-351.

[60] House Journal, XIXth Congress, 1st Session, p. 305.

Michigan was on the alert. The very next Council voted to instruct the delegate in Congress to prevent any change of the Territorial boundary, and again announced that the people of the Territory had "acquired absolute vested rights" by the Ordinance of 1787 and the act of 1805.[61]

A little later the council organized the Township of Port Lawrence in the very heart of the disputed country [62] without causing any protest from the authorities of Ohio. For a time the contest was to be made in Congress.

The next session saw the question reintroduced there by a bill to ascertain the latitude of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan, "for the purpose of fixing the *true* northern boundary lines of the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois."[63] Early in the previous year a bill providing for a marking of the northern boundary of Indiana had been passed without difficulty,[64] but this measure failed to receive attention at this or the following session.[65]

But by 1831, the boundary question began to assume a serious aspect. The Ohio assembly petitioned Congress for the "speedy and permanent establishment" of the dividing line between that State and the Territory of Michigan.[66] Governor Cass greeted the Legislative Council of the Territory with a message which showed his anxiety. He referred briefly to the attempt of the northern counties of the Territory to secure separation, and to the possession by Indiana of a portion of the Territory. He advised against urging any claim to the latter, since Indiana was in possession and it was best to leave the tract unclaimed, until Michigan too should be a member of the tribunal which must decide the question.[68] With regard to the Ohio difficulty, however, he advised sending to Congress a memorial which should state the rights and sentiments of the people of the Territory, and he quoted the letter written by Woodbridge ten years before as an able exposition of the case.[69]

Before referring the matter to Congress, the Legislative Council determined to endeavor to settle directly with Ohio. The Governor was authorized to negotiate with the executive of Ohio on the basis of a cession of all the territory in dispute situated east of the Maumee river,

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[61] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1826, pp. 64, 68.

[62] Territorial Laws of Michigan, Vol. II, p. 478.

[63] Senate Document, No. 478, XXth Congress, 1st Session, p. 350. Senate Documents, No. 149, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 14.

[64] Senate Journal, XIXth Congress, 2nd Session, p. 79. House Journal, XIXth Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 355, 379. Senate Documents, No. 5, XXth Congress, 1st Session, Statutes at Large, Vol. IV, p. 236.

[65] House Journal, XXIst Congress, 1st Session, pp. 79, 227.

[66] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

[68] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, p. 7.

[69] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, pp. 7-8. It was most delicate of Cass to refer to this letter of Wooodbridge, instead of to the document from which he doubtless largely drew. For Cass as Governor was one of those who drew up the document of 1818 in which was set forth all the arguments Michigan ever used to sustain her rights. Above page 352. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 30-39.

and the acceptance by Michigan of an equivalent cession of territory west of the said stream.[70] The attempt was vain and so a memorial was sent to Congress.[71] About the same time the Assembly of Ohio also memorialized Congress and for the first time fully outlined their claims.[72] The result was the passage of an act providing for determining the latitude of the southern end of Lake Michigan and other points preparatory to an adjustment of the Ohio and Michigan boundary.[73]

With the year 1833 began an uninterrupted contest over the boundary line; a contest which waxed warmer and warmer until the people of Ohio and those of Michigan faced each other in battle array, and both defied the central government as no State but South Carolina or Georgia had dared to do, and as none, since 1865, will ever venture to do. Localism and the state rights idea were rampant in the thirties. Many people felt that those who dwelt in another State were "foreigners." The inalienable rights of a sovereign State were not to be questioned with impunity even by federal authorities. To give to the States of Ohio and Indiana a part of what had once been included in their territory was, Michigan people thought, to partition their country as Poland was partitioned among the European powers.[74] Even the Whigs talked of a Territory as being in "a state of colonial dependence." The people of Michigan called upon their delegate in Congress to insist upon "our rights;" and urged Virginia and the other ceding States to insist, as grantors, upon the fulfillment of the contract made in 1787.[75]

On the eleventh of December, 1833, Lucius Lyon presented the first formal petition of Michigan for admission.[76] The Ohio memorial of the previous year was repeated[77] and the Michigan Legislative Council also sent one stating that "the Territory of Michigan demands as the right of the *State* of Michigan" that the fundamental line through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, and no other, should be the southern boundary.[78] Again were set forth the principles upon which such a demand was based. Both memorials were printed and carefully read, if we may judge by the debates of this and the following two years. Many in Congress, as well as out, felt that Michigan should be admitted, and a will and compromise was attempted. Senator Tipton, of Indiana, presented a request for the admission of Michigan,[79] made the proposal, (as

[70] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, pp. 137, 166.
[71] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1832, p. 109.
[72] Below p. 380, *et seq.*
[73] Statutes at Large, Vol. IV, p. 596.
[74] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 1, pp. 77-78.
[75] Newspapers of the day.
[76] House Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, p. 43.
[77] Executive Documents, XXIIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 1.
[78] Michigan Legislative Council, 1834, pp. 126, 131, 146. Senate Documents, No. 235, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st session, Vol. III, p. 1. Senate Journal. XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 118, 157.
[79] Senate Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 118, 157.

the Michigan Council had done earlier) that Ohio should be given that portion of the disputed tract which lay east, and Michigan that which lay west, of the Maumee.[81] At the same time, Senator Preston, proposed that Michigan be extended on the northwest and Ohio be given all she claimed in the south.[82] Neither of these peaceful proposals pleased those most interested and the desired enabling act was not passed.[83] When the Ohio boundary bill was introduced, the delegates from Michigan wished to refer it to the Judiciary Committee instead of to the Committee on the Territories. The Ohio members objected, but in vain. Michigan people had always claimed that the boundary trouble should be settled by the Judiciary and not by Congress; now the test was to be made. Michigan won the desired committee,[84] but Ohio won the verdict. The committee reported a bill establishing the boundary as proposed in the Ohio constitution, and at the same time declared their belief that Congress had the authority to settle the question, it being one of expediency rather than law. When the question came up for discussion each side mustered all its forces and set forth all its arguments. The Governor of Michigan, at the request of his Council, besought Virginia to "require of the government of the United States a strict compliance with the act of cession and Ordinance of 1787."[85] There is no evidence that this request was granted, but with all the forces arrayed against her, Michigan still had influence enough to prevent the passage of the Ohio boundary bill.[86] The settlement of the northern boundary of Ohio and the admission of Michigan were inseparable questions because of conflicting territorial claims. Do what they would, legislatures could not consider either question upon its own merits alone.[87] By all the weight of precedent and justice, Michigan should have been admitted into the Union; for her population exceeded the number required for representation.[88] But since Ohio claimed a strip of country included within the borders of the would be State,[89] justice and right alone could not be considered. No one doubted the right of Michigan to be admitted; many did doubt the right of admission with the boundaries claimed, and still others felt that the admission of a State depended solely upon expediency. Expediency was against

[81] Congress Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, p. 1009.

[82] See Part II..

[83] Senate Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 157, 257. House Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 398, 808. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 43.

[84] Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 3, 11, 39. Message of Governor Cass, to Michigan Legislative Council, 1831.

[85] Executive Document, No. 5, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II.

[86] Niles Register, Vol. 48, p. 119. Senate Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 193, 260, 303, House Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 705, 729, 735, 746.

[87] Senate Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 157, 193, 257, 260, 303. Abridgement of Debates, Vol. XII. House Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 443, 500, 705, 729, 735, 746.

[88] Ordinance of 1787.

[89] Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, p. 119.

the admission of Michigan; for commercial and political forces were opposed to it.

When the second attempt to secure permission to form a State failed, Michigan people determined to go on without permission. In January 1835, the Legislative Council called a convention to meet the following May, to form "for themselves a constitution and State government," according to the provisions of the Odinance of 1787.[90] A convention accordingly assembled and after a two months session completed its work and adjourned.[91]

Meanwhile Congress was again considering the establishment of the disputed line, regardless of the warning of the Territorial Council that such legislation was unconstitutional.[92] Again the Senate passed a bill according to the desire of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The measure again failed in the House,[93] thanks, perhaps, to the efforts of John Quincy Adams, who felt called upon once again to risk political preferment by defending what he thought the just cause of a defenceless Territory.[94] By this time both Indiana and Illinois had turned against Michigan, because the continued assertion, that Congress had no right to disregard the fundamental provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, made it seem that their northern lines might be in danger,[95] since both had been run regardless of the Ordinance.[96]

No sooner did word come to the people of Michigan that the Senate had again passed a bill fixing the boundary according to the provisions of the Ohio constitution, than there were "rumors of war." The Legislative Council of the Territory memoralized Congress, protesting that they would submit the question to the Supreme Court, but, until a decision was reached, Michigan would resist, "let the attempt be made by whom it may, all efforts to rob her of her soil, and trample upon her rights."[97]

This reference to robbery was the result of a recent act of the Ohio Assembly; for those most concerned had again undertaken to settle the difficulty themselves. Not only were the people of Michigan ready to make a State; they were in favor of arbitrating their quarrels. The Governor was authorized to appoint a commission to negotiate with

[90] Journal of the Convention, p. 5.

[91] Journal of the Convention, p. 5.

[92] Executive Documents, No. 53, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II, p. 1.

[93] Senate Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 29, 38, 82. House Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 179, 384. Congress Debates, Vol. XI, pt. I, pp. 110, 114. Vol. XII, p. 1009, *et seq.*

[94] Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. IX, pp. 214, 221, 222. Senate Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 72. Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, p. 68.

[95] Ibid. Senate Document, No. 68, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 1. Congressional Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 37, 39, 1010. Lyon letters to A. E. Wing and C. K. Green, December 27, 1835.

[96] Senate Document, No. 34, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session,

[97] Executive Documents, No. 183, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. V, p 2.

Ohio and Indiana regarding their conflicting claims.[98] The latter appears not to have noticed the proposal and the Governor of Ohio replied with a message to his Legislature stating that there was no dispute to be settled with the Territory, and, if there were, a Territorial government could have no authority in the matter. He advised further that, inasmuch as the northern tier of counties had been bounded on the north by "the State line," an act should be passed declaring "all counties bordering on the northern boundary of the State of Ohio, shall extend to and be bounded on the north by the line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northern cape of Maumee Bay;"[99] and that township organization and jurisdiction be extended accordingly. The advice was promptly accepted. The Assembly further resolved that as Congress had repeatedly refused to protect the rights of Ohio against the usurpation of the Territorial Government it ill became a *"million of freeman to humbly petition"* year after year for what belonged to them. An act was passed declaring the Harris line to be the northern boundary of the State. At the same time they provided for a re-marking of the line and for extending their jurisdiction to it.[100]

These measures did not take the Territorial statesmen by surprise. Governor Lucas had sent a copy of his message to Acting-Governor Mason, and that ardent youth had immediately issued orders to Brigadier General Jos. W. Brown, of the Michigan militia, to prevent, peaceably if he could, any attempt of Ohio officials to extend their jurisdiction within the limits of Michigan.[101] Two weeks before the Ohio Assembly had voted to extend its jurisdiction over the disputed tract, the Council of Michigan had passed an act to "prevent the exercise of foreign jurisdiction within the limits of the Territory of Michigan."[102]

Here was a most embarrassing state of affairs. A Territory being refused permission to do so was about to make a State government for itself. A State which was asking Congress to fix one of its boundaries had declared that boundary to be already fixed, and was preparing to exercise authority over the desired tract, while the opposing Territory declared that only the Federal authorities had power in the case, and was preparing to defend its claims against all comers. No wonder the powers stood aghast. Even President Jackson lost his usual confidence and knew not which side to take. Letter after letter asking advice and aid went to Washington from the youthful Mason, who was Acting-

[98] Territorial Laws of Michigan, Vol. III, p. 1338.

[99] Message of Governor Lucas, February 6, 1835. Published in "Appeal to the People of the United States," 1835. Reports of Committees, No. 380, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 81-84.

[100] Reports of Committees, No. 380, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, pp. 84-7. Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 17.

[101] Reports of Committees, No. 380, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, pp. 88-90. Senate Documents No. 6. XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 22.

[102] Territorial Laws of Michigan, Vol. III, p. 1367. Senate Documents No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 1, p. 17.

Governor of Michigan. The Legislative Assembly besought the President to prevent Ohio from acting in the matter until the dispute could be settled by the Supreme Court or "any proper number of distinguished citizens."[103]

The first of April was the time set by the Assembly for the extension of the rule of Ohio within the disputed region.[104] Michigan prepared to meet force with force.[105] Governor Lucas announced that his course would be "mild yet firm,"[106] and that the "sovereign and independent state" would not be turned from its purpose nor would it appeal to the Federal authorities.[107] Ohio dared the stripling Governor of Michigan to meet the old Governor Lucas with his million of free men.[108] Just then the silence of the President was broken. He sent letters to the rival Governors announcing that the question had been referred to the Attorney General and that he hoped the contestants would exercise forbearance until a decision could be rendered by the Federal authorities. At the same time a peace commission was dispatched from Washington with instructions to mediate between the contestants.[109] But the proud State and the ambitious Territory were in no mood to exercise forbearance. The Governors replied to the President that the laws of their respective legislatures must be enforced,[110] and prepared to act accordingly.

On the second of April, Governor Lucas and staff, and those appointed to re-mark the Harris line accompanied by General Bell and his troops arrived at Perrysburg, a town just below the debatable ground. On April first Governor Mason left Detroit for Monroe, a town just north of the debatable ground, to which General Brown and a force of volunteers had already been dispatched.[111] The elections passed off quietly.[112] The wonder was whether the Ohio officers elected would endeavor to exercise their duties and, if they did, what the Michigan authorities would do about it. The day after the election Mason wrote asking Governor Lucas to desist from enforcing the Ohio law until the President's mediators appeared.[113] The Governor refused to answer by letter, but told the bearers of the message that he had written the President about the matter, and doubtless his true statement of the case

[103] Ibid, pp. 13–14, 25, 30–37, 137–140.

[104] Reports of Committees, No. 380, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session. Vol. II, p. 87. Senate Document, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 25, 29, 137, 140.

[105] Message of Governor Lucas. Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 229, 300.

[106] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 21.

[107] Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, p. 303.

[108] Detroit Journal, February 4th, 1835.

[109] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 80, 81, 103, 104.

[110] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 1, pp. 28, 129.

[111] Detroit Journal, April 1, 1835. Documents accompanying message of Lucas, June 8, 1835. Senate Documents No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 172.

[112] Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, p. 166.

[113] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 42–3.

would induce the United States government to desist from any interference in the controversy. But if commissioners should be appointed, he said, they could have no authority or right to interfere, and it would be useless for them to try to mediate, as Ohio had determined on her course and it was his duty to carry out the laws of his State.

But already the mediators were at hand. Richard Rush and Benjamin C. Howard had traveled by night and day and on April third they arrived at Toledo, [114] where, if anywhere, the contest must center. From there they visited the belligerent governors. To Mason they stated that the President wished the subject left to be disposed of by Congress at its next session, or until the admission of Michigan should bring the question "within the provisions of the Constitution of the United States." They were reassured by the statement of Mason that he would exercise his duties with forbearance,[115] and went to visit the Governor of Ohio. To him they said that the quiet way in which his State had been able to conduct the elections in the disputed region and to prepare to mark the line "witnessed the unobstructed assertion of his sovereignity and dignity," and that now Ohio could afford to pause until the proper authorities could adjust the matter. The Governor was much more conciliatory than might have been expected from one who had written to the Secretary of State that he was "at a loss to conjecture what could have induced the President to propose sending Commissioners to confer with Ohio. We have no controversy with Michigan," he said, and as for "extending our jurisdiction, I trust our civil authorities will settle that question."[116] Still he was determined; and the peacemakers had to hasten back to Mason and say, what they had hoped to avoid saying, that the President forbade the use of force to maintain the Act of February 12, until Congress should act upon the question. Whereupon, the doughty young Governor swore he would resign his commission rather than obey. And he quoted from the opinion of the Attorney General, which meanwhile had arrived, that a law of a Territorial Legislature was not null until so declared by Congress.[117]

While these conferences were being held the crisis was coming nearer. The men elected under the Ohio act were beginning to assume office and civil processes against them were issued under the Michigan act. The Toledo people who had staked their all in that prospective city were in consternation. General Brown and his forces were ready to aid in executing processes against them if they took office,[118] and yet if they were to make their fortunes they must be Ohio citizens. Urgently they

114 Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I. pp. 46. Ibid, pp. 170–172.
115 Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 170–171. Ibid, p. 172.
116 Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 140.
117 Ibid, pp. 47–52, 176, 180–185.
118 Ibid, pp. 185, 186.

implored Ohio authorities to protect them.[119] The boundary commission began to work and, reaching Tecumseh was attacked by Michigan men. At least so Ohio people said, Michigan people said they were simply arrested.[120] The excitement was intense. Governor Lucas called an extra session of the Assembly in order to increase his army.[121] Just then Rush and Howard endeavored to avert a civil war by proposing terms of conciliation. They proposed that: 1st, Ohio should be allowed to run the line, 2nd, people should submit to the legal processes instituted by either State, but the Executive should continue the case from term to term until the whole question could be settled by the Federal Judiciary.

Governor Lucas was willing to abide by this proposal,[122] but his young opponent considered the terms "dishonorable and disreputable."[123] Mason had already expressed willingness to let the line be run,[124] but the idea of concurrent jurisdiction was intolerable. In despair the peace commissioners turned their faces homeward,[125] and left the contestants to do what they would. And this is what they did. The Ohio Assembly voted to abide by the proposals of Rush and Howard, if the United States Government would compel Michigan to do the same. Fearing this would not be done they passed an act regarding kidnappers, and appropriated $300,000 for the purpose of extending their jurisdiction up to the Harris line and for re-marking that line.[126] And all this was done, they said, because the "great and powerful City of Detroit, aided by the authorities of the Senate," united to oppress and weaken the little village of Toledo. The honor of the State was pledged to protect its citizens who had been persecuted by Michigan, "with a degree of reckless vengeance rarely paralleled in the history of civilized nations."[127] While the Ohio Assembly was taking action to protect its citizens, the convention in Detroit stopped its work of constitution-making long enough to declare that Ohio might run the desired line, but no authority save that of the United States should be exercised within the disputed tract.[128] At the same time an "Appeal to the People of the United States" was issued to show the position of the Territory and the "true" history of the boundary question.

Ohio soon began to carry out the idea of a concurrent jurisdiction. The result was renewed preparations for war,[129] and a most unfriendly,

119 Ibid, pp. 190–192. Way, "Toledo War," p. 21 (letter).
120 Ibid, pp. 57–60, 145–146, 189–190. Letters from people on both sides are given in Way, pp. 12, 13.
121 Message of Lucas, June, 1835.
122 Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 167–8, 94.
123 Ibid, p. 198–9.
124 Ibid, p. 196.
125 Ibid, pp. 199, 201, 202.
126 Act of General Assembly of Ohio, June 20, 1835, in "Early Michigan History," Pamphlet I.
127 "Early Michigan History," Pamphlet I.
128 Journal State Convention, 1835, p. 86.
129 Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 68–74. Niles Register, Vol. VIII, p. 400.

though bloodless combat in Toledo. But the Legislative Council which Mason had recently convened,[130] was undaunted, and refusing, as flatly as their young Governor had done, to accept the terms of Rush and Howard, resolved that the enforcement of the laws of Ohio north of the Fulton line would "involve a most serious violation of the laws of the United States."[131] The Territory had ceased to champion its own cause now, and was protecting the honor of the Union.

This attitude of the Territorial statesmen, however, did not please those directly charged with the government of the Union. The President had informed Governor Lucas that, if a crisis came he should feel it his duty to maintain the constitution and laws of the United States,[132] and at this juncture he endeavored to prevent such a crisis by removing Mason and appointed John S. Horner of Virginia in his place.[133] Nevertheless the crisis came. On the seventh of September the Ohio judges went to hold court in Toledo. Troops were mustered on both sides, the court was held at midnight and adjourned as Michigan forces came up.[134] Then the troops were dismissed and the "Toledo War" was over. Ohio authorities desisted from attempts to exercise authority beyond their old boundaries and peacefully re-marked the coveted line;[135] the civil processes were gradually dropped,[136] and Michigan remained in peaceful, if not unquestioned possession of the desired tract of land.[137]

The contest was finished on the floor of Congress. Why? For seven months the State and Territory had defied each other and the Federal power without abating one jot or tittle of their claims. For seven months or more, the press of either side had rung with the cries of war and notes of warning. For seven months, military preparations had been making, and now, with troops waiting to be mustered in, the armies were disbanded. On one day the papers tell of troops leaving for the seat of war and say, "How this affair will terminate, heaven only knows." The next day they tell the joyous news that the army is dispersed.[138] No word of conciliation has passed between the executives, no Federal officer has interfered, and yet no word about the controversy is heard when next the legislative bodies meet save as they vote to pay the expenses of the bloodless war.[139]

But why this sudden cessation of war? The answer requires more than a single word for there was a combination of causes. Although there

130 Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, p. 67.

131 Ibid, pp. 76-79.

132 Ibid, p. 116.

133 Ibid, p 86. Detroit Journal, September 10, 1835.

134 Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 116, 383, 400. Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. VII, p. 72, *et seq.* Way, "The Toledo War," p. 40, *et seq.*

135 Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 102.

136 Ibid, pp. 101, 152-3.

137 Ibid, pp. 100-1. Lyon's Letter to John Quincy Adams, Feb. 9, 1836.

138 Detroit Journal, Sept. 2, 5, 12, 1835. Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 150, 161, 383; Vol. XLIX, pp. 33, 49.

139 Michigan Senate Journal, 1835-6, pp. 39, 44, 54, 58, 98, 101, 112, etc.

was intense feeling of pride and independence on both sides, still most of those who went to battle lived in the contested region. They had known each other as friends and neighbors and therefore had no desire to shed one another's blood. They went not unwillingly to war, but went home more gladly still. Those that dwelt farther to the north or south scarcely felt, with all their belief in local independence,[140] that war was possible or desirable. Some of the Ohio statesmen felt that the position of Lucas and the Assembly was most unreasonable, that whatever the rights of Ohio might be the question could be settled only by Congress and to attempt to settle it in any other way was utter folly.[141] But, in the main, the people were willing to follow their irascible Governor. Michigan people almost to a man, were strong in the belief that the claims of their Territory were just and the conduct of their Governor was wise. The authorities on both sides, therefore, could rely upon the support of the people if there was war; they could also rely upon them if they choose to keep the peace.

With public sentiment in this plastic condition it was easy for the leaders to be guided entirely by political conditions; and these pointed to peace for both the State and the Territory. By September, Governor Lucas was made to feel that to fight was dangerously to transgress the laws of the United States, while to wait was surely to win what his people wanted. Governor Mason felt that, since Ohio's act made it possible to do so, it was better to keep the peace and to settle the question after Michigan should be admitted, because the State was now ready to put itself into operation.

First, then let us consider how Governor Lucas was convinced of the unwisdom of enforcing the laws of his State. When the parties most concerned undertook to settle their quarrel for themselves, the President, as we have seen,[142] urged the exercise of forbearance and dispatched to the contestants a copy of the opinion of the Attorney General upon the question. This stated that, by accepting the Ohio constitution with the boundary proviso, Congress consented to the northern extension of Ohio, on condition that the geographical fact therein suggested was found to exist *and* then was assented to by Congress. In the meantime the line as defined in the enabling act of 1802 was the actual northern boundary of Ohio, and Michigan's authority extended southward to that line. It was therefore the duty of the President to maintain it.[143] The laws of Ohio providing for an exercise of authority over a part of the Territory of Michigan involved a "most serious violation of the laws of the United States."[144]

[140] Detroit Journal and Courier. January 7, 1836.

[141] Letter of Taylor Webster, M. C. of Ohio, to the "Columbus Hemisphere," January 6, 1835. Also letter of Thomas Morris, published in "Appeal to the People of the United States," 1835.

[142] Above page 362, *et seq.*

[143] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 9–10.

[144] Ibid, p. 12.

Governor Lucas had declared that this opinion was founded upon an *ex parte* presentation of the case, and had dispatched letters and messengers to Washington detailing his side of the story.[145] But even then the President felt obliged to send word that, should Ohio persist in enforcing jurisdiction over the tract in question, he would interfere to "sustain the supremacy of the constitution and laws of the United States."[146] This was the reason why Lucas dared not lead his "million" on to war. However, the Governor of a great, and politically doubtful, State, was not to be terrorized without having his wrath assuaged. Assurance was given that the President would veto any bill which would make Michigan a State before the boundary was settled.[147] The peace commission was sent to counsel forbearance and reconcile the parties. That failing,[148] the President did all that could be done to prevent the need of force on the part of Ohio by removing Mason and putting in his place a man who would, if possible, prevent the enforcement of Michigan's claims.[149]

So far as Michigan was concerned, it was not the presence of the new Governor which prevented further war; for he was Governor only in name, and, if quiet had not reigned on his arrival, there is good reason to think he could not have secured it.[150] The fact is the Michigan people, like those of Ohio, had no desire to fight their neighbors. They were convinced after the attempt of September 7, that their territory would not again be invaded, and were soon too much absorbed in establishing the State government to care whether or not the line was re-marked, or whether the cases of those accused of treason were tried. So far Michigan had won, but it was because Ohio was to win in the end. Of course there was recrimination on both sides. Governor Lucas said in the beginning that Michigan authorities were upheld by the Cabinet.[151] And the newspapers were not slow to say that Mason relied on his "interests at court" and the support of General Cass.[152] Somewhat later, Cass was openly accused of using his position as Secretary of War to aid Michigan.[153] During his years of governorship over the Territory, Cass had shown himself much attached to the people whose interests he guarded, and had clearly stated his views as opposed to the claims of Ohio.[154] But General Cass was too wise a man to use his Federal office to further a civil war, however much he may have

[145] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 85, 137, *et seq.*, 163-4.
[146] Ibid, p. 116.
[147] Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 328-9. Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 164.
[148] Above page 362 *et seq.* Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 85, 163-4, 201-2. Niles Register, Vol. XLIX, p. 292.
[149] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 86-89. Detroit Journal, September 10, 1835.
[150] Ibid, pp. 94-102. Lyon's letters.
[151] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 84, 144, 152, 159-160, 163.
[152] Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 131, 166, 167, 276.
[153] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 158, 160, 161-163.
[154] Above page 356.

wished to do so. Mason did ask for the use of United States arms, and some were issued to him from the arsenals in the Territory, but not by authority of the Secretary of War.[155] As for the charge that Michigan had the support of the President and Cabinet, it seems that at first there may have been reason for this feeling. If there were not support, there was delay in action which led the hopeful young Governor of a hopeful Territory to expect encouragement.[156] But the opinion of the Attorney General was, as John Quincy Adams said, "perfumed with the thirty-five electorial votes of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois."[157] It gave to Michigan undoubted authority over the disputed tract until Congress should act in the question of boundary; it declared the obnoxious law against foreigners to be valid for the present; but it showed the President the way to appease Ohio by pointing out that, while the executive must protect the possessions and laws of a Territory, he could replace an officer who insisted upon doing so;[158] and at last, as we have seen, President Jackson did resort to this abuse of his appointing power.[159]

In the fall of this memorial year of 1835 officers were elected in Michigan according to the Constitution which had been constructed in Detroit during the summer of the Toledo war. To the Federal authorities this was most embarrassing. Horner,[160] whom the President sent to supersede Acting-Governor Mason, arrived. But he was received only by an occasional mob,[161] and the Washington authorities, not knowing what to say,[162] failed to send him instructions. They addressed letters to "Stevens T. Mason, Esq.," with regard to "Secretary and Acting-Governor Horner."[163] But Mason was chosen Governor by the people, and proceeded peacefully to conduct the affairs of state until the mortified Horner betook himself to the wilds beyond Lake Michigan.[164] When Congress opened, Lucius Lyon and John Norvell were in Washington ready to represent Michigan in the Senate, and Isaac Crary was ready for the seat in the House of Representatives.[165] Michigan was a State demanding admission.[166] Not only the petitioners, but the Federal

[155] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol I, pp. 24, 25, 41, 44, 118, 119–129. Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. IX, p. 231.

[156] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 13–16, 25, 28, 37, 38, 55, 83.

[157] Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. IX, p. 233.

[158] Attorney General Butler's Opinion, rendered March 21, 1835, Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 4–13.

[159] Cooley's "Michigan" Commonwealth Series, p. 221.

[160] Journal, Michigan House of Representatives, 1835–6, pp. 6–10.

[161] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 95–99, 101–2. Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 158–9.

[162] Letter of Lyon to Horner, Nov. 30, 1835.

[163] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 203.

[164] Lyon's Letters to Horner, Nov. 30, 1835, and Jan. 17, 1836.

[165] Journal, Michigan House of Representatives, 1835, 6, p. 31. Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session.

[166] President's Message, Senate Documents, No. 5, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I.

authorities hoped and expected that the immediate admission of the State would put a speedy termination to their respective difficulties, but all such hopes were dashed as soon as Congress opened.[167] December sixth, four days before the application of Michigan was presented, Lyon wrote: "I think the State will be recognized as early as February."[168] Three days after the question was given to Congress, he wrote: "It is doubtful whether we shall not be delayed till June next, perhaps longer."[169]

Now as in other years the boundary question was the great obstacle[170] to the admission of Michigan, but there were other convenient obstacles upon which the opposition gladly seized. In this, as in every case in those days, the slavery question arose with the thought of admitting a new State. In making for themselves a constitution and State government the people of Michigan had laid themselves open to much legitimate objection. The liberal franchise requirements specified in that constitution also brought upon them much censure and opposition.[171] Nevertheless the real objection to admission was the boundary dispute, and but for that, admission would have been granted at once. Indeed the recent contest on the border seems to have won friends for the would-be State, and had there been the least loophole for the wary ones, the bill for admission would have passed without delay.[172] Unfortunately, filled with the determination to hold what seemed their own, the framers of the Constitution of the new State had failed to define the boundary indefinitely on the south, but instead had described therein the exact line defined as the boundary of the Territory in 1805.[173] It was utterly useless to say that this did not menace the territory of Indiana,[174] or that the boundaries of both Indiana and Illinois were irrevocably fixed. Both of those States had too much at stake to have a question raised regarding the right of Congress to disregard a line fixed by the Ordinance of 1787, and both worked systematically against the admission of Michigan.[175]

As soon as the Representatives from Michigan reached the Capitol, they saw that the admission of their State was to be a party question. All the commercial and political interests which influenced Congress in

[167] Letter of Lyon to Horner, Nov. 30, 1835; to C. D. Ellis, Nov. 30, 1835. Senate Documents, No. 5, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I.

[168] Letter to C. D. Ellis, Dec. 6, 1835.

[169] Letter to Rix Robinson, Dec. 13, 1835.

[170] Letter of Lyon to Charles Whipple, Jan. 3, 1836. Letter of Lyon to Horner, Nov. 30, 1835.

[171] Congressiohal Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 282-290. Benton's Abd. of Debates, Vol. XII, pp. 1719. Letters of Lyon to H. H. Comstock, March 29, 1836; John F. Bacon, Dec. 15, 1835; Steven T. Mason, Feb. 28, 1836, and others.

[172] Letter of Lyon to A. E. Wing, March 19, 1836.

[173] Letters of Lyon to A. E. Wing, Dec. 27, 1835, and to C. K. Green, Dec. 27, 1835.

[174] Congressional Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 1014. Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol I, p. 309.

[175] Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 21. Letter of Lyon to A. E. Wing, Dec. 27, 1835, and to Horner, Nov. 30, 1835.

1834 were intensified now. The recent approach to civil war had deferred many commercial transactions until the boundary question was settled, and those interested were demanding the immediate action of Congress.[176] In view of an approaching presidential election the Whigs wished to give Ohio all she claimed, and the Democrats were afraid to act differently. "Everybody courted Ohio."[177] Yet not quite everybody, for the battle was no easy one. Day after day the contest waged in Committee and House. A bill for the admission of Michigan, and one to settle the northern boundary of Ohio were both given to the Judiciary Committee, as in previous years.[178] All the arguments and all the evidence about the boundary question were produced anew. History was searched for examples of rights denied and powers usurped. Those on one side made freedom shriek at the tyranny of keeping eighty thousand people shackled by a Territorial government, while others prophesied the destruction of the Federal government when its people were allowed to make States for themselves.[179] In vain John Quincy Adams in the House made one of his most eloquent speeches,[180] in vain Thomas Benton labored with the Senate. Again it was proposed to compromise and divide the disputed tract between the contending States;[181] but to no purpose. June came and still the House was debating the question. It seemed to some that Congress would adjourn without defining the Ohio boundary or admitting Michigan, and they foresaw a border war which this time would not be bloodless.[182] The end was near, however. The two contested bills were united, and on June fifteenth, 1836, the President approved "An Act to establish the northern boundary of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of the State of Michigan into the Union upon the conditions therein expressed." These conditions were that the people of that State should accept the boundaries specified in the bill.[183]

The conditional admission gave rise to as much discussion outside as it had in Congress. The people of the interested region had not been silent observers of the scene in Congress. Petitions and memorials had

[176] Executive Documents, No. 263, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. VI, and Debates in Congress. Letters of Lyon to E. D. Ellis, Dec. 6, 1835, to R. Robinson, Dec. 13, 1835, and John F. Bacon, Dec. 15, 1835.

[177] Letter of Lyon to A. E. Wing, Dec. 27, 1835, and other letters.

[178] Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, p. 53. Congressional Debates, Vol. XII, pt. II, pp. 2080, 2102.

[179] Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st and 2nd Session, appendix.

[180] Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II. p. 85. Memoirs John Quincy Adams, Vol. IX, p. 296. Letter of Lyon to Allen Hutchinson, Dec. 29, 1835.

[181] Letter of Lyon to A. E. Wing, March 21, 1836. Executive Documents, No. 207, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. V, p. 6. Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, p. 538.

[182] Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, p. 670. Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. IX, p. 291, *et seq.*

[183] Statutes at Large, Vol. V. p. 49. House Journal, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, p. 1002 *im passim*. Senate Journal, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, p. 264. Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III.

been sent in plenty,[184] and now, while Ohio people rejoiced, their defeated rivals had quite made up their minds to refuse to accept the conditions imposed by Congress. The boundaries prescribed for Michigan took from the State all the country for which the people had so long contested. It gave as the southern boundary, not the line running through the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, but one running from that point "to the most northerly cape of the Maumee Bay.[185] And it added much more upon the northwest. For the western line was run to not due north through Lake Michigan and up to the Canadian line but was to leave Lake Michigan at Green Bay and run thence by a circuitous route to the point where the Canadian line last touches Lake Superior.[186] By this arrangement four hundred square miles of territory were taken from the Michigan which Congress had established in 1805, and nine thousand added to it. This addition was, however, at first almost as objectionable to the Michigan people as was the loss of the southern tract, but it was little noticed in the discussion of the terms of admission.[187]

Almost with the reopening of the subject of admission it was reported that Congress would admit the State, if the people thereof would accede to certain conditions. For months the people had been asking each other what they should do, if Congress did make such a demand. Should Michigan remain a State out of the Union, or should the condition be accepted and the State enter the Union?[188] Resolutions denying the power of any tribunal on earth to compel the people to submit to Ohio, or to dismember the State,[189] had been passed again and again, the papers had discussed every phase of the question. Now came the time to act.

Congress had provided that the assent to the change in boundary should be given in a convention elected by the people for the sole purpose of giving such assent.[190] Accordingly the Legislature of the State, not yet a State, called a convention which met in September, in Ann Arbor. The members of this convention, forty-nine in all, were by no means agreed upon the main question. The members from Wayne, Lenawee, St. Joseph, St. Clair, Calhoun, Branch, Hillsdale, Chippewa, Ottawa, Allegan and Barry counties wished to give assent, believing "that our assent, in the way proposed by Congress compromits no honor

[184] House Journal, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, pp. 673, 719, 722, 894, 942, 1057. Knapp, p. 255. Executive Documents, No. 274, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. VII. No. 210.

[185] Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 49.

[186] Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 49.

[187] Below pt. II.

[188] Newspapers of the day. Letters of Lyon to A. E. Wing, Dec. 27, 1835, and to O. D. Richardson. Jan. 3, 1836.

[189] Executive Documents, No. 274, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. VII; Vol. V, Nos. 207, 210. Lyon's Letter to A. E. Wing, Dec. 27, 1835.

[190] Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 49. Congressional debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 10, 19, *et seq.*

and forfeits no right."[191] They believed that the question of the boundary could be determined only by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the right way to get the question before that body was for Michigan to be admitted as a State.[192] But a majority of seven believed that the whole proceeding was unconstitutional. The constitution of the State, they held, gave the Legislature no authority to call such a convention; Congress, they said, had no power to alter the borders of a State without its consent, and they therefore voted against the acceptance of the terms of admission. At the same time they voted to send delegates to Washington to aid their Representatives in enforcing their claims at the next session of Congress.[193]

The conflicting views which had been manifested in the convention were, of course, only expressions of the different sentiments prevailing throughout the State. It had been easy to talk of remaining a State out of the Union while the obnoxious bill was being discussed in Congress. Now that the question was to be decided at home, people began to ask what would be the status of a State out of the Union. It was well enough to call the act of admission a "Bill of Abomination,"[194] and to say it was hardly desirable to enter a Union of "gamblers and pickpockets."[195] It was very well to say that Michigan would not participate in the national councils if to do so she must be "mutilated, humbled and degraded." It was very well to ask, if in order to gain admission the State must "sell a portion of her brethren 'like Joseph into Egypt.' "[196] It was very well to call upon the two hundred thousand freemen to stand together to "extricate your new State from the difficulties and injuries of the past, and to preserve inviolate its integrity, its character, and its sovereignity."[197] The plain truth was, Congress had put Ohio in possession of the desired tract of country, and the forces of the United States would be used against Michigan if another Toledo campaign were attempted.[198] Everybody was beginning to see that the State could gain nothing by remaining in its present anomalous condition, while there was much to gain by submitting at once to the inevitable. The most evident advantage of an immediate admission was a share in the distribution of public money. The plan of distributing the surplus revenue among the States was soon to be tried. It

[191] Laws of Michigan, 1835-6, (Kingsley) p. 16. Michigan House Journal, 1835-6, pp. 35-8, and, Senate Journal, 1835-6, p. 30.

[192] Journal of the Convention, p. 22-3.

[193] Journal of the Convention, Sept. 26-30, 1835, pp. 19, 27, *et seq.* Executive Documents, No. 46, XXIVth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II, pp. 2-7.

[194] Detroit Free Press, June 24, 1836.

[195] Letter of Lyon to Z. Pitcher, March 12, 1836.

[196] Journal of the Convention, p. 35.

[197] Journal of the Convention, p. 40.

[198] Letters of Lyon to Charles C. Hascall, Feb. 21, 1836, Edward Mundy, Feb. 26, 1836, and to Governor Mason, Feb. 28, 1836. Congressional Debates, Vol. XIII, pt. I, pp. 205-6, *im passim.*

was feared that Michigan would receive no part of this money unless admitted before the distribution began. Michigan people calculated the share which would fall to them would be four hundred thousand dollars,[199] and this amount seemed immense to the ambitious young statesmen.

Before the convention met all of the democratic papers, except those published in the border region, urged the acceptance of the terms prescribed.[200] There was a little effort made to show that the northern addition was worth something,[201] there was even a proposition to wait and try to get more of Wisconsin.[202] There was talk of its being necessary to accept the condition in order to preserve the harmony of the Union.[203] But the emphasis was put on the fact that money would be secured if assent were given in time.

As soon then as the September convention reported their dissenting vote the agitation was renewed, and in a few weeks the democratic leaders demanded another convention. Through the papers,[204] Gen. John R. Williams, and others called upon the electors of the different counties to choose delegates to a convention to consider the proposition of admission. The dissenters refused to consider such a measure and and put no ticket[205] in the field. But elections were held regularly and under the usual officers in every county of the State, except in Monroe and Macomb.[206] The members of the convention, which met in Ann Arbor on the fourteenth of December, were naturally all of one mind, although they had been elected by a vote larger by six hundred than that polled for the September convention.[207] After a two day's session this convention, known as the "Frost-bitten Convention," adjourned, having declared the assent of the people to the conditions imposed. Congress had no constitutional right, they said, to require the assent of the people to a change in boundary as a condition of admission, nevertheless, since such assent was required, it was given "as the interest and prosperity of the State will be greatly advanced by our immediate admission into the Union.....; and the people of the said State are solicitious to give to her sister States and to the world, unequivocal proof of her desire to promote the tranquility, and harmony of the confederacy, and to perpetuate the unity, liberity and prosperity of the country.[208]

[199] Detroit Free Press, July 21, 1836.
[200] Detroit Free Press, August 24, 1836.
[201] Ibid, August 24, 1836.
[202] Ibid, August 19, 1836.
[203] Ibid, June 25, 1836.
[204] Ibid, Dec. 3, 1836.
[205] Ibid, Dec. 7, 1836.
[206] Journal of the Convention, pp. 49-50.
[207] Detroit Free Press, Dec. 20, 1836. Journal of the Convention, p. 2.
[208] Journal of the Convention, p. 48.

Word was duly sent to the President that the people of Michigan accepted the terms of admission.[209]

According to the act providing for the conditional admission of Michigan the State was to be admitted by proclamation of the President as soon as the required assent was given.[210] But Congress was in session when word was received from the second convention, and President Jackson saw fit to submit the matter to that body.[211] This reopened the whole discussion. There was no possibility of changing the vote on the question of the southern boundary, but the old straw was threshed over in many of the speeches. The chief subject of debate this time, however, was the validity of the work of the second convention.[212] Congress had not specified the manner in which the assenting convention was to be called, but the first one had been assembled by order of the Legislature. The Governor refused to call a second convention and accordingly it was assembled by spontaneous personal calls. Many of the Whigs, who had before said the Michigan Legislature had only as much power as a temperance society,[213] now held that the convention called by that body was the only legal convention.[214] The majority of the Democrats, of course, held that the people could always act in their primary capacity.[215] They held, therefore, that the second convention was legal and its acts authoritative. Right or wrong this opinion prevailed, and the vote of the second convention was accepted. After nearly a month of debate a bill for the admission of Michigan was passed. On the twenty-sixth of January, 1837, Michigan became in law what for over a year she had been in fact—a State.[216]

Both Judge Cooley and Judge Campbell consider this law of Congress based on an illegal act since the second convention was not called nor were its proceedings attested by State authorities.[217] But those under whom the first convention was convened were not recognized by the United States officials as other than private individuals. The political life of the State had been for nearly two years too irregular and revolutionary to make any one over particular regarding the regularity of the admission, and most people were glad to accept the verdict of Congress. Even Governor Mason advised accepting the results of the action of the second convention, and urged upon the people "patriotic

[209] Ibid, p. 50-1. Executive Documents, No. 46, XXIVth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II.
[210] Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 49.
[211] Executive Documents, No. 46, XXIVth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II.
[212] Congressional Debates, XIII. pt. II, pp. 1440, 257-264.
[213] Niles Register, Vol. XLIX, pp. 219, 427.
[214] Congressional Debates, Vol. XIII, pt. II, 257, 261.
[215] Michigan House Journal, 1835-6, p. 342. Congressional Debates, Vol. XIII, pt. II, pp. 241-256.
[216] Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 144. Senate Journal, XXIVth Congress, 2nd Session, p. 93. House Journal, XXIVth Congress, 2nd Session, p. 285.
[217] Cooley, "Michigan," p 224; Campbell, "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan," p. 477.

obedience to the will of the people of the United States."[218] The Legislature of Michigan recompensed, as far as possible, the Representatives falsely accused of bartering away a part of the State[219] by the passage of a resolution thanking them for the "untiring zeal and unremitting fidelity with which they have tried to sustain the rights of the State."[220] Within the State as well as out there appears to have been a feeling of relief, if not of satisfaction. Of course there were occasional remarks about the lost country, and some faint hope perhaps of regaining it.[221] At the session of 1838 the Legislature authorized the Governor to consult some of the jurists of the country regarding the legal right of the State to the disputed tract.[222] The opinions rendered were against the claims of Michigan; and the question was given its final notice when Governor Barry, in his inaugural address in 1842, referred to the unprecedented success of the State which had been admitted "only after a surrender of a valuable portion of its territory."[223]

Such is the history of the establishment of the southern boundary of Michigan. The question of the rights involved in this much disputed question remains to be studied.

The claims of Michigan were set forth in 1818, and all the arguments thereafter made were but repetitions of this statement made by the Governor and Judges[224] at that early day. These claims were:

First, The Ordinance of 1787, was a compact entered into by the United States, the ceding States and the people of the Northwest Territory. It could, therefore, be dissolved only by the common consent of the parties thereto.

Second, The southern boundary of the State was a line running east and west through the southerly extremity of Lake Michigan. This claim was based entirely upon Article V of the Ordinance of 1787. This article describes the boundaries to be given to three States which are to be formed within the Northwest Territory and then provides that "the boundaries of these States shall be subject, so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of said Territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted..... into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States....."[225]

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[218] Journal Michigan House of Representatives, 1837, pp. 6–8.
[219] Below pt. II.
[220] Journal, Michigan House of Representatives, 1837, p. 181.
[221] Blois, "Gazetteer of the State of Michigan," p. 206.
[222] Journal, Michigan House of Representatives, 1838, pp. 463, 479, 481.
[223] Journal, Michigan House of Representatives, 1842, p. 10.
[224] Above page 353.
[225] Ordinance of 1787, Article 5.

Third, When Congress created the Territory of Michigan in 1805, this provision of the Ordinance was so far carried into effect as to vest in the people of that region an inalienable right of admission into the Union as soon as they should number sixty thousand. To reduce later the number of people within the Territory by fixing the southern boundary farther north, would be to retard progress toward State government; and that Congress could not do lawfully, even had it power to change the boundary line.[226]

This theory of inalienable rights bestowed by an inviolable contract was, as has been said, maintained by Michigan to the last. Such a theory is not tenable. Today all agree that one Congress cannot bind another. Furthermore, it has been decided that, since the terms of the Ordinance of 1787 were not embodied within the Constitution of the United States, its terms are not binding upon the Government. But, as a matter of fact, the parties to the compact gave their consent to any changes which had been made in the fifth article of the Ordinance. The old States which gave the land silently agreed to the boundaries of Indiana and Illinois. By silent acceptance they consent to the change in the Ohio boundary. The three States just mentioned certainly desired and accepted their boundaries.[227] Michigan failed to send an official remonstrance when Congress accepted the assent of the "Frost-bitten Convention," and received the act of admission as if it were based on a valid act. To all intents and purposes, therefore, the compact of 1787 was not disregarded, and if it had been the action would not have been unlawful.

The claims of Ohio on the boundary question were not fully set forth until 1833.[228] They rested chiefly on the expediency of giving Ohio the desired line; but since Michigan insisted upon the law of the question, Ohio could not ignore that side. So far as the law was considered by Ohio, stress was laid upon the interpretion of the Ordinance of 1787. Granting, it was said, that the Ordinance of 1787 was inviolable, it should be read in the light of the intention of its framers and not by the letter of the document. The maps used in describing the boundary lines of the proposed States in the west show Lake Michigan as extending south to 41° 39′ north latitude instead of only to 42° 20′.[229] Consequently the framers of the Ordinance must have supposed that a line running through its southerly extreme would leave a larger portion of country to be included within the State of Ohio, and would also give that State the whole of Lake Erie. The evident intention of the framers

[226] Memorial of the Governor and Judges, 1818, Archives State Department, Lansing. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 3-30.

[227] Chancellor Kent, in Michigan House Documents, 1839, pp. 30-34. Cooley, "Constitutional Limitations," pp. 38, 39. (Sixth edition.)

[228] Executive Documents, No. 243, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV.

[229] Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 47-48.

of the Ordinance was to make States of convenient size, and with equal commercial facilities; consequently when it was discovered that the dividing lines described in the Ordinance failed to accomplish this purpose, they should be made to do so. Boundaries should be made to conform to the intention of the Ordinance, not its letter.[230]

To prove that the Ordinance line was founded upon a false geographical assumption, the Ohio people brought forth not only maps, but showed that the boundary described in the enabling act, which was supposed to be in accord with the Ordinance of 1787, was an impossible line. The line described in the enabling act makes the northern boundary of Ohio run due east from the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, "until it shall interesect Lake Erie or the territorial line, and thence with the same through Lake Erie to the Pennsylvania line."[231] If this line were to go due east, they said, it would not strike the international line. Moreover it would leave only a small portion of Lake Erie in Ohio, and would cut off from that State a portion of country which nature and the Pennsylvania line had given to that State alone. This claim, however, was of little force since its truth depended upon the location of the international line, and about that surveyors disagreed.[232] Ohio claimed further, that the purpose of the Ordinance makers in naming the line running through the southern extremity of Lake Michigan was not to make that, necessarily, a dividing line between the tiers of States; but to prevent the southern States being made smaller by having the others pushed down below that line. In other words the fifth proviso of the Ordinance meant that the southern tier of States might be extended as far north as Congress chose, but the northern tier could not be extended farther south than this fundamental line.[233] As a basis for this claim it was remarked that the Ordinance gave Congress authority to form one or two States *in* that portion of the Territory lying north of the line, whereas had the framers intended to imply that the whole must be formed into two States, they would have made the sentence read "Congress has authority to form one or two States *of* that portion of the Territory."[234] It is easy to see that such a proposition might be answered by saying that the whole article is descriptive of boundaries within which States were to be formed, and therefore the word "in" was used; otherwise there would be no use in prescribing boundaries.[235] This of course is a question of interpretation and can

[230] Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 40-41.

[231] Enabling Act for Ohio, Section 2.

[232] Senate Documents, No. 243, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 2-3. Senate Documents, No. 49, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II; No. 149, Vol. III, p. 11. Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 32-33, 47-49. Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 107-115. Senate Documents, No. 2, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 198,

[233] Senate Documents, No. 243, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 7.

[234] Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 40-50.

[235] Senate Documents, No. 235, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 4-5. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 23. Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 26.

Relative position of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie, according to Mitchell's map of 1755.
From Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. III.

never be settled. It is one upon which students of the Ordinance still dispute. Fortunately it is of no practical importance now the question is settled.

A further claim to a northern extension of Ohio was founded upon a clause of the enabling act for Ohio which provided that Congress should be at liberty, either to attach all the territory lying immediately north of the proposed State of Ohio to that State, or to dispose of it otherwise in conformity to the Ordinance of 1787.[236] This provision, it was said, clearly indicated that the Congress of 1802 did not understand the line running through the southern bend of Lake Michigan to be a line which must separate the northern and southern States. But such a provision proves nothing as to the interpretation of this section of the Ordinance, since the State of Ohio was erected before Congress had definitely adopted the policy of creating five instead of three States.

The strong point, however, of the claimants[237] was that Congress had a perfect right to divide the public domain regardless of the Ordinance of 1787; and, having this right, had given to Ohio a northern boundary line extending from the foot of Lake Michigan to the north cape of Miami Bay. It will be remembered that when the Ohio Constitution was framed in 1802, the boundaries defined in the enabling act were adopted with the proviso that *if* the line described as the north boundary should intersect Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami River, then, *with the assent* of Congress, the northern line should run from the southern part of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of Miami Bay.[238] Congress accepted this constitution and thereby, it was said, accepted the boundary proviso and, in so doing, gave Ohio the desired northern extension. We have seen in the course of our study, that from the moment of admission, the Ohio people sought to have Congress definitely consent to this proviso, and that Congress repeatedly refused to declare the proviso line to be the northern boundary of Ohio.[239] In 1835 the President acted upon the principle that no such assent had been given. And the Attorney General declared, not only that it had not been given, but that the line was not the true northern boundary of Ohio until expressly declared to be such by Congress. This last did not necessarily overthrow the idea that Congress accepted the proviso in accepting the Ohio Constitution because, the Attorney General said, the proviso expressly declared *if* a certain geographical fact were ascertained then *Congress consenting*, the line proposed was to be the boundary.[240] This

[236] Enabling Act for Ohio, Section 2.

[237] The Ohio people did not urge, as they might have done, that the first Governor of the Northwest Territory did not consider any of the Ordinance lines as inviolable. See St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 215, Vol. II, pp. 590, 564.

[238] Above, p. 348. Ohio Constitution, 1802, Article VII, Section 6. Senate Documents, No. 354. XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 60. Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 153. Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III.

[239] Above pp. 350, 351, 353, 355, 356, 360.

[240] Senate Documents, No. 6, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 8. Executive Documents, No. 243, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 6.

assent, we have seen, was not given until 1836, consequently Ohio did not extend to this northern line until that year. In law then, as in fact, we must conclude that until 1836 the Territory of Michigan extended south to the Ordinance line and the boundary of 1805.

But it was not so much upon the law of the case that the argument for Ohio rested, as upon the question of equity and expediency. The limits Michigan proposed for herself would make that State, they said, not only much larger than Ohio, but one of the largest States in the Union; and with longer coast line than any other State of its size. Ohio on the other hand would have little coast line besides being one of the smallest States of the west. The only equitable division of the country therefore depended upon an extension of Ohio at the expense of Michigan.[241]

Expediency pointed likewise to this division of the country. The commercial interests of Ohio as well as the country at large demanded that Ohio, the key to the west, should have as many lake ports as possible, and particularly a lake port for the terminus of a great canal.[242]

For some years Congress had given aid to internal improvements in Ohio.[243] One of the greatest of these undertakings was the Wabash and Erie Canal, and it was suddenly discovered, by those interested, that this enterprise would be almost useless unless it could terminate at a point within the disputed tract.[244] This point chanced to be that upon which eastern capitalists had once undertaken to build a great city. Years had passed and the city was unheard of in the Port Lawrence township which Michigan called her own.[245] But when the terminus of the great canal was fixed only eight miles away, it was easy to see that its most natural outlet would be below the rapids and directly on the Lake where the speculator's city had been located. Of course those who had large interests at stake preferred to be within the prosperous State of Ohio rather than within the new State; and those whose business interests were elsewhere saw that another lake port would mean much even to favored Ohio.[246] Austin E. Wing declares that when he was Michigan's delegate, the Cincinnati Company and bodies of eastern capitalists sent lobbies down to Washington to induce Congress to extend the border of Ohio on the north.[247] Certainly there was reason for such action; those interested in the prospective city, as those interested in the canal, must see the advantage of a lake outlet, even if Michigan people did declare that

[241] Senate Documents, No. 149, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 22-3.
[242] Ibid, pp. 21-2.
[243] Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 617, Vol. IV, pp. 242, 305, 393. Niles Register, Vol. XXVIII, p. 10.
[244] Senate Documents, No. 149, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 4-5; No. 211, pp. 24, 39 Vol. IV. No. 354, pp. 76-77.
[245] Waggoner, "History of Toledo and Lucas Co."
[246] Executive Documents, No. 243, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 7.
[247] Letter of John Norvell, May 15, 1836, p. 7.

Maumee was just as good a terminus as Toledo could possibly be.[248] Speculators rushed in to secure lots in the prospective city and staked their all on its being a part of Ohio.

Michigan too had commercial interests at stake. Two railroads had recently been started which were to terminate near Toledo.[249] The men most interested had much influence at home, and may have done much to fan the flame of patriotism until their fellow citizens were ready to fight for the strip which had, so far, belonged to them. But what could a handful of Michigan capitalists do against capitalists from Ohio and the east? Today, with our private ownership of railroads and our interstate commerce laws, we care not if a railroad terminates outside the State through which it runs. But in 1835 canals were an important means of transportation, and furthermore they were owned by the State. The people of the different States were not so friendly in those days as in these, and there was a universal feeling that the enterprises and advantages of one State should be in no way subject to the jurisdiction of another. Ohio felt this strongly, and had no difficulty in convincing business men that it was far better for everybody to have the great canal enter the lake directly at Toledo than to terminate at Maumee.[250]

With State and eastern capitalists on their side, Ohio people were further favored by political conditions. Ohio was a doubtful State[251] and both parties, therefore, sought the votes of her people.[252] Michigan, on the other hand, like the accompanying slave State, Arkansas, was surely democratic. Under any circumstances the Whigs would have refused to admit Michigan so soon before a presidential election; now they had a double wish to do so; since by so doing they might win a doubtful State. The Democrats were sure of Michigan and Arkansas, but these together would give them only six additional votes, and to win them was to risk losing the twenty-nine votes of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.[253]

Expediency, therefore, was upon the side of Ohio in the boundary dispute, and law was not against her. Where then did justice lie? Had no additional land been given to Michigan, Ohio would still have been smaller than that State by about seven thousand square miles.[254] Ohio

[248] Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 29–30. Congressional Debates, Vol. X, pt. II, p. 1904.

[249] Executive Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 24. Territorial Laws of Michigan, Vol. III, pp. 11, 26, Vol. IV, pp. 148, 153.

[250] Senate Documents, No. 149, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 22. Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 29, 39.

[251] Niles Register, Vol. XLVII, p. 198.

[252] Abd. of Debates, Vol. XII, p. 370, *im passim*. Appendix Congressional Globe, XXIIIrd Congress.

[253] Niles Register, Vol. XLVIII, p. 201.

[254] Number of square miles in Michigan, 57,430, and in Ohio, 40,760. Approximate number of square miles added to Michigan in 1836, 9,500. See Census Bulletin, No. 23, 1891. Michigan coast line, 1,600 miles; "Michigan and Its Resources," published by the State, 1893.

has a coast line along the southern shore of the smallest of the Great Lakes. Michigan, without Toledo, would have a port upon Lake Erie, and besides was bounded by Lake Huron, Lake Superior and Lake Michigan. It could not then be unjust to take a strip of land from the Territory of Michigan in order to give Ohio another lake port. It was, however, unjust to let the people of Michigan settle unwittingly upon land belonging to another State. It was not fair to let the Territorial and State authorities foster industries and expend money upon a region to which it had no claim. Here then lies the injustice of 1836; not in the decision of Congress, but in the delay in reaching any decision.

In 1836 the Michigan-Ohio boundary was fixed theoretically, practically it is still unsettled. The line established as the dividing line between these two States had been marked by Harris in 1817. It was re-marked by the Ohio commissioners in 1835, and by the United States Land Office in 1837.[257] But, few permanent monuments of any of these surveys are left, and the people residing along the line are much troubled to know in which State they live.[258] To remedy this trouble, the Ohio Assembly has just (April, 1896) provided for the appointment of a commission, to act with commissioners from Michigan, in deciding the exact location of the line which divides these States.

PART II.

THE WESTERN BOUNDARY.

The history of the Western Boundary of Michigan is shorter and less complicated, but hardly less interesting than that of the southern boundary.

In 1805, as has been said, Michigan Territory was created east of a line running from the southern bend of Lake Michigan due north to the Canadian line.[259] Some thirteen years later, all of the country north of Indiana and Illinois and east of the Mississippi, was added to Michigan.[260] This addition was for temporary purposes only, but evidently it could not be sufficiently temporary to suit some of the people concerned. The inhabitants of the annexed region at once began to complain of the great evils resulting from so distant a seat of government, and in 1824

[257] Documents in the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society Publications, Vol. IV, p. 172.
[258] Ibid, pp. 174, 178.
[259] Above page 348.
[260] Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 431.

they petitioned Congress for a separate organization, to be known as Chippewa Territory.[261] With this request began the struggle for the Upper Peninsula.

In those days Michigan was called "The Peninsula" quite as if there were only one, and the dwellers across the Straits felt their interests bound up with the people to the west, rather than with those to the south of them. For this reason the people of Michilimackinac and the neighboring counties had signed the petition asking for the creation of the Territory of Chippewa.[262] At once the people of "The Peninsula" were aroused, and the Legislative Council of the Territory immediately sent a memorial to Congress expressing surprise at the presentation of a petition for the division of the Territory. "Such a measure," they said, "even if it is ever to take place, is now entirely premature." And then they proceeded to state reasons for believing that the Michilimackinac country could never naturally belong to a government west of Lake Michigan, and if it could, that Congress had no right to detach it from Michigan. In creating that Territory, Congress, they said, had exhausted all the power given to them by the Ordinance of 1787.[263] Both petitions were duly referred by Congress,[264] and nothing more was heard of the question for two years. Then "the inhabitants of the northwestern part of the Territory of Michigan" asked Congress to separate them from Michigan proper, or "The Peninsula," in order that they might have the privileges of self-government, now impossible because of the distance from the seat of government at Detroit.[265] No boundaries were specified in this request, and a similar one of a little later date asks that the new Territory be made west of Lake Michigan.[266] The Legislative Council agreed to urge the granting of this request,[267] though the Council of two years before had questioned if there would ever be need of a government west of Lake Michigan.[268] The House accordingly passed a bill for the creation of Huron Territory.[269] But the boundaries defined in the bill were displeasing to all concerned. The people of the west objected to the southern line, and those of the Lower Peninsula objected to losing all of the territory north of the Straits of Mackinaw. These objections

[261] House Executive Documents, No. 34, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 2.

[262] Senate Journal, XIXth Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 68, 125.

[263] Journal, Legislative Council, 1824-9, pp. 17, 23-25.

[264] Senate Journal, XIXth Congress, 2nd Session, p. 125. House Journal, XIXth, 2nd Session, p. 216.

[265] Reports of Committees, No. 56, XXIst Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12.

[266] Reports of Committees, No. 56, XXIst Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12. House Executive Papers, No. 35, XXth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II, p. 3-4.

[267] House Executive Papers, No. 66, XXth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II. Reports of Committees No. 56, XXIst Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 4. Journal of Legislative Council, 1824-29, p. 112.

[268] Journal of Legislative Council, 1824-29, pp 23-25.

[269] House Journal, XXth Congress, 1st Session, pp. 128, 172. House Journal, XXth Congress, 2nd Session, p. 191. Reports of Committee, No. 79, XXth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, or Reports of Committees, No. 56, XXIst Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I. Abd. of Debates, Vol. X, pp. 357-8.

were duly presented to Congress, and the Senate[270] failed to consider the bill for the erection of Huron Territory.[271]

As a matter of fact the Michigan statesmen were very desirous of being relieved of the country west of the lake. The Territory was now controlled by a Governor and a Legislative Council. The Council was of course supposed to be a representative body, but could not be such when distance often prevented the western members from attending the sessions. Furthermore, the country beyond Lake Michigan was rapidly developing, and its government required more care and expense than some men were willing to expend upon a region temporarily annexed to the Territory. Besides this, the northern part of Michigan was almost unknown and consequently it was little valued. This combination of circumstances emboldened the representatives of the discontented upper counties. At the Session of 1829 they proposed asking Congress to annex to the new Territory of Wisconsin all that part of Michigan lying north of the Straits.[272] Such a memorial was actually accepted by the Legislative Council, the vote being seven to six, and the names of Schoolcraft and Trowbridge being among the seven. But a few days later, wiser counsel prevailed; the question was reconsidered; the memorial was recommitted and not again reported.[273] That Governor Cass would have approved the measure seems evident from his message at the same session in which he says, there is prospect of the creation of a new Territory but he is "not aware that it can injuriously effect our interests."[274]

But when Congress again talked of a bill for erecting a Territory of Wisconsin,[275] the Council became aware that its provisions might be injurious and petitioned Congress to preserve the territorial limits of Michigan.[276] Robert Irwin of Chippewa county voted against sending such a memorial. But he stood alone this time and the petition was allowed to do its work. Congress took no further action upon the bill for the creation of Wisconsin Territory.[277] Governor Cass, too, was now convinced of the danger of losing part of Michigan. In his message of January 5, 1831, he advised the Council to send another memorial to Congress protesting against any division of the Territory as established by the act of 1805, such division being "equally injurious to our rights and subversive of our interests." He was doubtful of the efficacy of such a memorial however; for he adds that if of no immediate value it may

[270] Executive Papers, No. 35, XXth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II. House Journal, XXth Congress 2nd Session, p. 419, 1485.
[271] Senate Journal, XXth Congress, 1st Session, p. 111.
[272] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1829, p. 81.
[273] Ibid, p. 89.
[274] Ibid, p. 5.
[275] House Journal, XXIst Congress, 1st Session, p. 345.
[276] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1830, p. 130.
[277] Report of Committees, No. 56, XXIst Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I.

be good to refer to when our political relations shall be such as to enable us to work under more favorable circumstances.[278]

In the mean time the delegate from Michigan, Austin E. Wing, had again brought up in Congress the question of creating a new territory.[279] The Committee to which it had been referred reported in favor of organizing the Territory of Wisconsin, with its eastern line running due north through Lake Michigan to the Canadian line[279a]. Apparently the memorial had been more efficacious than Governor Cass had hoped. The bill, however, failed to reach a final vote,[280] and so there was opportunity for more trouble.

This came soon. Some of the Legislative Council proposed memorializing Congress for permission to form a State within the boundaries as fixed by the act of 1805.[281] Mr. Martin, then representing the counties of Michilimackinac and Chippewa, objected to the boundaries proposed on the ground that the citizens of the Island of Mackinac, and the country lying north of the Straits of that name, wished to be attached to the new Territory to be set off west of Lake Michigan.[282] The protest of Mr. Martin was sent to Congress, but with it went the memorial from the rest of the Council with its boundary clause unchanged.[283] Both were useless, however, for the trouble with Ohio prevented the passage of an enabling act.[284]

This delayed enabling act gave another opportunity for the northern people to seek separation from the Lower Peninsula. At the next session of the Territorial Assembly Mr. Martin was ready for action. He got himself made chairman of a committee to prepare a memorial asking Congress to erect a State of Michigan and a Territory of Wisconsin. The committee gravely reported to the Assembly a memorial which specified that the proposed territory should include the country lying "north of Lakes Michigan and Huron."[285] To prove that Congress had the right to grant such a request, the memorialists called attention to the fact that the boundaries of the Territory of Michigan had been changed when Indiana was admitted in 1818, and that such a change was legitimate inasmuch as the act of 1805 did not prescribe the boundaries of the *State* of Michigan, and by it "no rights were conceded to enable the citizens of Michigan to control the future legislation of Congress upon the subject."[286] From 1818 when the Governor and Judges had protested against

[278] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1831, pp. 5-6. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 30.

[279] House Journal, XXIInd Congress, 1st Session, p. 39.

[279a] Reports of Committees, No. 145, XXIInd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, p. 2.

[280] House Journal, XXIInd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 882, 1210.

[281] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1833, pp. 13-14.

[282] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1833, p. 15.

[283] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1833, p. 15.

[284] Above pt. I.

[285] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1834, pp. 15, 33-5.

[286] Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1834, p. 35.

a northern extension of Ohio and Indiana, Michigan people had maintained that Congress had no authority to alter the boundaries of Michigan as described in 1805.[287] Mr. Martin's arguments were not sufficient to convince the Council that their claims had been unfounded, and they refused to send such a memorial to Congress.[288] A memorial was sent, however, asking for the erection of Wisconsin Territory, with an eastern boundary which should run through Lake Michigan and northward to the Canadian line.[289] Mr. Martin and his constituents, however, were not so easily put down. The people of Chippewa county sent a petition directly to Congress, and asked to be set off to the new Territory.[290] Wisconsin Territory was not established. Michigan was not made a State.[291] Had either of these things happened the request of the northern people would not have been granted, however, for just at this time a proposition was made to extend Michigan even farther to the west. The proposal to extend rather than curtail Michigan on the north grew out of the efforts of Ohio to secure a northerly extension.

Ohio, it will be remembered, had long sought to include within her borders a strip of country from ten to five miles[292] wide which was under the jurisdiction of Michigan. Congress had always refused or failed to sanction the claim of Ohio to this region,[293] but in 1834 special efforts were made to secure an acknowledgment of the line claimed by Ohio. Mr. Preston of South Carolina was chairman of the House Committee to which the question was referred. During the discussion, he was asked how much territory lay west of the proposed State of Michigan. On being told, he suggested that such a division of the country left too much territory west of Lake Michigan to form one State, and that it would be better to give Ohio what was wanted on the south, and extend Michigan on the west by running the boundary line through Lake Michigan to Green Bay and thence northwest to Lake Superior by a devious, but supposed waterway. Lucius Lyon, who then represented them in Congress, protested that Michigan people did not wish their State extended on the west. The Straits, he said, formed an impassable barrier between the Upper and Lower Peninsulas for a part of every year, and nature intended the Upper Peninsula to be a part of the southern State. His protest was vain, for the Committee were anxious to please the growing State of Ohio, and thought to appease Michigan, and at the same time prevent the possibility of the creation of another free State

287 Above pt. I.

288 Journal of Michigan Legislative Council, 1834, p. 40.

289 Ibid, p. 159. Executive Documents, No. 34, p. 3, and No. 47, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session Vol., II. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, p. 3.

290 Congressional Globe, XXIIIrd Congress, Vol. I, p. 144.

291 House Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 351. Congressional Debates, Vol. X, pt. II, p. 1724. Senate Documents, No. 354, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, pp. 3-43. Reports of House Committees, No. 334, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III.

292 Blois, "Gazetteer of Michigan," p. 198. Hinsdale, "Old Northwest," p. 331.

293 Above pt. I.

by adopting Preston's plan.[294] Congress, however, failed to adopt the recommendation of the Committee[295] and the condition of Michigan remained unchanged, save that her bounds were temporarily stretched until they included even a part of Dakota.[296]

The disaffection of the northern counties was shown again in the Constitutional Convention which met in May of 1835. Four members of the Convention vainly sought to insert in the Constitution the proviso: "That nothing herein contained shall prevent the Legislature of the State of Michigan from consenting to any such alteration of the western boundary line of said State by which the Islands of Michilimackinac and Bois Blanc and the County of Chippewa may be detached from the State and attached to the district of country lying west of Lake Michigan....."[297]

Lucius Lyon paid no heed to the desires of the northern counties of Michigan, but did his best to include in the new State not only what had originally belonged to the Territory on the north, but as much more as could be secured. He succeeded, as the present boundary witnesses.[298] This statement seems not to agree with the one just made, that Lyon vehemently opposed the western extension of the State when it was proposed by Preston.[299] Nevertheless it is true. In 1835 Lucius Lyon was one of the Senators elected to represent the State as soon as it should be admitted.[300] Lyon and his colleagues went to Washington before the opening of the next session of Congress. They were not officially recognized, but did what they could to secure the admission of their State. Lyon believed the State should have exactly the boundaries prescribed for the Territory and doubted the right of Congress to force the acceptance of others.[301] But when he found Ohio was to have her way, and that Congress had the power, if not the right to change the southern line, and reduce the State by cutting off nearly four hundred square miles from the southern side; then he concluded, to use his own expression, to "go in for all the country Congress will give us west of the Lakes," and proposed extending the State to the line which now divides us from Wisconsin.[302] If Lucius Lyon had not "gone in" for this

294 Wisconsin Historical Collection, Vol. IV, pp. 351, 355-57. Letters of Geo. W. Jones, 1833. Mr. Jones was the Delegate from Michigan in 1835-6. Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 17, *et seq.*

295 Senate Journal, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 193, 302. House Journal, pp. 705, 716.

296 House Executive Documents, No. 245, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV. Statutes at Large, Vol. IV, p. 701.

297 Journal of the Convention, pp. 204-5. The four men were the two members for Mackinaw and Chippewa, Colbath of Monroe and Gidley of Jackson. See convention Journal, pp. 2, 22.

298 Statutes at Large, Vol. V, pp. 10, 59. Letter of Lyon to R. D. Turner, Feb. 17, 1840; to Col. A. Mack, Feb. 21, 1836, and to C. C. Hascall, Feb. 21, 1836.

299 Above p. 382.

300 Above page 365.

301 Letter of Lyon to L. D. Ellis, March 3, 1836, and to H. H. Comstock, March 9, 1836. Above page 356. Letter of Lyon to C. C. Hascall, Feb. 21, 1836.

302 Letter of Lyon to Col. D. Goodwin, Feb. 4, 1836.

tract of land, Michigan would probably never have had the copper region. For the people of the State seriously objected to taking that "barren region;"[303] and Mr. Crary and Senator Norvell, the other members-elect of Congress, protested for many months against such an addition.[304] But Senator Lyon's views finally prevailed, chiefly, doubtless, because: first, there was a general feeling among the members of Congress that Michigan should be compensated for the land which political exigencies seemed to demand they should give to Ohio;[305] and second, because it was felt by the Committee which considered the question that unless Michigan were extended on the north the remaining territory would be too large to make a single State, and to make two States of it would be disregarding the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, and would increase the number of free States.[306]

It is customary to say that the Upper Peninsula was not given in compensation for the lost southern strip, but that the fear of leaving opportunity for the creation of another free State led Congress to extend Michigan.[307] This latter may have been the dominating idea with the Committee, but a careful reading of the speeches in Senate and House shows that the idea of compensation dominated the minds of most members of Congress, as well as the mind of Lucius Lyon.[308] Not that Lyon thought the nine thousand or so square miles in the north would compensate for the lost four hundred square miles but, he said, "If we lose on the south and gain nothing on the north and west, we shall be poor indeed."[309] Still Lyon was sufficiently acquainted with the country to know that it was not simply a place in which we could "raise our own Indians in all time to come and supply ourselves now and then with a little bear meat for a delicacy,"[310] as he wrote to a friend. He knew then that a part of the land was fertile, and the fisheries fine, and he hoped that the copper mines, supposed to exist, might in time prove valuable.[311] He even prophesied that in ten years the State might not be willing to sell the land for forty millions of dollars.[312]

[303] See Detroit Free Press, 1836. Executive Documents, No. 274, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. VII. Letter of Lyon to Sheldon McKnight, March 30, 1836, and to John S. Bagg, March 23, 1836.

[304] Wisconsin Historical Collection, Vol. IV, p. 353. Letter of Lyon to John S. Bagg, March 23, 1836; to Col. D. Goodwin, Feb. 4, 1836; to C. K. Green, Feb. 25, 1836, and to A. E. Wing, March 19, 1836, and others. Detroit Free Press, August 24.

[305] Congressional Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 750, 1006, 1008, *im passim*. Vol. XIII, pt. I, pp. 320; pt. II, p. 1442. Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, p. 16. Executive Documents, No. 207, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. V, pp. 3-6. Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 308. Wisconsin Historical Collection, Vol. IV, p. 357. Letters of Lyon to W. L. Newberry, Feb. 21, 1836, and to Col. Mack, Feb. 21, and others.

[306] Senate Documents, No. 211, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 16, 17. Congressional Globe, XXIIIrd Congress, p. 429.

[307] Wisconsin Historical Collection, Vol. IV, p. 354.

[308] The Committee which considered the question had Schoolcraft report to them regarding the value of the region they proposed to annex to Michigan. See Schoolcraft's "Thirty Years," p. 547.

[309] Letters to Col. Mack, Feb. 21, 1836, and to C. C. Hascall, Feb. 21, 1836.

[310] Letter to Dr. Philes, Feb. 18, 1836.

[311] Letter to C. C. Hascall, Feb. 21, 1836.

[312] Letter to Col. Mack, Feb. 21, 1836.

Lyon's colleagues in Washington were, as has been said,[313] slow to see that he was right in seeking a western extension of territory. But finally they joined him in his efforts to get all the land which could be attached to Michigan, "without material inconvenience to the people who may eventually reside there."[314] Slow as were Senator Norvell and Representative Crary to see the advisability of securing more northern territory, the people of Michigan were still slower. When they learned that it was proposed to extend the State in that direction there was a great hue and cry. Through newspaper and memorial the people protested they did not want the sterile wastes of the north, and accused their Representatives of bartering away the fertile regions of the south for a barren and valueless tract in the region of perpetual snows.[315] So loud and vehement were their accusations, that some of the better known Congressmen felt called upon to defend the Michigan delegation. Van Buren declared that never before had men clung more pertinaciously to their claims. They asked, he said, for the northern country only when the southern was surely lost.[316] Satisfied that their Congressmen had not been treacherous, still the people protested but, as Judge Cooley says, "even while protesting they acquiesced, satisfied in their hearts that princely compensation was made."[317]

There was a time when Lyon feared the Committee would not give all he asked, or even anything, in the northwest. There were proposals to make the Ontonagon or Chocolate River a part of the boundary.[318] But his wishes prevailed, and the Preston line which he now proposed was adopted.[319] The northern boundary, however, received little attention outside the Committee. The chief objection made to the line, in either House of Congress, was that the people of the annexed region had not shared in framing the constitution of the new State.[320] Even in Michigan itself there was not much attention paid to the subject of the northwest boundary. The fury of the people against their representatives had subsided and they appear to have concluded that their leaders were wiser than themselves in this respect, or possibly they were too much exercised over other matters to have thought for this. At any rate, when the Governor submitted the act of Congress conditionally admitting Michigan, he failed to mention the northwestern boundary pro-

313 Above page 384.

314 Letter to Col. Mack, Feb. 21, 1836, and to C. C. Hascall, Feb. 21, 1836. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, Vol. III, p. 146.

315 Letter of Lyon to H. H. Comstock, March 29, 1836. Executive Documents, No. 207, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. V, pp. 2, 3, 6. Free Press, March 17 and July 7, 1836.

316 Congressional Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, p. 1006, 1014. Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, p. 310.

317 Cooley's "Address" at Michigan Semi-Centennial, p. 83.

318 Lyon's Letter to A. E. Wing, March 21, 1836, and to John S. Bagg, March 23, 1836.

319 House Journal, XXIVth Congress, 1st Sess'on, p. 651. Above p. 384.

320 Congressional Globe, XXIVth Congress, 1st Session. Debates on admission of Michigan in the Appendix. Congressional Debates, Vol. XII, pt. I, pp. 1007, 1009, 1020.

posed.[321] The Legislature decided not to protest against the extension of the State.[322] The second assenting convention utterly ignored the subject,[323] while the first indulged in a "single remark" only, to the effect that neither Congress nor the people of Michigan had a right to force a constitution upon the people beyond Lake Michigan.[324] This was a most uncalled for, though perhaps natural fling at Congress. There were no organized communities in the annexed region and few if any regular inhabitants. It was land not people which Congress added to Michigan in 1836, and the opposition protested against such annexation only for the sake of protesting.

Michigan became a State, and about the same time Wisconsin became a Territory, with the dividing line described as running through the main channels of Green Bay and the Menominee River "to that head of said river nearest to the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line, to the middle of said lake, thence through the middle of the main channel of the Montreal River to its mouth," and thence direct across Lake Superior to the point where the territorial line of the United States last touches that lake."[325]

Nothing now seemed left to be accomplished but the marking of the boundary line, and for this an appropriation was made in 1838,[326] at the suggestion of Senator Norvell.[327] The appropriation was so small, however, that nothing was done for two years when the work was transferred to the War Department and assigned to Captain Cram.[328] A few months' work sufficed to show that the line defined did not form a water boundary, as was supposed, inasmuch as the Lake of the Desert is not connected with either the Montreal or Menominee rivers.[329] This the Captain reported and added that the line should be marked at once, as many islands in the rivers and the various channels in Green Bay would soon make the question of jurisdiction important.[330] This information at once became known to the Michigan Legislators who urged Congress to mark the line, and directed the Governor to appoint some one to aid the commissioners, to be appointed by the General Government, in establishing a boundary line.[331] Congress acquiesced and, making a sufficient appropriation, ordered a survey of the country between the Menominee and Montreal rivers.[332]

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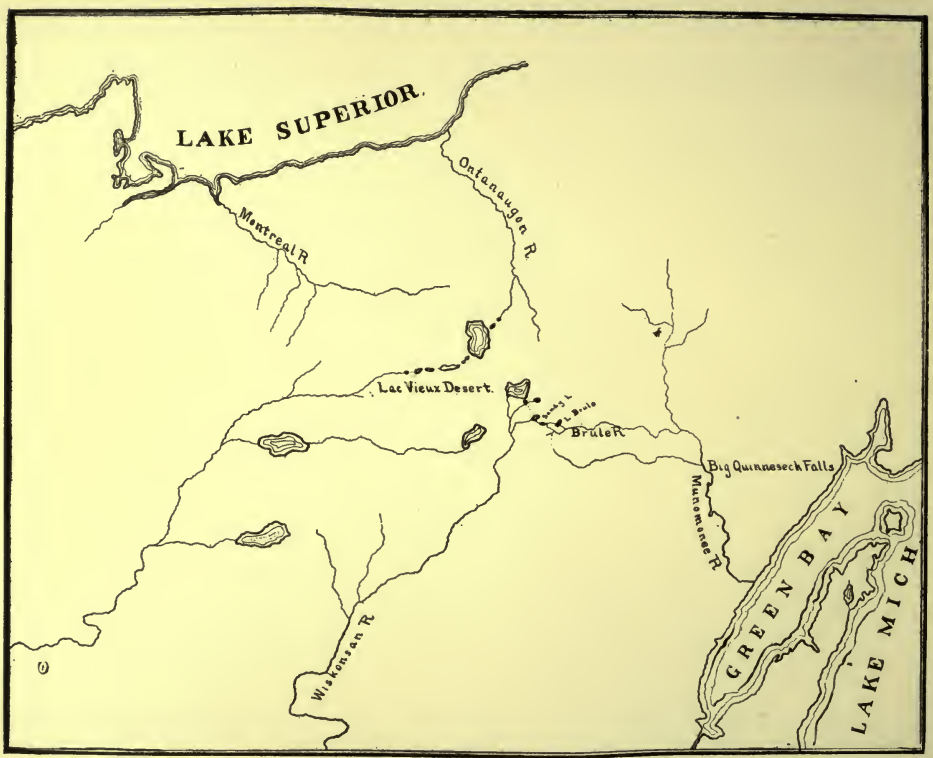
321 Journal of Michigan, House of Representatives, 1836, pp. 295-305.
322 Ibid, pp. 224, 285.
323 Journal of Conventions.
324 Journal of the Conventions, p. 34.
325 Statutes at Large, Vol. V, pp. 10, 49.
326 Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 244.
327 Senate Journal, XXIVth Congress, 2nd Session, p. 32.
328 Senate Documents, No. 151, XXVIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. IV, p. 3. Map of Original Line.
329 Senate Documents, No. 151, XXVIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. IV, p. 5, map.
330 Senate Documents, No. 151, XXVIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. IV, p. 6-8. Senate Documents, No. 170, XXVIIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III, p. 5-6.
331 Michigan Senate Journal, 1841, pp. 88-9, 90, 92, 101. House Journal, pp. 129, 130. Senate Documents, XXVIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. IV, p. 186.
332 Statutes at Large, Vol. V, p. 435.

Supposed boundry between Michigan and Wisconsin, 1838.
Senate Documents, No. 151, XXVIth Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. IV.



"Corrected Map of the Country along the Proposed Boundry between Michigan and Wiskonsan.
To accompany the Report of Capt. T. J. Cram, December, 1840."
Senate Documents, No. 151, XXVIth Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. IV.

Again Captain Cram went to work in our Upper Peninsula. There were many difficulties to be overcome. The country was wild and rugged, and the Indians who inhabited it were at times a source of danger. He was able, nevertheless, to collect valuable information and to make a most interesting report to the next Congress.[333] He accompanied his report with a map of the region which is still recognized as authoritative. In this report Captain Cram stated that the proposed boundary was an impossible line, inasmuch as the head of the Montreal river was more than fifty miles from the lake in which it was supposed to originate;[334] and suggested running a straight line to connect the two rivers.[335] The Menominee and its largest branch, the Brule, the Captain said, constituted a good natural boundary; but as there were one hundred islands in the rivers, some of them of considerable extent, it would be necessary to specify to which State they belonged.[336].

Wisconsin people had all along felt, as Michigan people had before them,[337] that if they had been fully represented in Congress at the time the boundaries were described the Territory would not have been so small.[338] Now that the line designated as the eastern boundary line was found to be an impossible one, they proposed to secure all the territory which they felt should properly belong to them. Accordingly the Legislative Council sent a message to Congress protesting against any other eastern boundary than "that set forth by the Legislature of Michigan, in an act of that body of the twenty-sixth of January, 1836, to wit: "a line drawn through the middle of Lake Michigan, to its northern extremity."[339] The protest was duly received by Congress but was buried in the committee.[340] Such indifference, however, only served to arouse all the latent feeling of State rights within the ardent westerners. State sovereignty in all its phases was discussed and announced.[341] Calmer councils finally prevailed, but not until demand was made that Congress should give Wisconsin some recompense for the country which was rightfully hers. Michigan, the memorial said, could not be expected to yield a tract which had been given her so long before, but Congress could and should pay Wisconsin for the country thus taken from her.[342] This memorial was also lost in the committee room,[343] and Congress quietly

333 Senate Documents, No. 170, XXVIIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol III.

334 Senate Documents, No. 170, XXVIIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III, pp. 4, 6. Senate Documents, XXVIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. IV, p. 10-11.

335 Senate Documents, No. 170, XXVIIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III, p. 4.

336 Ibid, page 6, maps.

337 Above pt. I.

338 Thwaites, in "Wisconsin Historical Collection," Vol. XI, p. 462. Executive Documents, No. 147, XXXIIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III.

339 Executive Documents, No. 147, XXVIIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III.

340 House Journal, XXVIIth Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 556, 841.

341 Thwaites, pp. 481-483. Sanford, "State Sovereignty in Wisconsin," published by American Historical Association, 1891.

342 Thwaites, p. 483.

343 House Journal, XXVIIIth Congress, 1st Session, pp. 483, 740

passed an act to enable the people of Wisconsin to form a State government, describing the eastern boundary of the new State just as the western boundary of Michigan had been described ten years before, except that the line was made a possible one according to the suggestion of Captain Cram.[344] At the proposal of a Wisconsin man it was also determined to take Cram's advice and divide the islands in the Menominee and Brule rivers between the two States. Michigan was given those above while Wisconsin was given those below Quinnesec Falls.[345] At the same time an appropriation was made for marking the line which was to run between the sources of the Brule and Montreal Rivers.[346] The task of making the survey was performed by William A. Burt, under the direction of Lucius Lyon.[347]

Inasmuch as the eastern line prescribed for the new State did not correspond exactly with the impracticable one defined in the act admitting Michigan, Congress saw fit to avoid any possible dispute by providing that the boundary proposed in the enabling act for Wisconsin should not be binding upon Congress unless ratified by Michigan before June, 1848.[348] This assent seems not to have been formally given, but Congress proceeded as if it had, and in May, 1848, declared Wisconsin a State in the Union.[349] The people of Wisconsin quietly accepted the conditions of admission as if they had never proclaimed their inviolable right to their "ancient boundaries."[350]

When the constitution of Michigan was revised in 1850 it was deemed wise to describe the line dividing the State from Wisconsin even more minutely than had the Wisconsin enabling act,[351] but this has not prevented a boundary dispute. In the winter of 1895 there was a proposal to build a new bridge between Marinette in Wisconsin and Menominee in Michigan. The expense of building and repairing an old bridge connecting the two towns had been equally divided between them, but when the new bridge was proposed, the Menominee people objected to bearing so large a share of the expense. They said the line dividing the States ran nearer the Michigan shore, consequently the Wisconsin people had the longer part of the bridge to build and should be taxed accordingly. The main channel of the Menominee river, upon which the disputing towns are built, runs nearly in the center of the stream. The main channel is described as the boundary line in the enabling act of Wisconsin as well as in the Constitution of Michigan. But the enabling act for Wis-

344 Statutes at Large, Vol. IX, p. 57. Senate Documents, XXVIth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. IV, p. 151. House Journal, XXIXth Congress, 1st Session, p. 931.

345 Statutes at Large, Vol. IX, p. 57. Thwaites, p. 485.

346 Statutes at Large, Vol. IX, p. 97.

347 Report of Burt to Lyon, Nov. 20, 1847; Archives, Land Office at Lansing.

348 Statutes at Large, Vol. IX, p. 57.

349 Ibid, pp. 179, 233.

350 House Documents, No. 49, XXIXth Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III.

351 Constitution of Michigan, 1850, Article I. Map of boundary in Senate Documents, XXIIIrd Congress, 1st Session (3a).

Boundry line between Michigan and Wisconsin.

consin gives that State all the islands in this part of the river and the Menominee people say, therefore, that the dividing line here runs, not through the main channel, but to the east of the islands.[352] The Government has never completed the survey of the Menominee river. Neither has the question been considered by the courts. Until such a survey is made, or the courts render a decision, therefore, we shall not know precisely what is the western boundary of Michigan.

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VERDICT FOR MICHIGAN. HOW THE UPPER PENINSULA BECAME A PART OF MICHIGAN.

BY L. G. STUART.

[Paper read before the Michigan Political Science Association at a meeting held in Grand Rapids, April 3 and 4, 1896.

It may be said that Michigan won the upper peninsula by conquest. She did not send her soldiers to the boreal regions to battle with the rocks and forest trees, but the bloodless Toledo war, with its famous march to the Ohio line and back again, gave to the Wolverine State a princely domain beyond the strait.

In discussing the Ohio controversy, it is usual for loyal Michigan men and women to claim that Ohio was entirely wrong and Michigan wholly right. In the face of the eminent authorities who have written on the subject, it may seem presumptuous to take a different position or appear foolhardy and even unpatriotic not to fall in with the commonly accepted Michigan opinion. But the conclusion I have reached is, that while Michigan may have won her claim to the Toledo strip of territory before a technicality loving court, a court that would have looked for the letter of the law rather than the spirit, Ohio had rights which she could safely entrust to a jury and with confidence await the verdict. Juries at times have a way of stretching the letter of the law, and even setting the law aside entirely in the interest of justice and what seems

nearest right and equitable. That this is so, is one of the strongest and best features of the jury system.

Ohio did demand a jury trial. It was not a jury of hardheaded, common sense business men or farmers, such as would be empaneled to adjust a fence line controversy of today, but Congress was her jury. To a limited degree the jury was packed, as Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, all of them interested parties to the dispute, were represented upon it. Politics of the day entered more or less into the controversy and the slavery question was also involved. But after all, justice and what seemed nearest right were the guiding forces in the adjustment of the controversy and a verdict was rendered accordingly. If the verdict was not in exact accord with the law, it was the misfortune of the law to be so framed that its provisions could not be enforced without doing a manifest injustice to three great states and not materially benefiting one. But it will not be conceded that the law was not carried out to the letter and in its proper spirit.

If the case of Michigan vs. Ohio, Indiana and Illinois (there were three defendants in the cause) were to be submitted to the wisdom of a learned court, it could be claimed that

The Ordinance of 1787 was not irrevocable, but an ordinary act of Congress, subject to amendment and in fact it was amended.

It was not a compact for there was only one party to it.

If it were a compact, and if it were irrevocable, as it purported to be, the consent of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, with their million and a half population, was "common consent" as against Michigan Territory with a population of 87,000, and would be sufficient for its change.

The Ordinance was for the government of the Northwest Territory as a whole, and was for the benefit of the people generally, and, in its interpretation, the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number should apply—the greatest good to a twenty-to-one-majority-of-the-people.

The east and west line through the southern bend of Lake Michigan was not a true boundary, nor was it absolutely fixed and positive; it was indefinite and purposely so, that injustice might not be done to any of the states to be erected in the Northwest Territory.

It was, and by some is still contended in behalf of Michigan, that the Ordinance of 1787 was unalterable. In such researches as I have been able to make I can find no other authority for this claim than the Ordinance itself and, under the circumstances, that can hardly be accepted. I have been unable to discover who conferred upon the Continental Congress an attribute so divine in its nature, as the power to make an immutable law. The Continental Congress was made up of delegates from the thirteen original states, and the old Articles of Con-

federation was the only binding tie. The nation was only half formed but it was manifestly going in the right direction toward union and unity. What to do with the vast domain beyond the mountains was one of the most serious problems of the day. Some of the states claimed it in whole or in part under the royal grants of "from sea to sea." Other states had no western claims and these looked with jealous eye upon any proposed or prospective extension of territory lest the states thus enlarged should acquire too great a power in the control of the government. Maryland suggested that the western country be made public domain, the common property of all the states, those having claims to any portion of it ceding to the general government with the understanding that sovereign states would in time be erected out of it. This was done, and as the tide of emigration had set in strongly toward the west, it became necessary to provide laws for its government. In 1784, Thomas Jefferson proposed a plan for the division of the public domain into ten future states with names that need not here be repeated. The Jefferson plan was rejected chiefly for the reason that it provided, among other things, for the extinction of slavery after 1800 in all the territory west, both north and south of the Ohio. In 1787 the Ordinance was presented by a committee made up of Edward Carrington and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, and it is supposed they followed the outlines of a draft made by Manasseh Cutler. The Journal of Congress shows that the Ordinance took the same course in its passage as any other law, that it was given a first reading and then tabled, that it was amended and changed, given its second and third reading and finally passed. Where or how or when it required its immutability does not appear; how it was made sacred from amendment or change for all time to come cannot be found. It was nothing more than an ordinary act of Congress, and as such was as susceptible of change as any other acts. It was not submitted to the people of the thirteen states for ratification. Purporting to be a "compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory," it lacked the very first and most important principle of a compact. It had no party of the second part agreeing to it. It was not submitted to the western states or people either for acceptance or for ratification. Commending the Ordinance itself, Madison said that Congress did it "without the least shadow of constitutional authority." In his "The Critical Period of American History," John Fiske says: "The articles of confederation had never contemplated an occasion for such a peculiar assertion of sovereignty." And he further says: "It was simply the thirteen states, through their delegates in Congress, dealing with the unoccupied national domain as if it were the common land or folkland of a stupendous township."

If the Ordinance were unalterable, sacred for all time to come, immutable, it would be equally so in all its provisions and parts and not in spots. One of the first acts of the first session of the first Congress was to amend this Ordinance. The appointment of governor, secretary and judges was originally vested in Congress, and this was changed to make them appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate.

This was done "so as to adapt the same to the present constitution," which was adopted after the enactment of the Ordinance. At a later period the Ordinance was further changed by Congress, at the request of the Territorial Council of Michigan, giving Michigan Territory greater rights of local self government than the Ordinance allowed.

I have not had access to a wide range of authorities, but such as I have consulted, fail to show any foundation for the claim that the Ordinance was other than an ordinary act of Congress, and as such subject to amendment and change as the wisdom of subsequent congresses might direct.

But even had the Ordinance been unalterable, as claimed for it, we have the authority of Gen. Arthur St. Clair, president of the Continental Congress, which enacted the Ordinance, that the Ordinance, when doubtful, should be given a liberal construction. He was appointed the first governor of the Northwest Territory. The Ordinance, in section 5, provides that "The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district," etc. Gen. St. Clair was doubtful as to the exact meaning of this section, and asked the opinion of Judges Parsons and Varnum. In their opinion they hold that the Ordinance must be considered in the light of a compact between the United States and all the settlers, not to be altered without the consent of both parties. But "it (the section under consideration) was made *pro bono publico*, and therefore ought to be liberally expounded." Gen. St. Clair replied to this opinion, and in his letter said: "I agree with you, gentlemen, that the clause in question, and every other clause in the Ordinance, *should receive a liberal construction*, wherever they are the least doubtful; and as it in some measure partakes of the nature of a charter, is to be expounded favorably to the grantees." Not one section alone, it is submitted, but the entire Ordinance was enacted *pro bono publico*, and Gen. St. Clair, president of the legislative body that adopted it, would give any doubtful section a liberal construction.

Article V, of the Ordinance, upon which Michigan based her claims, is susceptible of more than one construction, but before discussing it, attention will be called to one more point in the Ordinance. It reads section 14, "The following articles shall be considered as articles of

compact, between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by *common consent.*" What does "common consent" mean? In the Continental Congress the vote of nine states was sufficient to carry an important measure. Did Congress propose in the Ordinance to make "common consent" mean unanimous consent or the consent of a majority? Did it mean the consent of all the states to be erected out of the western country, or a majority of them; the consent of all the people living in the vast domain, or the larger portion of them? Ohio, Indiana and Illinois preceded Michigan in gaining statehood and at the time of the Ohio controversy, Michigan and Wisconsin constituted one territory. If the Ordinance were irrevocable, with its east and west line through the southern bend of Lake Michigan, without common consent, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were in favor of changing it, while Michigan alone was opposed to it. The inhabitants of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, numbering 1,438,389, by the census of 1830, were in favor of the change, if the change were necessary, while Michigan's 31,639 inhabitants, under the same census, were against it. Michigan's population increased to 87,000 in the ensuing four years, and had the other states remained stationary, which they did not, the question would be whether the will of 1,438,389 inhabitants or that of 87,000 should constitute common consent within the meaning of the Ordinance; whether three states should rule or one territory.

All the states that had western claims except Virginia, ceded their titles to the general government without conditions. Virginia stipulated in the original act of cession that the territory northwest of the Ohio should be divided into states not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square. Congress adopted a resolution asking Virginia to change the condition relative to boundaries, as it "will be productive of many and great inconveniences. That by such a division of the country some of the new states will be deprived of the advantages of navigation, some will be improperly intersected by lakes, rivers and mountains, and some will contain too great a proportion of barren, unimprovable land, and in consequence will not for many years, if ever, have a sufficient number of inhabitants to form a respectable government, and entitle them to a seat and voice in the federal council. And, whereas, in fixing the limits and dimensions of the new states, due attention ought to be paid to the natural boundaries and a variety of circumstances which will be pointed out by a more perfect knowledge of the country, so as to provide for the future growth and prosperity of each state, as well as for the accommodation and security of the first adventurers." The resolutions further stipulated that if Virginia amended her deed of cession the territory would be divided into not less than three nor more than five states. With assurances from the Virginia

delegation that the change asked for would be made for the reasons given, Congress proceeded to enact the Ordinance and a year later Virginia assented to it.

Here we have Congress acknowledging a lack of accurate knowledge of the geography of the western country, asking for changes in the cession to prevent "many and great inconveniences," and insisting that the "natural boundaries and a variety of other circumstances," which a more perfect knowledge of the country may reveal, ought to be considered. Attention should also be paid, it was declared, to navigation facilities, the course of rivers and of mountains. And yet we are asked to believe that Congress, after making such a request as this, after confessing its ignorance of the geography, and after giving such cogent reasons why a change should be made, would deliberately mark an irrevocable boundary for two states whose future existence was entirely contingent and left to the discretion of future congresses. In dividing the country for three states Congress had data which was fairly accurate. The distances from the Pennsylvania line to the mouth of Great Miami, from the mouth of the Great Miami to the Wabash and from the Wabash to the Mississippi, were approximately known, and it was certain that lines drawn northward from the Great Miami and the Wabash, would divide the territory into three nearly equal parts, giving to each of the future states ample frontage on the lakes. But when it came to provide for the two contingent states which might be created "if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient," the Ordinance is indefinite, susceptible of more than one construction, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was purposely so. It is manifest from the records that Congress was solicitous for the welfare, prosperity and best interests of the future states in the northwest and wanted to give them all equal advantages in navigation facilities and fertility of soil. The Ordinance, as a whole, as the judges said of one section of it, was eminently *pro bono publico*, and as Gen. St. Clair said, it should be given the most liberal construction. If the line through the southern bend of Lake Michigan was intended as a fixed boundary, not to be changed without common consent, what would be the position of two of the great states to be created in this territory? Indiana and Illinois would have river frontages, but in the north their fate would be like that of Tantallus of old. They would be in sight of the cooling waters of Lake Michigan, but not a drop of it would be for their comfort and consolation. Their northern boundaries would just touch the shores of the great lake, but not a yard of the shore would be available for the building of piers or docks and the privileges of navigation would be denied them. In view of the request for a change in the Virginia deed of cession, it is inconceivable that Congress should have intended or contem-

plated such a monstrosity. The line is not a fixed boundary, nor was it intended as such. The Ordinance does not say that the east and west line shall be the southern boundary for the contingent states, but that one or two states may be formed "*in that part of said territory which lies north*" of said line. This language is certainly susceptible of more than one construction and ought not, with hair-splitting arguments as to the meaning of the word "in," be held down to the narrow interpretation put upon it by Michigan. As Gen. St. Clair, president of the Continental Congress said, "It should be given a liberal construction and should be expounded favorably to the grantees: It should be expounded favorably to a 20 to 1 majority of the grantees, in point of population, and a 3 to 1 majority of them, counting them as states."

The east and west line, as described in the Ordinance, cannot be interpreted as a fixed and positive boundary. Such a line would have a starting place but no terminals. If it were a fixed boundary, the Continental Congress would have perpetrated a still greater monstrosity than depriving Illinois and Indiana of a lake frontage. It would have given Michigan the northeast corner of Ohio, separated from the mainland by a wide expanse of Lake Erie. In view of the request of Virginia that attention should be paid to the lakes, rivers and natural boundaries, we cannot believe that such a division of the territory was intended or contemplated.

In regard to the Ohio-Michigan controversy, we find Ohio demanding the territory which included the outlet of one of her most important rivers, a river which had its rise and entire course within the state and which was necessary to her, or seemingly so, as a part of her extensive system of canals and internal improvements. Ohio's claim was valid under the reasons given by Congress for asking a change in the Virginia cession, that attention be paid to the course of rivers and facilities for navigation, and the wording of Article V. of the Ordinance, is sufficiently indefinite to permit an interpretation favorable to Ohio. The admission of Ohio to statehood and the provisions in her constitution fixing the northern boundary might be cited as further support for the validity of Ohio's claim, also the priority of Ohio's exercise of jurisdiction over the territory in dispute, the Indian treaty made by Cass and McArthur, at Ft. Meigs, in 1817, and the acts of Congress fixing judicial circuits and districts, but these need not be dwelt upon now.

But aside from the points of law involved in the controversy, there were facts and circumstances which would have weight and influence if submitted to a jury.

When the Ordinance of 1787 was enacted, this western country was a region unknown. It had not been accurately mapped nor even fully explored. In laying out the boundaries for the future states, Mitchell's

map of 1755 was used as a guide. This map was drafted when the northwest was still a French possession, and the Ordinance itself was enacted nine years before England surrendered the western posts. And yet Michigan demanded that an Ordinance confessedly enacted in geographical darkness should be held sacred, that a boundary description for two contingent states should be rigidly interpreted and inviolate which, if carried out, would deprive Indiana and Illinois of even a landing place on the lakes or room for the building of a pier or dock that the lake shipping could discharge their cargoes.

The cause of the defendants would be half won before an intelligent jury with the exhibit of the two maps, one showing that the framers of the Ordinance thought was the situation, and the other showing what it proved to be.

The conditions, circumstances and sentiments of the times must also be considered in connection with this controversy. It was before the era of railroads, transportation, especially of freights, was chiefly by water. A water front on ocean, lake or river, was thought of the most vital importance. What we would call a creek, if large enough to float a flat boat, was looked upon as a channel of commerce, and was valued accordingly. The Erie canal had been built, connecting the waters of the great lakes and of the Hudson river. Many of the pioneers of Michigan and northern Ohio had come west by way of the canal and most of the west bound freight was shipped by that route. In these modern days of railroads, the Erie canal is of slight importance, but sixty years ago it was the great channel of commerce with a value to the state of New York of vast proportions and of corresponding value to the west, as it solved the problem of transportation.

In 1819, still supposing herself in safe possession of the Maumee bay, Ohio entered upon a canal building project as vast in its proportions and prospective value as the Erie canal. The waters of Lake Erie and of the Ohio river were to be connected by a canal and river improvement two hundred miles in length and costing several millions of dollars. The canal was to traverse the state and be the Ohio artery of commerce and trade, internal as well as with the outer world and the Maumee Bay was to be its northern outlet. Much work was done and much money spent on this improvement before the controversy with Michigan became serious.

One of the arguments advanced by Michigan why the ordinance boundary should stand was that two railroads, chartered by the Territorial Council and partly constructed, would have to be given up unless Michigan could control the southern terminals on the Maumee Bay. Such an argument would be laughed at today, but it was the commonly accepted theory at that time. If Michigan wanted the Maumee Bay

as the terminal for a couple of cheap railroads, we can imagine how much more Ohio wanted it as the outlet for her canals, which were then nearing completion—not only wanted it but absolutely needed it. This consideration would have weight with a jury in arriving at a jury verdict.

One of the Michigan railroads was the Erie and Kalamazoo, chartered in 1833, and the other was the Detroit and Maumee, chartered in 1835. The lateness of the dates of incorporation would lead to the suspicion that they were incorporated for the express purpose of establishing a claim to the southern territory. Six members of the constitutional convention, including the president, were among the incorporators of one or the other of these roads, and how many other members were interested as stockholders does not appear. This financial interest in the railroads, which, according to the theories of the day would have to be given up if the southern strip of country went to Ohio, may not have had anything to do with the controversy, but the coincidence may furnish food for reflection. Half a dozen men sufficiently influential to gain election to a constitutional convention, can make a great stir in a community in the name of principle, right, law and justice, even though nothing more important than their own personal interests are involved.

When the Toledo war raged, it was a period of speculation, of paper city building and of castles in the air. The Maumee Bay district was an ideal site for a city, as things were considered in those days, with Lake Erie in front and Ohio's magnificent canal system flowing in from the interior. Michigan wanted this town site. She wanted the control of Ohio's canals and to reap the benefits of Ohio's enterprise and public spirit. She was willing to take every advantage of the technicalities of the law to gain her point. Like Shylock, she demanded the pound of flesh which the law, strictly expounded, might have given her. Ostensibly Michigan mourned the loss of six hundred square miles of her territory, and the conclusion I have reached, treasonable as it may seem to a Michigan audience, is that her's were crocodile tears for all save the few square miles at the eastern end of the strip, just enough to properly cover the Maumee Bay. If it had been otherwise, she would have felt doubly bereaved and would have made twice the outcry against Indiana's claim, for Indiana asked for twice the territory that she might have a frontage on Lake Michigan. It is true, Michigan protested against Indiana's claim, but it was merely a matter of form, and at no stage did it assume a serious phase. Indiana had no extensive canal system with an outlet within the territory claimed. She had no prospectively valuable town sites in the district. None of the members of the constitutional convention were incorporators or stockholders in railroads projected into the ten mile Indiana strip.

Michigan made a valiant struggle for the Toledo district (and the congressional jury, as juries often do, stretched the letter of the law in the interest of what seemed most like justice and right). As a compensation for its loss, Congress gave Michigan the Upper Peninsula, a region then almost unknown, but of much greater area. That this was done as a compensation is clearly shown in the committee reports, and the debates in Congress. The details of the adjustment were arranged in committee, and have not been handed down to us, but enough has been preserved to furnish the foundation for some conclusions.

In the controversy, Michigan's strongest point was the letter of the law. Next to this in importance was the relative dimensions of the states and particularly the necessity to the nation of having a strong state on the border. This idea is expressed in the following passage from the communication of Lucius Lyon to the senate, June 4, 1834:

"The territory of Michigan, or the state that may be formed therein, must always remain, in a great measure insular, with respect to the other states, whatever may be the progress of emigration and settlement hereafter in the west and southwest. That state must always remain in a very exposed situation on the frontier, and for a long time to come must be in the immediate vicinity of a powerful and warlike tribe of Indians. Under these circumstances, a regard to a correct national policy and the right of Michigan to the protection of the general government, will suggest the propriety of strengthening as much as possible that state instead of adopting a measure which will tend so much to weaken it as the one now proposed. The horrid massacres and the scenes of blood and suffering exhibited there during the late war must still be fresh in the recollections of all and they admonish the government of the necessity of this course."

This same idea was advanced as early as 1820, when the first rumblings of the border controversy were heard, in a letter written by Secretary Woodbridge, and it was dwelt upon with greater emphasis in the communication by Lyon, Norvell and Crary to the Senate judiciary committee in January, 1836, the latter referring especially to the danger from a foreign foe.

Ohio very naturally had a keen eye for weak spots in Michigan's line of argument, and it is possible that the suggestion came from Ohio that Michigan be given the Upper Peninsula. In a speech by Senator Ewing, of Ohio, December 21, 1835, occurs the following passage:

"What policy is there in giving the new state, when it shall be created the jurisdiction over the disputed territory; is the territory of that state without it likely to be too small? or does it lack navigable communication? Neither. One hundred and seventy-seven thousand square miles, an extent equal to the three largest states in the Union, must be

formed into no more than two states, and its eastern portion has advantages of navigation equaled by few states on the Atlantic sea board."

As Michigan enlarged upon her exposed position on the border and the importance of making her a strong state, so Ohio elaborated upon the possibility of giving her strength in the northwest. It was a happy thought on the part of Ohio. It not only answered a Michigan argument, but it suggested a way out of the difficulty that ought to be satisfactory to all parties. The Senate report of March 1, 1836, recommended the northern annex to Michigan and further suggests that unless this be done, Wisconsin, comprising all the territory northwest of Lake Michigan, when admitted, would be a state too large for the welfare of the nation, and that it could not be divided into two states without the consent of Virginia, which would be difficult to procure, because it would increase the power of the non-slave holding states. The recommendations of the committee were adopted, and when Michigan finally came into the Union in January, 1837, the Upper Peninsula was a part of the state. She protested briefly at the change in her boundary lines, but her grief is now quite assuaged.

From other sources than the documents and debates of Congress, we may gain hints and suggestions, though not direct information, upon the details of the adjustment. The letters of Lucius Lyon throw some light upon the question. During December and January, 1835-6, he wrote many letters to friends in Michigan, and the admission of the State was often his subject, as the subject of greatest interest. But not until February 4, 1836, in a letter to Col. Daniel Goodwin, of Detroit, is any reference found to the proposed Upper Peninsula addition to Michigan's area. To Col. Goodwin he wrote: "I thank you for the suggestion contained in yours of the 23d ult., relative to an addition to the State of Michigan on the west, provided Congress should break up our boundary on the south. The matter has been fully discussed here, and I have no doubt the committee will be willing to give us all the country west of Lake Michigan and north and east of the Menominee River of Green Bay and the Montreal River of Lake Superior. If the southern boundary should be broken, I for one shall go in for all the country Congress would give us in the west."

Mr. Lyon, on February 21, wrote to Col. Andrew Mack, of Detroit, that the committee would report against Michigan's southern boundary, and that he had said to the committee if they are determined to break up the southern boundary, he would demand compensation beyond the straits; the committee was favorable to this proposition. He added that Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary were opposed to this addition and would try to prevent it.

February 25, he wrote to C. K. Green, describing the situation, and added: "I understand Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary are opposed to any

addition there in any event, but if we lose on the south, as I see we must, I should feel that I did not do my duty if I should neglect an opportunity to extend our boundary on the west."

These letters and others indicate that Mr. Lyon, convinced that Michigan would lose on the south, was in favor of the northern addition and was doing all he could to gain it, not as a compromise, but as a compensation, not because the Upper Peninsula, as we call it today, was considered worth as much as the Ohio strip, but because it could be had for the asking, might some day be valuable and would at least give Michigan a more imposing appearance on the map. Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary were both against it. They reflected the spirit of Michigan in general in demanding the Toledo strip or nothing. They must have realized that their case was hopeless, but if they went in for the compensatory damages the incorporators and stockholders in the two Michigan railroads would denounce them as traitors and accuse them of selling out Michigan's interests, as John Biddle, president of the constitutional convention, did Lucius Lyon. Therefore, they fell in with the popular opinion in Michigan, and of the Michigan delegation. Mr. Lyon was the only one who demanded compensation for the loss of the Toledo strip, and he is entitled to much of the credit for gaining the northern addition to Michigan Territory.

But before awarding him all the credit for this, we must consider other circumstances. Gen. Lewis Cass, for many years governor of Michigan territory, and at that time Secretary of War in President Jackson's cabinet, was in Washington during Michigan's transition period. Michigan was his home, and was dear to him, and scarcely less dear was Ohio, the home of his younger years, and where many of his loved ones lived. He must have taken a deep interest in the proceedings, not only as a citizen but in his official capacity. When the controversy assumed an acute form, when Ohio and Michigan threatened a resort to arms, it must have caused him great uneasiness and anxiety. The honor of the administration of which he was a part was in a manner involved. And not only the administration but his personal honor was at stake. Gov. Mason, when arming for the Toledo fray, made a demand upon Col. Henry Whiting, in command of the government store at Detroit, for 1,000 stand of arms and 75,000 ball cartridge. The arms were given out without waiting to hear from the department at Washington, and this gave Gov. Lucas, of Ohio, occasion to accuse Gen. Cass of taking advantage of his official position to lend aid and encouragement to Michigan. The letters Gen. Cass wrote denying any responsibility for what had been done, and declaring that Col. Whiting had acted without orders and that what he had done had not been approved by the department, are preserved among the documents

of Congress and Ohio. We also have among the documents letters which Gen. Cass wrote to Michigan and also to Ohio friends urging that the difficulty in regard to the boundary be adjusted by peaceful methods and not by civil war. In one letter he writes: "The state of affairs in Michigan has given me great uneasiness, both as a public officer and as a private citizen." In another is this passage: "The state of affairs between Ohio and Michigan has assumed such an alarming aspect as to give great uneasiness to every one seriously attached to his country." Again he says: "There are reasons which will readily occur to you which render it improper for me to take any public part in this matter. I am doing all I can, however, in my private capacity as a mediator between the parties, and I have written to Michigan advising a course of forbearance so much more moderate than any which seems to have occurred to them, that I am apprehensive it may be supposed that I have abandoned opinions on this subject which I entertained and officially acted upon eighteen years ago."

Obviously Gen. Cass could not, as he states, take a public part in the controversy, but as a private citizen he was active in adjusting the difficulty. The proposition to give Michigan, emanating possibly from Ohio, must have early reached his ears. Gen. Cass had visited the northern country. He knew something of its nature and had heard something of its rich mineral resources. Henry R. Schoolcraft was then in Washington conducting an Indian treaty. He knew the northern country thoroughly, and from his "Thirty Years Among the Indian Tribes," we learn that he appeared before the senate committee, upon invitation of Silas Wright, to describe the region, and he expressed the opinion that it will be "found of far greater value and importance to the State than the seven mile strip surrendered." Lucius Lyon knew something of the northern district. He had visited portions of it as a surveyor and had undoubtedly heard of its mineral wealth, timber resources and of its rich fisheries, besides its capabilities for agriculture.

Gen. Cass and Lucius Lyon were warm personal and political friends of long standing. Schoolcraft and Lyon were old friends, as we learn from the Lyon letters.

Although there is no documentary evidence to substantiate the statement, it is reasonable to suppose that Gen. Cass and Mr. Lyon were in frequent consultation, and that Mr. Lyon acted very largely, as Gen. Cass suggested. Both knew that Ohio's claim would be conceded by Congress, and both knew that the Upper Peninsula could be had for the asking, and that it might some day be worth having, although its true value was known to few, if any, at that time. Mr. Schoolcraft gave them added detail as to its resources, and advised them that it was

worth more than the Ohio claim. After exhausting every effort to secure the Ohio strip and convinced that it was lost to Michigan, Lucius Lyon "went in for all he could get on the north," as he expresses it in one of his letters. In this he was doubtless encouraged by Cass and Schoolcraft, especially by the former, who was anxious that the dispute should in some manner be adjusted as speedily as possible, and knew that Michigan would not regret the exchange of territory when she came to learn the true value of the area gained. Cass was behind the scenes and Lyon faced the music, championing a measure which would bring upon him the anger of his constituents at home. It took courage for him to do it, and he had the counsel and advice of Gen. Cass to give him strength.

It may be asked why did not Gen. Cass influence Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary in the same way. Mr. Norvell did not come to Michigan until 1832, and Crary not until a year later, the latter settling at Marshall. Gen. Cass undoubtedly knew them both, but the acquaintance had not been of long standing, nor was it intimate, especially as Gen. Cass had been appointed Secretary of War, in 1831, and had spent most of his time in Washington. Gen. Cass would naturally make Mr. Lyon his confidant and spokesman in matters relating to Michigan in which he could not personally appear, instead of either of the others who were comparatively strangers to Michigan and to him. Lyon would naturally go to Cass for advice and counsel, and knowing the relation that existed between them, it is not reasonable to suppose that if Cass had advised against the Upper Peninsula annex that Lyon would have followed the course he did. The pressure from Michigan was strong against the acceptance of anything that looked like a compromise, and Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary bent before it, while Mr. Lyon, with Gen. Cass behind the scenes, and Henry R. Schoolcraft encouraging him, stood up against the blast and secured for Michigan that rich region beyond the straits, which Michigan would not part with today for several Toledo seven mile strips.

The Lyon letters referred to are the letters written by Lucius Lyon when in the Senate, and afterward, and which he copied by hand or letter press. Since his death, more than forty years ago, the letter books have been carefully preserved by his nephew, the Hon. George W. Thayer, of this city. Such of the letters as are of general interest have during the past year been copied, and furnish a valuable store of information relating to early political, general and local history, information which otherwise would have been lost.

LIFE OF SENATOR LUCIUS LYON.

BY HON. GEORGE W. THAYER.

Fifty years ago, Lucius Lyon was one of the well known public men of Michigan. Today, but a small fraction of its inhabitants know that such a man was, in the past, one of its most useful and influential citizens during the closing years of its territorial existence, and one of the foremost of those who assisted in placing her among the jewels that have, from time to time, been added to the setting in that national crown of civil liberty, that was marvelously constructed by the thirteen original states of the American Union.

There are left in Michigan but few individuals who personally knew Lucius Lyon; but here and there one may be found. There are some here present. These few who are present, I may hope, will listen with willing ears; to most others, this story may have small interest. Therefore, at the outset, I fancy they are hoping for brevity, which, could I better observe, might be regarded as the chief merit of what I have to offer. To those of us who have crossed the summit, and are moving forward in time, down the declivity of mortal existence with the measured step that attends advancing years, often comes a sense of the shortness of human life in this world, as well as the fleeting character of all the achievements and honors possible to man's efforts while in it. But, feeble and transitory as this life is, the silent and far reaching consequences that flow from the lives of even the seemingly unimportant of the human family, are beyond the power of finite mind to portray, or even most remotely to conceive. These consequences, so faintly discoverable to us, are only known to the Infinity that directs them, and only compassed by Eternity itself.

But a brief time is required to largely remove from our minds the accustomed consideration for those associates, friends and kindred who have ended their activities among us, and still more brief, for a community to almost forget that those who once filled the places occupied by them, have ever lived. We might regard this with some degree of regret if the whole scope of active usefulness of individual lives began and ended in this world; but such is not the belief of the Christian world, such is not my belief, nor was it the belief of him to whom I ask, for a brief time, to direct your attention.

Lucius Lyon was born on a farm in Vermont, February 20, 1800. It is said to be a great advantage to be well born. This was his only inheritance. His father, a tiller of New England soil was, physically, a robust, athletic man, over six feet in stature, large in frame, weighing 225 pounds, stately in bearing, faultless in form and feature; with a mental vigor above his neighbors. He filled no public station, other than minor town offices, but he was universally respected where known, and among his farmer neighbors was a sort of oracle, with whom they consulted and advised. His mother was from an excellent family, having more than usual prominence in their neighborhood. Lucius, the eldest son, remained on his father's farm until 18 years of age, receiving, in the way of education, such advantages as the nearest district school afforded. But he was more inclined to study than to stirring the soil among roots and rocks on a farm that at that time, had not been fully subdued. Soon after he was 18, he went to Burlington, an adjoining town, into the office of a local civil engineer of some repute, where he spent over two years in acquiring a knowledge of that profession, and in perfecting himself in higher branches of studies than were taught in district schools. Throughout his life, this enegry was maintained, and he was a constant student in scientific researches. He came to the Territory of Michigan, in 1821. The first letters written by him, of which copies have been preserved, are dated at Detroit, in 1822. On November 10, of that year, he wrote to some of his townsmen in Vermont, giving an excellent outline of the great advantages possessed by Michigan. He describes the territory as including, at that time, all the lands of the United States northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi river, and as being governed by a governor and three judges who were appointed by the President and Senate during good behavior. He particularly referred to the fisheries of the great lakes. He says: "One seine has already taken, this fall, 1,600 barrels from Lake Superior. The season for catching whitefish has just commenced here. It is surprising to see the numbers caught. The shores of the river are lined with fishermen and their nets. One fishery, night before last, took 16,000. The whitefish are very delicious, and are preferred to every other kind. Those caught here weigh about two pounds and sell for one cent each. Those caught at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie are much larger."

At that time, from ten to twelve days were required to get letters to Vermont, and postage on single letters for that distance was 25 cents. Letter writing, compared with present times, was very infrequent. We next hear of Mr. Lyon as executing contracts made with the United States for the survey of public lands. He followed this occupation for some years, both within and without the present boundaries of Michigan. He established the northern boundary of the state of Illinois, in

1833. He traveled extensively in the Territory of Michigan. In October, 1828, he wrote that he had just completed a journey of over 2,400 miles, visiting Mackinac, Green Bay, Prairie Du Chien, Cassville, on the Upper Mississippi, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Columbus, etc. At St. Louis, he met Gen. William Clark, former governor of Missouri, the Clark who, with Lewis, crossed the continent to the mouth of the Columbia river in 1805-6-7. In February, 1833, a Democratic territorial convention was held at Ann Arbor to nominate a delegate to Congress, at which the counties of Wayne, Monroe, Lenawee, Washtenaw, Calhoun, St. Joseph, Jackson and Kalamazoo were represented (Kent county was then embraced in Kalamazoo) by 46 delegates, who cast their votes as follows: For Lucius Lyon, 25; for Darius Comstock, 10; for John P. Sheldon, 9; for Austin E. Wing, 2. Having a majority over all, Mr. Lyon was declared the unanimous nominee. I have in my possession the full proceedings of this convention as published at the time, in hand bill form. Newspapers were scarce then. The resolutions adopted are of interest. They are brief, but too long to give here. At the time, Mr. Lyon was in Galena, Ill., where he had been for a year and a half previous, being largely interested in lead mines in that vicinity. As late as May 24, 1833, three months after the convention, he writes from Galena: "By some letters and papers received from the Peninsula a few days ago, I learn that I have been nominated by a general territorial convention as a candidate for delegate to Congress. Whether I shall be elected is, of course, now very doubtful. All things look tolerably fair at this time. The election will take place on the second Monday in July next." He was elected by the following vote: Lucius Lyon, 2,775; A. E. Wing, 2,179; William Woodbridge, 1,803; scattering, 8. He took his seat in Congress at its next session, being then 33 years old. He was a member of the convention that framed a constitution for Michigan in 1835.

Mr. Lyon became an extensive land owner, mostly in the present State of Michigan, but was a large proprietor at Milwaukee, "the City of the Four Lakes," now Madison, Wis., and Cassville, on the upper Mississippi. At Detroit he was part owner of its water supply plant, as shown by a document now framed and hanging in the building of the Detroit Pumping Works. He had extensive holdings in Ypsilanti, Kalamazoo, Bronson, Prairie Ronde, Schoolcraft, St. Joseph and Lyons. He made a survey of the harbor of St. Joseph, at his own expense, and secured government appropriations for its improvement. He improved and carried on large farms at Bronson, Schoolcraft and Lyons, at each of which points he built large houses and farm buildings and had hundreds of acres under improvement. One of the farms he speaks of as having 100 acres of fine wheat and 40 acres of oats; another as having

among its crops 30 acres of sugar beets, the seed for which he imported from France with the intention of engaging in the manufacture of sugar from beets. In 1835, he commenced as a private enterprise the construction of the east side canal in the city of Grand Rapids, which, as then projected, was over one and one-fourth miles in length, and was intended for the passage of steamboats around the Rapids. He subscribed largely towards the construction of the first steamboat to run on Grand River.

November 15, 1835, he wrote from Detroit, saying: "I have been elected by the unanimous vote of both houses of the legislature, now convened, to a seat in the Senate of the United States, whenever Michigan may be admitted into the Union." He and his colleague in the Senate, John Norvell, went on to Washington to labor for the admission of Michigan into the Union, which was delayed on account of the dispute as to the boundary line between Michigan and Ohio, until June 15, 1836, when Congress passed an act accepting Michigan as a state, upon condition that she accept the boundary as claimed by Ohio, which she did December 15, 1836, and was formally admitted by Congress by an act approved January 26, 1837, when Mr. Lyon took his seat at 36 years of age, the youngest Senator Michigan has ever had. Before the close of the year 1835, when the admission of Michigan was pending in Congress, Mr. Lyon gave it as his opinion that combinations were such that Michigan would be deprived of her rights in the boundary dispute, and compelled to yield to the claims of Ohio. In February, 1836, he wrote, if Michigan lost its claim for its southern boundary, as it would, he should insist that the boundary on the north and northwest should include what we now call our Upper Peninsula and the islands in Lake Michigan, covering an area of 20,000 square miles, including three-fourths of the American shore of Lake Superior. In this effort he was opposed by his colleague, Senator Norvell and Delegate Crary. He expressed the opinion that this territory on the north, which he should insist upon having, would, within ten years, be worth more than forty millions of dollars. He had a better knowledge of it at that time than almost any other man in the Territory. It was largely by his effort that our Upper Peninsula was made a part of Michigan. There was intense feeling in Michigan on the boundary dispute with Ohio. Michigan called out troops and made a show of resistance to the claims of Ohio, which, being overwhelmingly sustained by Congress, made Michigan's show of fight, in what has ever since been facetiously termed the "Toledo War," simply puerile. But the feeling was so bitter that Mr. Lyon's entirely correct view of the situation had, for a time, the effect to create a divided sentiment as to his position, although he at all times asserted that Michigan was right in her claim, but as he regarded her acquiescence as inevi-

table, he was opposed to a useless open rebellion. His view was soon vindicated and Michigan ceased to regret the loss of the narrow southern strip of territory when Geologist Houghton reported the marvellous richness in minerals and lumber of that region which the State had acquired in the north. Ex-President John Quincy Adams, who was then a member of the House, and made a vigorous speech on the boundary question, in speaking of Mr. Lyon, said: "To his zeal, energy and fidelity, on all occasions where the rights and interests of the territory of Michigan are affected, I can bear cordial testimony."

Mr. Lyon's term in the Senate expired March 4, 1839. The legislature that year was Democratic, but local complications had arisen which made the election of his successor impossible. In his letters of that period Mr. Lyon writes that while a re-election would be a gratification to him, yet it would be greatly to his advantage if he were not returned and that under no circumstances would he accept it unless it came voluntarily and willingly. When he learned that a candidate had risen in western Michigan, he directed his friends to withdraw his name entirely. The legislature was unable to agree upon his successor and the election went over to the next session, at which time the Whigs were in control. January 22, 1840, Mr. Lyon wrote from Detroit, saying: "I arrived here day before yesterday, just in time to go to the house of A. S. Porter, Esq., and meet there a throng who went to congratulate him on his election that day, as my successor in the Senate of the United States. He is a consistent Whig, and personally, an honest, intelligent and clever man, though not much more of a speaker than I am myself."

In 1839 Mr. Lyon conceived the project of boring for salt brine at Grand Rapids. On September 1, 1841, a well had been successfully sunk to the depth of 661 feet, from which freely flowed salt brine. Subsequently he erected both boiling and evaporating works for the manufacture of both fine and solar salt. The manufacture of salt was continued for some years, but the brine was not of sufficient strength to make the enterprise a profitable one, and the works were abandoned in 1849 or 1850. Mr. Lyon also sunk a well for salt brine for the State on the east side of Grand River about three miles below Grand Rapids. These two wells were the first sunk for salt in Michigan, and sank for the pioneer in this now great industry in Michigan about $40,000 of his private means.

Some of Mr. Lyon's friends sought to have him consent to being a candidate for governor in 1839, but he would not permit his name to be considered. He never sought any office, either elective or appointive. He was appointed a member of the first board of regents of the University of Michigan in 1837, but resigned in 1839, as he could not find the time for the duties of the position.

In 1843 Mr. Lyon was elected a representative in Congress from the second district of Michigan, his home then being in Grand Rapids. Upon the expiration of his term he declined a renomination and was succeeded by John S. Chipman, of Niles. Early in 1845 President Polk, who knew Mr. Lyon well, tendered him the appointment of Surveyor General northwest of the Ohio, embracing the states of Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. This proffer Mr. Lyon declined as the office was located at Cincinnati, and his private interests would not permit his leaving Michigan. The President then caused a bill to be introduced in Congress, which became a law, removing the office to Detroit, arguing that that was its proper place, as the public surveys to be carried on were, at that time, almost wholly confined to Michigan. The President again tendered the appointment to Mr. Lyon and he accepted, entering upon his duties of the position in the fall of 1845, holding it until January, 1850, when the administration of Mr. Fillmore was in power. In 1839, Mr. Lyon was selected by the government as commissioner to apportion among the Indians to be assembled at La Pointe on Lake Superior, the sum of $100,000.

He was a delegate to the Democratic national convention held in Baltimore in 1848, that nominated for the presidency, General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, with whom he had enjoyed a personal friendship from his first entrance into the Territory. When General Cass accepted the nomination of his party, he resigned his seat in the Senate. The first duty of the legislature that assembled in January following was to elect a Senator for the unexpired term of General Cass. Some of the friends of Mr. Lyon sought to induce him to become a candidate, but he promptly stopped the movement, declaring with much earnestness, that for the honor of the State there was but one proper thing to do as to Senator, and that was to reelect General Cass to the seat he had vacated to accept the nomination of his party. General Cass was returned to the Senate.

As indicating the fidelity of Mr. Lyon to his convictions, I will mention a single incident. When in the Senate, the "Independent Treasury bill" was under consideration. A friend, a prominent member of his party in Michigan, and one of the largest land holders, wrote to Mr. Lyon to oppose the bill, as its passage would impair their interests as owners of real estate, Mr. Lyon also being a large land owner. In reply, Mr. Lyon stated that he had at first formed the same opinion as to its effect on the value of lands, but upon more mature reflection he thought it would not have such effect. But suppose it should? He thought the bill right and should support it as being for the public good, remarking, "I hope our patriotism is not wholly confined to our pocket books."

I may mention here that the full length portrait of General Lafayette, executed by the celebrated artist, Ary Scheffer, now hanging in the State house at Lansing, was purchased by Mr. Lyon and presented to the State of Michigan.

Mr. Lyon was a Mason. Before leaving his native state he became a member of Washington Lodge, of Burlington, Vt., where he received the chapter degree of that fraternity. He first made the acquaintance of General Lewis Cass in a Masonic lodge in Detroit. The wisdom of his entering that order was early demonstrated. On his trip from Buffalo to Detroit in 1821, when called upon, he found he had not money enough to pay his fare. An entire stranger standing near, learned this fact by overhearing the conversation, spoke to him in relation to his needs. They each, by methods to which I am a stranger, made known to the other that they were Masonic brothers, whereupon the stranger volunteered his financial aid, saying, "I have $10 left; I will divide with you—here are five." Mr. Lyon took the money and the name of his benefactor, but he never saw or heard of him more. He could only give like unselfish assistance when opportunity offered. He was active in that fraternity until it was disrupted by the intense excitement and prejudice created by the pretended exposure of Masonry by one William Morgan, in 1826. When in later years the order commenced a renewed life of activity, he, with thousands of others, failed to resume their former relations with it, not because he thought Masonry itself was in any respect at fault, or that its obligations were in conflict with either civil or moral law, or in the smallest degree antagonized the purest patriotism to one's country, or active loyalty to the best citizenship.

Many of Mr. Lyon's letters give interesting information on a variety of topics. He often speaks freely of his social life. He had an extended acquaintance among the most prominent men and women of his time, and his relations with many were of a very friendly character. His interest in his family and kindred never waned. Many of them enjoyed personal benefits from his influence and means. He valued unselfish friendship and was himself ever true to it. A few days ago I received from the grandest of the old citizens that Michigan now has within her borders, ex-Governor and ex-United States Senator, Alpheus Felch, of Ann Arbor, a private letter in which he refers to Mr. Lyon, and as his testimony is more impartial than any I can offer, I venture to give the following extract:

"The first day I spent in Michigan was the day on which Mr. Lyon was elected a delegate from the Territory to Congress, and I went with Jacob M. Howard to the polls in Detroit and witnessed the manner of conducting an election for the first time in a western territory. It was not long after this that I met Mr. Lyon and I am proud to say, that from

that time to the day of his death, we were warm friends. I had the pleasure as a member of the legislature in 1835 of voting for him as Senator from Michigan. In the winter of 1835-6, I met him at Washington, where he and his colleague, Mr. Norvell, were waiting for the recognition of Michigan as a member of the Union, and their admission to their seats in the Senate. Their position during the controversy was both delicate and unpleasant, but they never wearied in a vigilant and careful regard for the interests of Michigan. I shall never forget the many kindly attentions which I received from Mr. Lyon during that visit to the capital, nor can I ever call them to mind without a feeling of gratification and thankfulness. Mr. Lyon was, in fact, among the prominent men of Michigan in her early days, one of the truest and best."

Mr. Lyon never married. He enjoyed the society of ladies, and no gentleman could be more gallant to them. In one of his letters he speaks of woman as the connecting link between man and the angels.

Personally, Mr. Lyon was a man of distinguished appearance, and where unknown, would be noticed and inquired about among any body of men of which he might be one. In stature, he was about five feet ten inches, weight a little under two hundred pounds, features regular, face large and attractive, eyes grey, hair a soft silky brown, forehead wide, head very large, very neat and particular in dress, rather slow in movement, impressive in bearing, courteous in manners, pleasant in voice, agreeable in conversation, especially with his acquaintances. He was not an orator nor an easy public speaker, never being able to overcome the embarrassment felt when he addressed public assemblages, which he avoided as much as possible. As a writer he was able, expressing his thoughts with ease, force and clearness. He was temperate in all things. He never used profane language. In public station he had equipoise, clear discernment, far reaching judgment. In politics he was neither scheming nor artful. As a man of business he was rather sanguine. He planned and entered upon many large enterprises, some of which, had he possessed greater caution, would have appeared to him less promising of success. His mind was broad and comprehensive, his nature most generous. Hon. John S. Bagg, a personal friend, for many years the editor-in-chief of the Detroit Free Press, spoke of Mr. Lyon, when he died, as follows:

"The intellect of Mr. Lyon was of the highest order; he was qualified to fill and adorn any position under the government. In him was united to great modesty and diffidence, the most eminent qualifications in politics and in the sciences a personal demeanor which won the confidence of all; a Christian life of undoubted purity. He has left behind him an example worthy of all praise and imitation."

Mr. Lyon died in Detroit, at the home of his nephew, George W. Thayer, September 25, 1851, after a brief illness of four days. His body was buried in Elmwood cemetery, Detroit, and over it has been raised a shaft of white marble brought from his native state, Vermont.

In the halls of our imaginations hang the pictures of those we know and have known. As I move through the corridors of my own memory, and look upon its walls, I discover not one who represents a truer and nobler manhood, or a higher type of American citizenship, than does Lucius Lyon. Honored be his memory.

LETTERS OF LUCIUS LYON,

ONE OF THE TWO FIRST UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM MICHIGAN.

INTRODUCTION.

To the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:—

I send herewith copies of letters which, through the courtesy and coöperation of his nephew, the Hon. George W. Thayer of Grand Rapids, I have been permitted to transcribe from the correspondence of Lucius Lyon.

The letters, as I have copied them, are in seven sections or divisions and with a single exception are arranged chronologically, corresponding with the letter books in which they have so long been preserved.

In date the letters range from 1822 to 1845 and will, I think, be found a valuable and interesting contribution to Michigan history. They reflect the spirit and sentiments of the time they were written, and bring back to us with the true color and semblance of life scenes and incidents of long ago. They give us new and important particulars of the struggle for the admission of Michigan as a state. They afford us an insight into the politics of the day both state and national, cast many a side light upon affairs of a local nature, and furnish clews to the motives that actuated men in public as well as private life. They tell us in detail of the first efforts to manufacture salt in Michigan, of the hopes that were entertained that sugar could be successfully manufactured from the

sugar beet, of the farming and milling methods of the pioneers, and of the introduction of the harvesting machine into the state. The lumbermen, the mine owners of the north country and the fishermen of the lake regions will find in the collection, letters that will be of special interest to them. The banking and transportation interests are mentioned and the religious, social and educational interests are not neglected. In fact there is scarcely a subject that is not in some form discussed, some briefly and incidentally and others at length and in detail, and all in a manner that makes the letters interesting for the general reader as well as valuable for the historian.

Mr. Lyon was a busy man, active in politics, foremost in public affairs and with large private interests. Prior to 1838 he copied his important letters by hand into books for the purpose, and, after that year, copied by letter press all that he wrote. It is these letters that I have had access to and have transcribed for the benefit of the State Historical Society. I have endeavored to select from the thousands of letters written only such as shall prove of interest either to the state generally or to particular localities, omitting those relating to business or personal matters. Some of the letters are summarized but most of them are copied in full or nearly so, with date and place of writing.

The first division or section of the letters, as transmitted to your society, is made up of private letters to members of his family, chiefly to his sister, the late Miss Lucretia Lyon, and found among her papers. These letters will, perhaps, be found the most interesting in the collection for the general reader as they contain descriptions of early life, scenes and society, interesting historical data and a delightful insight into the character of the writer. They tell us of the founding of Ypsilanti, describe the villages of Bronson and Grand Rapids and the city of Detroit, delineate the character of the people in the western country and give us personal views on religion at different stages of life, death and matrimony.

The letters in the second division were copied by Mr. Lyon in a letter book by hand and comprise his important correspondence. These letters in date cover the period from November 12, 1835, to April 8, 1836, Michigan's period of transition from territory to statehood, and in them will be found details of the struggle which no other source of information yields to us. The letter book ends before the struggle is entirely over and the book which immediately follows, which would undoubtedly contain much more of interest and importance, has been lost. But, while we regret the lost volume, the surprise is, not that one book should be lost but that after a lapse of sixty years that any should be left for us.

The third section begins in January, 1838, and the letters are continuous thereafter to October, 1845. These letters were all copied by letter press

and many of them under adverse conditions for legibility. As might be expected, the letters are often badly faded and in many instances the paper is decayed and the writing difficult to decipher, but their value as a source of historical information has amply repaid the time and trouble it has taken to make them out.

It was my purpose, in transmitting these letters to the Historical Society, to send with them a paper upon the life, times and character of Lucius Lyon, but business engagements have prevented me doing so. These letters will in a measure, however, in themselves supply the deficiency and will afford the reader a view into the character of Mr. Lyon more vivid and lucid than anything I could prepare. The letters were not written for publication, nor with an idea of their publication at any time. Many of them were to personal and confidential friends and he wrote without reserve and in a manner to reveal his true character and sentiments. The letters will show that he was thoroughly honest, loyal to friends and party, public spirited, enterprising and more modest than public men are in this age and generation. They are, also, a cursory history of his time, not with all the detail and circumstance and perspective of an historical work, of course, but with incidents and views from a contemporaneous point of view which makes them worthy of preservation and entitled to a place in historical literature of Michigan.

Respectfully,

L. G. STUART.

Grand Rapids, Mich., June 2, 1896.

SUMMARY OF LETTERS.

SECTION 1.

1. Letters copied from his date book descriptive of Michigan, Detroit, November, 1822.
2. To his sister, Aug. 21, probably 1825, from Detroit, gossipy letter.
3. To his sister, Sept. 25, 1826, Detroit, poem.
4. To his father, Sept. 4, 1825, Detroit.—Has just purchased 700 acres of land at Ypsilanti of Judge Woodward; describes the place; emigration; advises his father to come west.
5. To his sister, July 4, 1828, Detroit.—Not consoled for death of friends by Stoical reflections; will start in morning for Green Bay and Prairie du Chien to be gone several months; has written article for Silliman's Journal of Science on surveying.
6. To his sister, Oct. 31, 1828, Detroit.—Just returned from tour of 2,400 miles; met several old friends; formed acquaintance of Gen. William Clark of Lewis and Clark exploring expedition.
7. To his sister, Feb. 4, 1830, Columbus, O.—Enjoying pleasant company.

8. To his sister, April 14, 1830, Charleston, Va.—Society in Cincinnati; discusses matrimony; southern hospitality.
9. To his sister, Nov. 24, 1830, Troy, N. Y.—Came here to take to Detroit a young professor to lecture on science, geology, etc.; tells of visits to Baltimore and Washington and of persons he met.
10. To his sister, Oct. 13, 1832, Galena, Ill.—Death of Miss Cass; surveying; soon to resume work as Illinois boundary commissioner; ravages of the cholera.
11. To his sister, May 24, 1833, Galena, Ill.—Has been in the mining country nineteen months and likes it; describes people as intelligent and enlightened; scarcity of women; has just been nominated for territorial delegate.
12. Delegates to Territorial delegate nominating convention, proceedings, resolutions adopted, etc.
13. To his sister, Oct. 19, 1833, Bronson, Mich.—Describes Bronson, Schoolcraft, prairie lands and his farms; family gossip.
14. To his sister, Oct. 9, 1835, Bronson.—Has been building canal at Grand Rapids and steamboat for Grand river; has harvested fine crops; going to Detroit where first legislature will meet.
15. To his sister, Feb. 26, 1837, Washington.—Views of feminine accomplishments.
16. To his sister, July 12, 1837, Lyons, Mich.—Fourth of July celebration at Lyons.
17. To his sister, April 8, 1838, Washington.—Has purchased a copying press and describes it; gayeties in Washington.
18. Cards of prominent Washington people with brief descriptions.
19. To his sister, May 5, 1838, Washington.—No danger from Indians at Lyons; describes Detroit and Grand Rapids.
20. To his sister, Aug. 22, 1838, Detroit.—Gossipy letter.
21. To his sister, March 14, 1839, Washington.—Tells of Miss America Vespucius, who is urging a claim upon the American government.
22. To his sister, April 25, 1839, Detroit.—He is talked of for governor; discusses matrimony; has been appointed commissioner to distribute Indian money and will leave soon for La Pointe.
23. To his sister, Sept. 9, 1840, Detroit.—Vice President Johnson is coming to Detroit; will be given barbecue and in the evening a ball.
24. To his sister, Jan. 1, 1844, Washington.—Making New Year's calls; Mrs. Maison as young as ever.
25. To his sister, Dec. 22, 1844, Washington.—Views on death and future life; expects to die within ten years.
26. To his sister, June 3, 1846, Detroit.—Religious views.

SECTION II.

1. From Robert McClelland, Monroe, Nov. 12, 1835.—Congratulating him upon his election as senator.
2. To Frederick Bronson, New York, Oct. 13, 1835, Bronson.—Offering to sell his interest at Grand Rapids.
3. To S. W. Beall, Green Bay, Oct. 7, 1835, Bronson.—Election news in the new state.
4. From G. H. Bowen, Galena, Oct. 16, 1835.—Claim of Mrs. Harford, formerly Mrs. Ewing, for damages in war of 1812 at Maumee is for $6,000.
5. To E. A. Brown, commissioner of land office, Sept. 12, 1835, Green Bay.—Relative to pre-emption and float claims at Milwaukee.

6. To Arthur Bronson, Oct. 12, 1835, Bronson.—Building canal at Grand Rapids; water power; resources tributary to the place; preparing village plat; hotel planned.
7. To same, Oct. 15, Bronson.—Cost of preparing land for crop; mill at mouth of Thornapple.
8. To same, not dated.—Canal at Grand Rapids will be first in state; emigration is astonishing.
9. Instructions to Giles S. Isham, Nov. 3, 1835, relative to management of his farms at Lyons and Prairie Ronde.
10. To Amos Kendall, P. M. Gen., Nov. 14, 1835, Detroit.—Recommending Sheldon McKnight for postmaster at Detroit to succeed John Norvell.
11. To S. R. Hobbie, Ass. P. M. Gen., Nov. 15, 1835, Detroit.—Recommending establishment of postoffice at Constantine with John S. Barry as postmaster.
12. To Edwin Croswell, Albany, November 15, 1835, Detroit.—Has been elected senator by unanimous vote of both houses. Michigan's claim for admission to the Union.
13. To Ira Lyon, Nov. 16, Detroit.—Farming arrangements.
14. From H. McCure, Detroit, November, 1835.—Advising him of his election as member of Young Men's Society; answer to same.
15. To John S. Horner, Nov. 30, 1835, Washington.—President will leave you free to go to Green Bay or to remain at Detroit as you may think proper; Ohio boundary only obstacle to Michigan's immediate admission.
16. To N. O. Sargeant, Grand Rapids, Dec. 5, 1835, Washington.—Has purchased Arthur Bronson's interests at Grand Rapids for $21,000.
17. To E. D. Ellis, Monroe, Dec. 6, 1835.—Publication of laws in Michigan; congress and cabinet well disposed toward Michigan's admission; probably be made party question but expect recognition by February.
18. To William Oliver, Cincinnati, Dec. 13, 1835, Washington.—George W. Jones has taken seat as delegate from Michigan; many coming from Michigan to spend winter.
19. To Rix Robinson, Kent county, Mich., Dec. 13, 1835, Washington.—Deaths in the Senate; admission of Michigan a party question and probable delay until June.
20. To John F. Bacon, Albany, Dec. 15, 1835, Washington.—Relative to Detroit postoffice; Democrats of Empire State will support Michigan's claim.
21. To Col. Hart L. Stewart, Mottville, Dec. 19, 1835, Washington.—Improvement of harbor at St. Joseph.
22. To J. Kearsley, Detroit, Dec. 21, 1835, Washington.—Norvell and Crary opposed to his reappointment as receiver of public money.
23. To same, Dec. 22.—Relative to reappointment and hopes to secure it; courtesies of senate floor extended to Norvell.
24. To Rix Robinson, Dec. 25, 1835, Washington.—Requesting him to bring on Indian chiefs to make treaty for sale of lands in Michigan.
25. To John A. Drew, Michillimackinac, Dec. 26, to the same purport, with added detail.
26. To Wm. Anderson, Ann Arbor, Dec. 26, 1835, Washington.—Unable to get a copy of the "Sheriff's Companion."
27. To E. A. Brown, Commissioner of Land Office, Dec. 26, 1835, Washington.—Relative to Wee-Saw land claim near Niles under Tippecanoe treaty of 1832.

28. To C. K. Green, Dec. 27, 1835, Washington.—On the same subject; prospects for admission of state not very flattering.
29. To Austin E. Wing, Monroe, Dec. 27, 1835, Washington.—Relative to Michigan's admission and difficulties in way of it; the Michigan delegation.
30. To Col. Geo. Wm. Boyd, New Orleans, Dec. 29, 1835, from Washington.—Citizenship in Michigan, discussion in constitutional convention.
31. To Allen Hutchins, Adrian, Dec. 29, 1835, from Washington.—Admission of Michigan; very busy with public business as every body sends their matters to me.
32. To John A. Drew, Jan. 2, 1836, Washington.—Relative to Indian treaty.
33. To John McDonnell, Detroit, Jan. 2, 1836, Washington.—Admission of Michigan.
34. To O. D. Richardson, Pontiac, Jan. 3, 1836, Washington.—Admission of Michigan; shall there be war?
35. To A. S. Schoolcraft, Detroit, Jan. 3, 1836, Washington.—Michigan's prospects are dubious for southern territory.
36. To Maj. Charles W. Whipple, Detroit, Jan. 3, 1836, Washington.—Memorial from legislature received; prospects.
37. To Dr. Z. Pitcher, Old Point Comfort, Va., Jan. 3, 1836, Washington.—My election was unanimous; McKnight has returned to Detroit with assurances that he would be appointed postmaster but has been indicted for manslaughter by packed jury.
38. To Arthur Bronson, Jan. 8, 1836, Washington.—Property at Mt. Clemens.
39. To H. D. Gilpin, Philadelphia, Jan. 9, 1836, Washington.—Admission of Michigan; war with France.
40. To P. R. Toll, Centerville, Mich., Jan. 10, 1836, Washington.—Doubt if Michigan be admitted until after presidential election.
41. To Gov. Mason, Jan. 10, 1836, Washington.—We ought if possible to prevent appointment of judges for territory, or if appointed get judges favorable to Michigan; what legislature ought to do.
42. To same, Jan. 14, 1836.—Col. Mack defeated for appointment as governor of Michigan by slanders.
43. To George Morell, also Solomon Sibley, Detroit, Jan. 15, 1836, Washington.—Their reappointments as judges are opposed because of their position regarding Michigan controversy; Ransom and Whipple will be appointed.
44. To John S. Horner, Jan. 17, 1836, Washington.—Your nomination confirmed; president would prefer that you leave for Green Bay or mining region; admission of Michigan.
45. To Gen. David White, Jan. 17, 1836, Washington.—Asking for proper man to appoint postmaster of Toledo.
46. To E. Ransom, Jan. 27, Washington.—Your nomination as judge is before senate.
47. To Wm. H. Welch, Jan. 27, 1836, Washington.—Pre-emption claims are rigidly scrutinized now owing to abuses.
48. To Charles C. Hascall, Jan. 31, 1836, Washington.—President thinks legislature ought to adjourn.
49. To Charles W. Whipple, Jan. 31, 1836, Washington.—Legislature ought to adjourn; admission prospects.
50. To Sheldon McKnight, Feb. 3, 1836, Washington.—Your letter with certificate of acquittal on charge of manslaughter received; your claim for postoffice will be pushed.

51. To Marshall J. Bacon, Feb. 4, 1836, Washington.—Will stand by McKnight more firmly than ever because of attack upon him.
52. To Col. D. Goodwin, Detroit, Feb. 4, 1836, Washington.—Thanks for suggestion that Michigan accept upper peninsula; matter has been discussed here; am in favor of it if we lose Ohio strip.
53. To E. Ransom, Feb. 7, 1836, Washington.—Your nomination not before senate as judge and doubtful if it will be; opposed by two of Michigan delegation.
54. To John Forsyth, Secretary of State, Feb. 7, 1836, Washington.—Urging appointment of Judge Ransom to succeed Judge Sibley.
55. To John S. Horner, Feb. 8, 1836, Washington.—Legislative council has memorialized president for your removal; you ought to convene them at Cassville; will find them warm friends if you get their good will.
56. To Col. Dan Goodwin, Feb. 8, 1836, Washington.—Relative to appointment of judges.
57. To J. Q. Adams, Monroe, Feb. 9, 1836, Washington.—Toledo war advice.
58. To S. McKnight, Feb. 9, 1836, Washington.—Appointment of judges.
59. To Arthur Bronson, Feb. 10, 1836, Washington.—Cassville as seat of government for Wisconsin territory.
60. To Amos Kendall, P. M. Gen., Feb. 15, 1836, Washington.—Asking that postage on maps be remitted.
61. To J. D. Doty, Green Bay, Feb. 10, 1836, Washington.—Wisconsin's territorial bill; private land claims.
62. To Dr. A. Philes, Galena, Feb. 18, 1836, Washington.—Carrying mails to Fort Winnebago; Milwaukee land office; Michigan about to be robbed of southern strip but will probably receive northern compensation.
63. To W. L. Newberry, Chicago, Feb. 21, 1836, Washington.—Wisconsin bill will pass; boundaries; seat of government.
64. To Amos Kendall, P. M. Gen., Feb. 21, 1836, Washington.—Urging appointment of McKnight for Detroit postoffice and explaining his indictment for manslaughter.
65. Col. Andrew Mack, Detroit, Feb. 21, 1836, Washington.—Detroit delegation in Washington; judiciary committee will report against Michigan claim; will demand all territory north that can be secured as compensation; Norvell and Crary opposed to this.
66. Charles C. Hascall, Feb. 21, 1836, Washington.—Report of committee is against Michigan claim; it's a flagrant wrong but no help for it; will demand upper peninsula; Norvell and Crary opposed.
67. George Howe, Feb. 22, 1836, Washington.—Legislature may now proceed without injuring our cause.
68. Albert G. Ellis, Astor, Mich., Feb. 22, 1836, Washington.—Wisconsin territory bill will pass; Dodge will be governor, Horner secretary, Irvin one of the judges.
69. H. H. Comstock, Feb. 23, 1836, Washington.—The judicial appointment; legislature may now proceed, but it matters little either way.
70. Edward Lyon, Feb. 24, 1836, Washington.—Best place to locate is at mouth of Maple river, now called Arthursburg but name will be changed to Lyonsburg; description of place and advantages.
71. C. K. Green, Feb. 25, 1836, Washington.—Michigan's affair in congress; Norvell and Crary opposed to northern annex, but I shall insist upon it.
72. Same, Feb. 28, 1836, Washington.—Judicial appointments confirmed.

73. Edward Mundy, Feb. 26, 1836, Washington.—Michigan will have no redress; legislature may decide what will be done about accepting conditions for admission.
74. Gov. Mason, Feb. 28, 1836, Washington.—Your message favorably received here, but your remarks on power of legislature to change boundaries fixed by constitution were unfortunate; we shall be compelled to submit or have revolution and better legislature do it than another convention; Ohio has determined to demand convention assent instead of legislative.
75. David Carver, Chicago, Feb. 28, 1836, Washington.—Steamboat from Chicago to mouth Grand river.
76. John S. Barry, Feb. 29, 1836, Washington.—Prejudice against Michigan.
77. James Kingsley, Ann Arbor, March 2, 1836, Washington.—Committees in both houses report against us; congress will do same.
78. James W. Taber, March 2, 1836, Washington.—Directions for traveling to Michigan.
79. Ethan A. Brown, Com. Gen. Land Office, March 8, 1836, Washington.—asking early action to enable selection of University lands in Michigan.
80. John S. Bagg, Detroit, March 10, 1836, Washington.—Course legislature has pursued has injured us even among our friends.
81. Z. Pitcher, Fort Monroe, Va., March 12, 1836, Washington.—Will be allowed to come in if we surrender our rights.
82. George Crawford, Elkart, Ind., March 12, 1836, Washington.—Treaty being made for Indian lands in Michigan.
83. John Biddle, Detroit, March 16, 1836, Washington.—Michigan university lands near Toledo.
84. A. E. Wing, Monroe, March 19, 1836, Washington.—Have recommended Capt. Clark for new land office; opposed by others of Michigan delegation; Indian treaty progress; Cass to be minister to France.
85. John S. Barry, Detroit, March 20, 1836, Washington.—Michigan's admission; course of legislature; have been misrepresented in regard to northern extension; compelled to give up southern territory anyway.
86. G. Burritt, Shelburn, Vt., March 21, 1836, Washington.—Describes country and climate on Grand river, Mich.
87. Sheldon McKnight, March 20, 1836, Washington.—Norvell will not resign Detroit postoffice until he becomes senator; ill feeling in Michigan delegation and toward Mason; people must judge for themselves on admission terms.
88. A. E. Wing, March 21, 1836, Washington.—University lands; fixed determination to sacrifice Michigan's interest.
89. E. D. Ellis, Monroe, March 22, 1836, Washington.—Ill feeling toward Norvell and cause; will not advise what to do on accepting terms offered by congress on admission but let every body decide for himself.
90. Gov. Mason, March 24, 1836, Washington.—Sorry that personal letter been used improperly.
91. John S. Bagg, March 23, 1836, Washington.—Progress of admission controversy.
92. E. D. Ellis, March 23, 1836, Washington.—Am not Michigan's agent to make any arrangements to barter away state's rights; explains situation.
93. C. C. Trowbridge, Detroit, March 27, 1836, Washington.—Chippewa and Ottawa Indian treaty been concluded; suggests that banks advance money to send Indians here for treaty covering reservation lands under Saginaw treaty of 1819; money will undoubtedly be refunded.

94. Col. D. Goodwin, March 27, 1836, Washington.—Judicial appointments; congress disposed to send us back to territorial government and to start all over again.
95. Cyren Burdick, Detroit, March 27, 1836, Washington.—Michigan affairs; keep cool and do nothing rash; Bronson changed to Kalamazoo.
96. W. L. Newberry Chicago, March 28, 1836, Washington.—Wisconsin territorial bill passed today; remonstrance against Cassville as seat of government.
97. H. H. Comstock, March 29, 1836, Washington.—Admission of Michigan and personal position.
98. Sheldon McKnight, March 30, 1836. Washington.—In midst of Michigan debate; exonerated by Buchanan against unjust insinuations.
99. G. D. Williams, Saginaw, March 30, 1836, Washington.—Indian matters.
100. To Detroit Free Press, March 31, 1836, Washington.—Giving details of Indian treaty just arranged by Schoolcraft.
101. N. O. Sargeant, April 2, 1836, Washington.—Enclosing copy of map of village of Kent.
102. Thomas C. Sheldon, Kalamazoo, April 3, 1836, Washington.—Michigan bill has passed the senate; denies insinuations expressed in resolutions adopted by meeting at Detroit.
103. E. H. Lothrop, Schoolcraft, April 7, 1836, Washington.—Wishes he was at home but will be obliged to remain until Michigan business is acted upon and certain appropriation bills passed.
104. J. M. Howard and George B. Martin, secretaries of public meeting, Detroit, April 8, 1836, Washington.—Acknowledges receipt of memorial adopted at public meeting and assures them no exertion will be spared to carry wishes into effect.

SECTION III.

1. Gen. G. V. Denniston, Albany, Jan. 4, 1838, Washington.—Appropriations for roads in Wisconsin.
2. S. McKnight, Detroit, Jan. 12, 1838, Washington.—Debates in senate; hope no attempt will be made to bring on election of senator by new legislature this session.
3. Maj. John Biddle, Monguagon, Jan. 13, 1838, Washington.—Relative to claim for services pending; farming.
4. Midshipman Henry L. Chipman, Jan. 14, 1838, Washington.—Enclosing letter permitting him to attend naval school at New York.
5. Robert Stuart, Detroit, Jan. 14, 1838, Washington.—Regrets that he cannot recommend the appointment of his son to West Point as candidate is already chosen.
6. H. R. Schoolcraft, Jan. 14, 1838, Washington.—Indian matters; piers and canal at Sault Ste. Marie.
7. Lucius Boltwood, Amherst, Jan. 14, 1838, Washington.—Lake Michigan harbor improvements.
8. Wm. M. Holland, New York, Jan. 14, 1838, Washington.—Professor for State university.
9. C. C. Clay, Jan. 16, 1838, Washington.—Giving reasons for introducing bill to settle contested claims under pre-emption laws.
10. Wm. A. Richmond, Jan. 17, 1838, Washington.—Enclosing bill dividing Grand River land district.

11. Gen. Joseph W. Brown and others, letters similar in purport.
12. Edward Lyon, Lyons, Jan. 17, 1838, Washington.—Will not build canal across the bottoms at Lyons this year.
13. Col. Jas. B. Hunt, Oakland Co., Jan. 17, 1838, Washington.—Damages asked for for destruction of timber on line of Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad.
14. Lewis Cass, Jr., N. Y., Jan. 21, 1838, Washington.—Requirements for admission to bar in different states.
15. Same, Jan. 27.—Washington is best place to study law.
16. James Fraser and others, Saginaw, Jan. 21, 1838, Washington.—Funds for internal improvements and roads.
17. John Biddle, Jan. 23, 1838, Washington.—Rumors of another Navy Island war.
18. T. H. Lyon and others, Ionia, Jan. 21, 1838, Washington.—Refusing to subscribe for stock in a new State bank and gives reason.
19. John Johnson, Burlington, Vt., Jan. 24, 1838, Washington.—The Carver grant a delusion; booming in Michigan.
20. J. R. Poinsett, Sec. of War, Jan. 26, 1838, Washington.—Asking permission for Allegan county people to pass through Indian country to beyond the Rocky Mountains.
21. C. A. Harris, Com. Indian Affairs, Jan. 26, 1838, Washington.—Finch claim for ferrying Indians across St. Joseph river.
22. Maj. S. H. Webb, Jan. 27, 1838, Washington.—Perseverance of office seekers; Ellis appointed Surveyor General; Wisconsin.
23. Gen. Parker, Jan. 27, 1838, Washington.—Public deposits injurious to banks; general crash looked for.
24. J. S. Rock, Springfield, Ill., Jan. 28, 1838, Washington.—Country between lakes and Mississippi; Indian policy.
25. Eleazer H. Keeler, St. Joseph, Feb. 1, 1838, Washington.—Relative to his candidacy for collector at St. Joseph.
26. Gen. Burdick, Feb. 2, 1838, Washington.—Internal improvements.
27. To the President, Feb. 5, 1838, Washington.—Presenting memorial from Mich. Legislature asking for two regiments for protection of frontier and permanent garrison at Detroit.
28. S. R. Hobbie, 1st Asst. P. M. Gen., Feb. 5, 1838, Washington.—Enclosing certificate that John Almy had carried the mails.
29. Charles C. Trowbridge, Detroit, Feb. 8, 1838, Washington.—Wager relative to Detroit real estate values.
30. Allen Hutchins, Feb. 7, 1838, Washington.—Rumors of his defalcation as receiver of public money at Ionia.
31. To same, Feb. 9, 1838.—Same subject with details of charges.
32. Wm. A. Richmond, March 6, 1838, Washington.—Advising him he had been appointed Hutchins' successor, and John Clark as register.
33. Sheldon McKnight, March 9, 1838, Washington.—Hutchins' defalcation.
34. Col. D. Goodwin, March 9, 1838, Washington.—Suggesting that McKnight take possession of Ionia land office.
35. Edward Lyon, March 10, 1838, Washington.—Hutchins' defalcation.
36. To same, April 12.—Same subject, added detail.
37. Gov. Mason, Feb. 9, 1838, Washington.—Saginaw as port of entry.
38. L. Stow, Concord, Feb. 10, 1838—Postal route Tecumseh to Marshall.
39. Albert Pardy. Feb. 16, 1838—New postoffice in Washtenaw county, Peeble's Corners.

40. Amos Kendall, P. M. Gen., Feb. 16, 1838, Washington.—Petition for establishment of Walker postoffice, Kent county.
41. To the President—Recommending Andrew Mack as collector of customs at Detroit.
42. A. G. Ellis, Green Bay, Feb. 20, 1838, Washington.—Lake Michigan harbor improvements; Truman H. Lyon appointed superintendent of light houses.
43. Garry Spencer and Martin Story, Detroit, Feb. 21, 1838, Washington.—Will always be guided by wishes of majority of Democratic party in Michigan; personal friendship will always yield to public good.
44. Col. D. Goodwin, Feb. 25, 1838, Washington.—No truth in matrimonial rumors; James F. Joy author of an article in the Intelligencer; Cilley-Graves duel.
45. Amos Kendall, P. M. Gen., Feb. 26.—Enclosing remonstrance against removal of Postmaster J. Q. Adams, Monroe.
46. Gales & Seaton, Feb. 27.—Enclosing article refuting Joy communication in Intelligencer.
47. James Q. Adams, Monroe, Feb. 27, 1838, Washington.—You were not removed as postmaster, but not reappointed.
48. To the President, Feb. 27, 1838.—Enclosing memorial from Michigan Legislature asking for Andrew Mack's appointment.
49. Levi Woodbury, Sec. of Treas., Feb. 28, 1838.—Enclosing endorsements for John F. Porter as collector at St. Joseph.
50. Col. Andrew Mack, Detroit, March 5, 1838.—John McDonell has been appointed collector at Detroit, majority of Mich. delegation favoring him.
51. H. H. Comstock, March 4, 1838, Washington.—Independent treasury bill; it may reduce real estate values but I hope our patriotism does not lie entirely in our pocketbooks.
52. Olmstead Hough, Detroit, March 5, 1838, Washington.—Advising him of his appointment as register of land office at Detroit.
53. Col. A. C. Pepper, Logansport, Ind., March 11, 1838, Washington.—Recommending Lorin Marsh and Benj. Sherman as conducting and enrolling agents for removal of Indians.
54. Charles Lansley, Middleburg, Vt., March 27, 1838, Washington.—Progress on New Buffalo-Monroe Railroad.
55. Richard J. Huyck, March 8, 1838.—Volinia postoffice, Cass county, has been discontinued.
56. Isaac Newton Higbee, April 12, 1838, Washington.—Advice for a surveyor; his own best record.
57. Mark Norris, Ypsilanti, April 27, 1838, Washington.—Your invention of a pile driver is like another already on the market.
58. 1st Ass. P. M. Gen. Hobbie, April 25, 1838, Washington.—Semi-weekly mail Niles to Bronson.
59. William Woodbridge, Detroit, April 25, 1838, Washington.—Improvement of Detroit river improbable because of lack of funds; waste lands should be given to the states.
60. Col. Andrew McKinstry, Schoolcraft.—Revolution in the money market; trouble with Mich. banks.
61. J. H. Poinsett, Sec. of War.—Recommendations for various appointments.
62. Wm. A. Richmond, April 26, 1838, Washington.—Prospects for the Democratic party; my interests suffering from lack of personal attention.
63. Gen. D. Parker, Philadelphia.—Lumbering in the Sanilac district.

SECTION IV.

1. Robert Johnson, 2d Asst. P. M. Gen., Dec. 23, 1838, Washington.—New post-office at Atlas, Lapeer Co., John S. Goodrich postmaster.
2. Arthur Bronson, N. Y., Dec. 26, 1838, Washington.—Gen. Burdick's character.
3. James Buchanan, U. S. S., Dec. 27, 1838. Washington.—Investigating Canadian rebellion.
4. T. C. Sheldon, Detroit, Dec. 28, 1838, Washington.—Prospect that you will be marshal of Mich. to succeed Ten Eyck whose removal is recommended owing to his sluggishness in Canadian rebellion; Christmas festivities.
5. John McDonell, Detroit, Dec. 29, 1838, Washington.—Your services in suppressing Canadian rebellion highly commended by President; my re-election to Senate would be gratifying.
6. Col. A. Edwards, Kalamazoo, Dec. 29, 1838, Washington.—Refutes charges that Gen. Cass is defaulter.
7. O. Wilder, Allegan Co., Dec. 29, 1838, Washington.—Growing opposition to harbor improvements; must tax public lands.
8. Kintzing Pritchette, Detroit, Dec. 29, 1838, Washington.—Consulates vacant.
9. E. and S. Higley, Jackson, Jan. 2, 1839, Washington.—Carver grant.
10. T. C. Sheldon, Detroit, Jan. 3, 1839, Washington.—Norvell objects to change in marshal.
11. James Whitcomb, Com. Gen. Land Office, Jan. 5, 1839.—Joseph Campau, Detroit, assignee of Indian claim at Saginaw.
12. E. Ransom, Kalamazoo, Jan. 6, 1839, Washington.—My re-election as senator would be gratifying, but fear prospects not good; attacks on me are unfounded; whatever result will be satisfied if good Democrat chosen.
13. Col. Thomas Fitzgerald, Kalamazoo, Jan. 6, 1839, Washington.—Claims of persons on Indian reservations.
14. Col. A. Edwards, Kalamazoo, Jan. 9, 1839, Washington.—If defeated I shall return to private life without a murmur; H. R. Schoolcraft going to London.
15. Wm. A. Burt, Macomb Co., Jan. 12, 1839, Washington.—Solar compass.
16. To same, Jan. 16, 1839.—Same subject; cession of public lands.
17. John B. Murray, New York, Jan. 17, 1839, Washington.—No such appointment as attache to Ministers abroad.
18. S. R. Hobbie, 1st Asst. P. M. Gen., Jan. 17, 1839.—Transmitting account of John Almy for carrying the mails.
19. Wm. Durell, Mt. Clemens, Jan. 18, 1839, Washington.—Settlers on Indian lands will be allowed to buy at $1.25 per acre but not to pre-empt.
20. Charles W. Whipple, Detroit, Jan. 18, 1839, Washington.—Settlers on Macomb reservation.
21. Miss Mary Tott, Jan. 19, 1839, Washington.—Have consented to be a candidate for re-election and feel as anxious for success as ever.
22. Dr. Z. Pitcher, Detroit, Jan. 19, 1839, Washington.—Gov. Mason's message ought to make a Michiganian proud of the growth of his State.
23. Judge Ross Wilkins, Detroit, Jan. 20, 1839, Washington.—Increase in judge's salary; unnecessary for you to come here on Canadian troubles; Congress will do little business this session.
24. T. C. Sheldon, Jan. 28, 1839, Washington.—Whig letter writers abusing me for my speech on graduation bill; his re-election; Canadian troubles.

25. Obed P. Lacey, Niles, Jan. 29, 1839, Washington.—Defends himself against charges; record in the Senate in securing appropriations; no selfish notices in road appropriations.
26. Sheldon McKnight, Feb. 4, 1839, Washington.—I expect in a few days to hear of my defeat.
27. Obed P. Lacey, Feb. 16, 1839, Washington.—Everybody is ridiculing our legislature in the election of a Senator.
28. John B. Murray, Feb. 14, 1839, Washington.—Senatorial election.
29. Thos. C. Sheldon, Feb. 17, 1839, Washington.—Regret that my friends did not withdraw my name in favor of Ransom for Senatorial election.
30. H. R. Schoolcraft, Feb. 22, 1839, Washington.—Senatorial election.
31. Maj. S. H. Webb, Feb. 24, 1839, Washington.—Am not disappointed for I know men who were against me; have done my whole duty here and have no regrets; would feel degraded if not elected by large majority.
32. M. J. Baco, New York, Feb. 25, 1839, Washington.—Democrat party in Michigan in a bad way.
33. John S. Barry, March 4, 1839, Washington.—Michigan will probably not receive any important appointments until population is larger.
34. Benj. Sherman, Ionia, March 6, 1839, Washington.—I leave the service of the people without regret; have done my duty faithfully and fearlessly.
35. Samuel J. Bayard, Seneca Falls, March 8, 1839, Washington.—Nearly all have left the city; beginning of a general turning out of office holders.
36. Charles C. Hascall, March 7, 1839, Washington.—Risk is too great to postpone Senatorial election until next year.
37. Israel V. Harris, Grand Rapids, March 8, 1839, Washington.—Special post route Grand Rapids to Muskegon.
38. Capt. E. Backers, U. S. A., March 8, 1839, Washington.—Lively winter in Detroit; Bishop McCoskry's activity.
39. James Whitcomb, Com. of Gen. Land Office, March 9, 1839.—Petition that Chippewa reservation be placed on market.
40. Robert Johnson, 2d Asst. P. M. Gen.—Petition that Superior postoffice at mouth of Black River Lake be changed to Tuscarora.
41. W. A. Richmond, March 10, 1839, Washington.—Most of Michigan bills after passing Senate failed in the House.
42. Capt. E. S. Sibley, U. S. A., March 10. 1839, Washington.—Senatorial election, Cass in France and rumors of Miss Cass' marriage to Ledyard.
43. L. Slater, Kalamazoo Co., March 14, 1839, Washington.—Chippewa and Ottawa Indians under treaty of 1836 not obliged to move west; points in treaty discussed.
44. Allen Hutchins, March 16, 1839, Washington.—Relative to his reported defalcation.
45. John H. Wheeler, March 21, 1839, Detroit.—Democratic party I find, all by the ears over local matters.
46. S. Haight, sergeant-at-arms, U. S. S., April 3, 1839, Detroit.—Little hope for Senatorial election this session.
47. James W. Tabor, April 4, 1839, Detroit.—Enclosing sugar beet seeds with instructions for planting.
48. Henry Hubbard, U. S. S., April 14, 1839, Detroit.—Business situation disturbed; Senatorial election will not be made through foolishness of pretended Democrats.
49. Edward Lyon, April 14, 1839,Detroit.—Legislature still in session; caucuses for nomination of State bank directors.

50. David Coleman, 3d Ass. P. M. Gen., April 16, 1839, Detroit.—Carrying mails Detroit to Ann Arbor by railroad.
51. Allen Hutchins, April 16, 1839, Detroit.—I desire to hold no office that is not freely and voluntarily bestowed upon me; Felch for Senator.
52. Dr. T. Lawson, Surgeon Gen., April 16, 1839, Detroit.—Recommending Dr. Sager for appointment to medical board.
53. T. Hartly Crawford, Com. Indian Affairs, April 24, 1839, Detroit.—Accepts appointment to apportion and distribute Indian money at La Pointe.
54. Nathan Rice, Washington, April 25, 1839, Detroit.—I mean to attend to my own business now.
55. James W. Tabor, April 26, 1839, Detroit.—Will go to Rochester to bring on my harvesting machine; sugar beet.
56. Hiram Moore, May 4, 1839, Detroit.—Description of first harvesting machine.
57. Sherman McLean, May 26, 1839, Lyons.—Sugar beet.
58. John P. Richardson, Pontiac, May 30, 1839, Kalamazoo.—Political gossip; Bingham for governor.
59. Daniel H. Childs and others asking about sugar beet.
60. Rev. Wm. Taylor, June 1, 1839, Schoolcraft.—Relative to donating a site for a church.
61. Gov. Mason, July 10, 1839, Detroit.—Resigning as regent of State University.
62. E. Ransom, July 13, 1839, Detroit.—My name has been mentioned for governor, but I neither desire nor expect to take part in the contest other than to do my duty; Whig plans.
63. T. H. Lyon, Oct. 6, 1839, Detroit.—Have just returned from Lake Superior; political prospects bright.
64. Letters from Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, etc., badly faded.

SECTION V.

1. C. H. Carroll, Groverland, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1839, Detroit.—Sending two half barrels of Lake Superior fish.
2. Thomas T. Whittlesay, Danbury, Conn., Oct. 25, 1839, Detroit.—Businesss prospects improving; good crops.
3. Elon Farnsworth, Detroit, Nov. 1, 1839, Kalamazoo.—State politics and Farnsworth's chances for election.
4. To same, Nov. 8, 1839, Kalamazoo.—Election news.
5. Sidney Smith, Ada, Nov. 9, 1839.—Election news.
6. Robert Stuart, Nov. 17, 1839, Kalamazoo.—Payment of the Indian claims at La Pointe; reason for disallowing American Fur Co's claim.
7. H. L. Ellsworth, Com. of Patents, Nov. 17, 1839, Kalamazoo.—Moore and Hascall harvesting machine is a success; description of machine and its workings.
8. Asher Robbins, U. S. S., Nov. 17, 1839, Kalamazoo.—Information regarding State University; Houghton's appointment; buildings not yet erected.
9. John P. Richardson, Nov. 29, 1839.—Reasons why he withdrew from gubernatorial contest; political prospects in the State; beet crop.
10. Contract Dec. 25, 1839, assigning to Mr. Ball right to build a dam across Grand river and agreeing to deed him a mill site.
11. C. H. Carroll, Jan. 7, 1840, Grand Rapids.—State has suspended work at salt springs; am determined to have the question solved whether salt can be manufactured here; cost of a 700 foot well.

12. Edward Lyon, Jan. 24, 1840, Detroit.—Arrived in time to drink a glass of wine with A. S. Porter, my successor; Ketchum's mill at Grandville.
13. Gen. John McNeil, Jan. 24, 1840, Detroit.—Business prospects improving; wheat prices; Michigan's products of all kinds increasing and now exporting instead of importing necessaries; realty depreciation; manufacturing salt; what Whigs are doing; health in Michigan.
14. R. D. Turner, State Legislature, Feb. 17, 1840, Detroit.—Describing upper peninsula, resources, soil, mineral, fish, climate; Soo canal a work of vast importance.
15. John Norvell, March 1, 1840, Detroit.—Political prospects.
16. President Van Buren, March 2, 1840, Detroit.—Results of Detroit municipal election.
17. George Templeman, Washington, March 8, 1840, Detroit.—Directions for shipping portrait of Lafayette.
18. H. L. Ellsworth, Com. of Patents, March 19, 1840, Detroit.—Assignment of interest in harvesting machine to Lyon & Robinson; sugar beet growing in Michigan.
20. Sidney Smith, April 3, 1840, Zanesville, O.—Salt manufacturing on the Muskingum; cost and methods.
21. T. H. Lyon, April 16, 1840, New York.—Whigs are chopfallen at election results in N. Y.
22. To same, April 22, 1840, Shelburn, Vt.—Attended wedding of George H. Lyon and Phœbe Russell.
23. To same, April 28, 1840, S. Hadley, Mass.—Manufacture of sugar from beet; consumption of sugar in Michigan.
24. Sidney Smith, May 26, 1840, Detroit.—Arrived here last night with sister Lucretia.
25. Rev. Luman Foote, Tinmouth, Vt., June 23, 1840, Detroit.—Descriptions of Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids.
26. George Templeman, Georgetown, June 30, 1840, Detroit.—Not yet received the Lafayette portrait.
27. To his sister, July 5, 1840, Detroit.—Suffering from a broken arm; remedies.
28. Silas Wright, U. S. S., July 8, 1840, Detroit.—Political prospects in Michigan; hard cider campaign.
29. John Norvell, U. S. S., July 12, 1840, Detroit.—Appointment of H. S. Handy as postal traveling agent.
30. Isaac E. Crary, July 16, 1840, Detroit.—Enclosing petition for removal of postmaster Peters at Springfield for undue political activity and appointment of Cornelius Davis in his place.
31. Rev. Luman Foote, Aug. 31, 1840, Detroit.—Openings in Michigan at Kalamazoo, Marshall and Homēr.
32. Geo. A. Robinson, Grand Rapids, Sept. 12, 1840, Detroit.—Describes salometer and tells how to make one.
33. T. H. Lyon, Sept. 13, 1840, Detroit.—Jacob M. Howard nominated for congress by Detroit Whigs.
34. Geo. A. Robinson, Sept. 18, 1840, Detroit.—Urging that salt well operations be pushed; an improvised salometer.
35. Geo. Templeman, Sept. 20, 1840, Detroit.—Lafayette portrait.
36. President Van Buren, Oct. 6, 1840, Detroit.—Vice President Johnson's tour through Michigan; political prospects.
37. J. N. Higbee, Iowa, Oct. 11, 1840, Detroit.—Advice to take good care of his money.

38. Sydney Smith, Oct. 12, 1840, Detroit.—Political prospects.
40. T. H. Lyon, Nov. 8, 1840, Grand Rapids.—The State has undoubtedly gone Whig.
41. Geo. A. Robinson, Oct. 13, 1840, Detroit.—Salt well instructions.
42. To same, Dec. 11, 1840, Detroit.—Contract for state salt well; Ira T. Farrand will get Midland county well.
43. To same, Dec. 14, 1840, Detroit.—State well contracts.
44. S. M. McKnight, Jan. 6, 1841, New York.—President Harrison's cabinet gossip; removals from office.
45. Dr. Douglass Houghton, Jan. 9, 1841, New York.—Progress on the salt well; wells and methods in New York.
46. Geo. A. Robinson, Jan. 30, 1841, New York.—Electro magnetism to take out drills lost in a well.
47. Sydney Smith, Feb. 1, 1841, New York.—Enclosing seeds of an alleged wonderful cabbage.
48. Geo. A. Robinson, March 17, 1841, Detroit.—Regrets delay in sinking well; contract executed for state well; St. Patrick's day celebration.
49. Mrs. Mary W. Thompson, N. Y., April 2, 1841, Detroit.—Military reservation at Ft. Gratiot, Ft. Mackinac and Bois Blanc Island.
50. Col. James L. Gillis, Harrisburg, Pa., April 12, 1841, Detroit.—Charter for building the Soo canal by private corporation; would be profitable enterprise.
51. President Tyler, April 28, 1841, Grand Rapids.—Commends his attitude toward national banks and cites passage in Vittrake's Political Economy.
52. Asa Lyon, Vt., May 12, 1841, Lyons.—Prospects for salt manufacturing; progress of work on well at Grand Rapids.
53. Isaac E. Crary, Jan. 14, 1841, New York.—Real estate values at Grand Rapids.
54. Calvin Britain, July 6, 1841, Detroit.—Judgment has been rendered against us in the Hutchins defalcation.
55. H. L. Ellsworth, Com. of Patents, July 10, 1841, Detroit.—Sending for record assignment of one-half interest in Burt's solar compass.
56. Assignment and contract, Aug. 6, 1841, John Hascall to Lucius Lyon, of all interest in Moore & Hascall harvesting machine patents.
57. Com. of Patents, Aug. 7, 1841, Kalamazoo.—Enclosing above assignment for record; descriptions of its operations; asks to have patent extended.
58. Arthur Bronson, Aug. 15, 1841, Grand Rapids.—Asking him to take a half interest in the patent.
59. Manufacture of salt.—Article written for the Western Farmer.
60. C. H. Taylor, Sept. 8, 1841, Detroit.—Internal improvements will not reach Grand Rapids; policy of commission.
61. T. H. Lyon, Sept. 9, 1841, Detroit.—Buying wood.
62. Ansel Hulbert, Sept. 12, 1841, Detroit.—Going to Syracuse in hope of interesting capitalists in Grand Rapids salt works; buying kettles.
63. Matthew Birchard, Warren, O., Sept. 15, 1841, Detroit.—Asking legal opinion on pre-emption of Mission reserve in Grand Rapids; statement of case.
64. Ansel Hulbert, Sept. 22, 1841, Syracuse, N. Y.—Buying pig iron for kettles; our water too weak to compete with N. Y. salt; cost of making salt in N. Y. and G. R.
65. S. McKnight, Sept. 22, 1841, Syracuse.—Glorious opportunity to come out strong for Tyler's administration and financial policy; gamblers call him a traitor.

66. Theodore Romeyn, Oct. 12, 1841, Detroit.—Urging an amendment to the U. S. court rules in appraisal of lands taken on execution.
67. Contract for purchase of wood at 87½ cents per cord.
68. Rev. E. H. Pitcher, Lyons, Oct. 22, 1841, Grand Rapids.—Promising to donate site for church and residence.
69. Douglass Houghton, Nov. 3, 1841, Grand Rapids.—Progress on State salt well.
70. Sydney Smith, Nov. 4, 1841, Grand Rapids.—Gov. Barry is elected.
71. Contract for wood.
72 and 73, ditto.
74. Miss Lucretia Lyon, Dec. 8, 1841, Grand Rapids.—Marriage of Geo. A. Robinson and Miss Julia A. Withey.
75. Memoranda of salt well for Judge Carroll, Dec. 15, 1841, when started, progress, cost and prospects.
76. Douglass Houghton, Dec. 22, 1841, Grand Rapids.—Salt well progress.
77. Lease of salt well to T. H. Lyon for two years.
78. Wm. Woodbridge, Jan. 6, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Asking for his assistance in straightening out matters with government.

SECTION VI.

1. Douglass Houghton, Jan. 12, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Salt works.
2. Contract to convey to First Reformed Church, Grand Rapids, site for church Feb. 3, 1842.
3. H. Stevenson, Washtenaw Co., Feb. 4, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Inexhaustible quarries of plaster here; mill for grinding.
4. Rev. James Ballard, Charlemont, Mass., Feb. 21, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Bright prospects for Grand Rapids and the State; salt making, farming, water power, internal improvements.
5. Memorandum of meeting of the bridge committee in Walker township; advertising for proposals, Feb. 23, 1842.
6. Douglass Houghton, March 7, 1842, Grand Rapids.—State salt well.
7. Volney Chapin, Ann Arbor, March 7, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Ordering white wood tubing for salt well.
8. Alpheus Felch, Aud. Gen., March 10, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Recommending publication of tax lists in Grand Rapids Enquirer.
9. Jacob M. Howard, April 4, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Recommending Henry R. Williams for Ionia land office.
10. Receipt for first barrel of salt sold by Lyon, Grand Rapids.
11. E. McGavock, Virginia, May 29, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Real estate in Lyons has heavily depreciated.
12. Opinion of Judge Burchard on Mission reserve in Grand Rapids.
13. Douglass Houghton, June 6, 1842, Grand Rapids.—State salt well is down 620 feet.
14. Frederick Bronson, June 28, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Awakening prosperity in State; salt can be manufactured at a profit.
15. Douglass Houghton, July 2, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Salt well operations.
16. To same, July 17, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Am greatly disappointed in strength of brine from salt well; possibilities of a graduating house.
18. J. M. Howard, Aug. 2, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Asking for mail route from Battle Creek to Grand Rapids.

19. S. Yorke At Lee, Aug. 5, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Members of the bar here cannot live by their profession alone, but resort to other business.
20. Dan Lyon, Aug. 15, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Depreciation in land values; tide of immigration again strong.
21. James Gordon Bennett, N. Y. Herald, Aug. 20, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Booming Michigan and Grand Rapids.
22. D. Houghton, Sept. 12, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Salt well progress.
23. S. R. Hobbie, 1st Asst. P. M. Gen., Oct. 18, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Asking for establishment of Caledonia postoffice with Henry C. Foster as postmaster.
24. To same.—Hoping James M. Nelson, postmaster at Grand Rapids, will not be removed.
25. President Tyler, Nov. 26, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Recommending reappointment of Col. A. Edwards for Kalamazoo land office.
26. To State Senate.—Endorsing P. R. L. Pierce, for engrossing and enrolling clerk.
27. President Tyler, Dec. 24, 1842, Grand Rapids.—Endorsing good character of D. V. Bell of Ada.
28. Dan'l Webster, Sec. of State.—Asking for appointment of D. V. Bell as consul in West India islands.
29. D. V. Bell, Jan. 17, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Urging passage of bill making Aud. Gen. warrants receivable in payments for purchase of State lands.
30. S. M. Johnson, Jan. 22, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Letter same purport.
31. E. H. Turner, Feb. 23, 1843, Detroit.—Advising him bill asked for in foregoing letters had been passed.
32. W. A. Sherwood, May 2, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Getting fagots for building brush evaporating house for salt works.
33. George H. Lyon, May 8, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Cost of clearing grubbing and fencing new lands; crops, prices, etc.
34. Sam'l J. Bayard, June 11, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Am urged as candidate for Congress but cannot afford it; would like surveying contract; services as surveyor in past; Illinois northern boundary and other important work.
35. D. Houghton, June 11, 1843, Grand Rapids.—State well down 876 feet.
36. Same, July 30, 1843, Grand Rapids.—State well is hopelessly obstructed.
37. Rev. M. Hoyt, Ionia, Aug. 3, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Site for Episcopal church.
38. O. P. Lacey, Aug. 20, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Would be glad to receive the congressional nomination if clear majority of Democrats prefer him.
39. A. P. Stinson, Aug. 21, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Congressional nomination.
40. W. A. Richmond and H. P. Yale, Sept. 10, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Giving them full authority to represent him at the congressional convention.
41. A. P. Stinson, Sept. —, Grand Rapids.—Gratitude for what Berrien county did for him in congressional convention; friendly course of Gen. Fitzgerald.
42. Gen. J. Burdick, Sept. 25, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Appreciates congressional nomination and wants to be elected.
43. Gen. Fitzgerald, Sept. 26, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Gratified at your friendly feeling; election prospects; first appropriation for St. Joseph harbor; what caused Lyon's financial difficulties.
44. Dr. Alexander H. Stevens, New York, Oct. 8, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Introducing Dr. Charles Shepard.
45. E. F. Johnson and others, New York, ditto.
46. George Dexter, Ionia, Oct. 14, 1843, Grand Rapids.—If elected will be guided by wishes of majority of constituents.

47. John Barton, Flint, Oct. 17, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Glad that Hunt and McClelland will be elected.
48. David C. Skerrett, Philadelphia, Oct. 18, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Prominent Democrats favorable to Van Buren's nomination.
49. O. P. Lacey, Oct. 27, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Position in regard to pre-emption claimants; always favorable to them.
50. A. L. Roof, Ionia, Oct. 28, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Favors improvement of Grand River to Jackson.
51. Allen Goodrich, Centerville, Nov. 14, 1843, Grand Rapids.—My majority is about 2,200; how the counties went.
52. To his father, Nov. 16, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Will leave soon for Washington; salt works in charge of Robinson and Dean; family gossip; what constitutes happiness.
53. Sam'l Etheridge, Coldwater, Nov. 19, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Dan'l Ball and E. D. Bostwick building grist mills.
54. William Lewis, Nov. 21, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Accident prevents shipment of load of salt.
55. A. Roberts & Son, Nov. 23, 1843, Grand Rapids.—Acknowledging gift of a coat.
56. Miss Lucretia Lyon, Dec. 22, 1843, Buffalo.—En route to Washington.
57. H. L. Ellsworth, Com. of Patents, Dec. 31, 1843, Washington.—Crops in Michigan the past season.
58. Howell Cobb, chairman Com. on Mileage, Jan. 9, 1844.—Mileage to Washington from Grand Rapids.
59. T. Carroll, Jan. 11, 1844, Washington.—Sending him grape cuttings brought from Detroit; grapes grow wild in western Michigan.
60. Alfred Bronson, Jan. 19, 1844, Washington.—Indian claims on Isle Royale.
61. P. Marantette, Jan. 19, 1844, Washington.—Relative to his claim for supplies furnished Potawatamie Indians.
62. William Woodbridge, Jan. 20, 1844, Washington.—Estimate of lands Michigan would receive if railroad land grants passed.
63. S. M. Johnson, Jan. 20, 1844, Washington.—National politics; Wise minister to Brazil.
64. J. W. Tyson, 2d Asst. P. M. Gen., Jan. 21, 1844, Washington.—Asking the Kent postoffice to be changed to Grand Rapids.
65. William A. Richmond, Jan. 21, 1844, Washington.—National politics; Van Buren growing.
66. E. H. Lothrop, Jan. 23, 1844, Washington.—Congratulating him upon election as speaker of house in Michigan legislature.
67. Sam'l Yorke At Lee, Jan. 24, 1844, Washington.—Action of Michigan Democrat State convention; glad of harmony; Van Buren, Tyler and Calhoun.
68. J. W. Tyson, Jan. 25, 1844, Washington.—Enclosing petition for establishment of postoffice at Texas, Kalamazoo county.
69. John McLean, Jan. 25, 1844, Washington.—Michigan has declared for Van Buren but would vote for Cass; can learn nothing of sentiment of public men; opposition to Van Buren.
70. Thomas C. Legate, Jan. 26, 1844, Washington.—His boarding place.
71. H. P. Yale, Jan. 26, 1844, Washington.—National politics.
72. Darius B. Cook, Jan. 27, 1844, Washington.—Weller-Shriver encounter and prospects of duel.
73. D. Goodwin, Jan. 28, 1844, Washington.—Plaster cast of Van Buren.
74. Edward Lyon, Feb. 2, 1844, Washington.—Price of board in Washington.

75. E. J. Foote, Feb. 2, 1844, Washington.—Steamboat stopping at Grand Haven; value of lands near Grand Rapids.
76. N. Dunham, Feb. 6, 1844, Washington.—Surprised that my name is mentioned as Senator; doubt its strength; would be gratified to be reinstated in place that he was thrust out of in 1839; good feeling among Democrats.
77. Sam'l Yorke At Lee, Feb. 18, 1844, Washington.—Col. Benton.
78. Sec. of War, Feb. 18, 1844, Washington.—Douseman claim on Bois Blanc island.
79. W. C. Dusenberg, Feb. 19, 1844, Washington.—Giving him names of good collectors in western Michigan.
80. W. S. Sherwood, Feb. 29, 1844, Washington.—Hope you will go to Grand Rapids to reside; national politics; Cass' chances.
81. S. M. Johnson, March 3, 1844, Washington.—Tyler convention at Baltimore; Van Buren prospects; Princeton accident.
82. Hiram Moore, March 3, 1844, Washington.—Patents on harvesting machines to McCormick and others.
83. W. D. Wilson, March 7, 1844, Washington.—Life of Tyler, nobody inclined to borrow, steal or disturb them.

SECTION VII.

1. C. A. Wickliff, P. M. Gen., March 9, 1844, Washington.—Mail route from Battle Creek to Milwaukee via Grand Rapids.
2. J. W. Tyson, 2d P. M. Gen., March 9, 1844, Washington.—Asking for establishment of Walker postoffice, Kent county.
3. Charles E. Stuart, March 12, 1844, Washington.—Policy is to postpone confirmation of Democratic nominations; Mr. Gilbert's case.
4. C. A. Wickliff, March 13, 1844, Washington.—Samuel Prescott as postmaster of Henrietta.
5. Thomas C. Sheldon, March 13, 1844, Washington.—Political prospects.
6. Sidney Smith, Feb. 21, 1844, Washington.—Nelson Robinson appointed postmaster of Ada.
7. George A. Robinson, March 20, 1844, Washington.—Salt operations.
8. A. L. Deming, Homer, Mich., March 23, 1844, Washington.—Landon Andrews has been granted a revolutionary war pension.
9. H. L. Ellsworth, Com. of Patents, March 28, 1844, Washington.—Enclosing letter from John Norvell asking for seeds.
10. Gen. Thomas Fitzgerald, March 29, 1844, Washington.—Have not decided whether will be a candidate for re-election or not; public improvements in western Michigan; political situation and necessity for harmony.
11. N. Dunham, March 30, 1844, Washington.—Do not wish to be considered expectant either of governor or senator, for which offices my name has been suggested.
12. Gen. J. Burdick, March 31, 1844, Washington.—Political.
13. E. B. Bostwick, April 4, 1844, Washington.—Cannonsburg postoffice.
14. Lewis Cass, April 6, 1844, Washington.—We have long entertained the opinion that you would be the strongest candidate that could be brought before the people.
15. Bishop LaFever, April 13, 1844, Washington.—Missionary claims at Grand Rapids.

16. Lewis Cass, April 12, 1844, Washington.—Blows aimed at Webster.
17. A. L. Ely, April 13, 1844, Washington.—Postal route Grand Rapids to Paw Paw; harbor improvements in western Michigan.
18. Isaac E. Crary, April 15, 1844, Washington.—Invalid certificate of protest releasing endorsers; Calhoun endorses your tariff views; have little expectation of receiving appointment as surveyor general.
19. Gov. J. D. Doty, Wisconsin, April 22, 1844, Washington.—Com. of Gen. Land Office declined to notice charges against Mr. Horner.
20. S. M. Johnson, April 22, 1844, Washington.—I am determined to let things take their course in regard to second term.
21. George A. Robinson, April 23, 1844, Washington.—Bridge across Grand river.
22. Auditor of Treasury, April 27, 1844, Washington.—Urging claim of Alanson L. Stewart for transporting mails, 1829 to 1832.
23. W. A. Richmond, April 27, 1844, Washington.—Views in regard to renomination; annexation of Texas and salt lands.
24. To same, April 28, 1844.—Annexation of Texas; the coming national convention.
25. G. S. Dean, April 28, 1844, Washington.—Bridge at Grand Rapids; salt works.
26. Gen. Lewis Cass, April 29, 1844, Washington.—National politics; Van Buren will be beaten; strong preference for you.
27. Thomas B. Church, April 29, 1844, Washington.—Mail contract Battle Creek to Grand Rapids transferred to Canton Smith and John Stewart.
28. Memorandum of a preliminary Texas meeting April 30, 1844.
29. Gen. Cass, May 2, 1844, Washington.—Nothing can save our party from defeat but your nomination; suggestions for a public letter giving views on Texas and other issues.
30. Gen. Cass, May 2, 1844—Dr. Hammet of Mississippi is author of above suggestions.
31. William Hale, May 2, 1844, Washington.—National politics.
32. Gen. Cass, May 3, 1844, Washington.—Texas question will be the overpowering issue in the campaign.
33. Nathaniel Emery, May 8, 1844, Washington.—Permission to carry mail from Grand Rapids to Grand Haven by steamboat.
34. H. N. Walker, May 11, 1844, Washington.—Cass's prospects improving daily.
35. Gen. Cass, May 19, 1844.—The political situation.
36. To same, May 31, 1844.—The national convention and how Polk's nomination was brought about.
37. To the president, June 3, 1844, Washington.—Recommending Mitchell Hinsdill as receiver of the land office at Kalamazoo.
38. To same, June 3.—Recommending Frederick Hall for receiver of the Ionia land office.
39. Frederick Hall and Mitchell Hinsdill.—Advising them of their appointments.
40. Charles Butler, June 5, 1844, Washington.—Land grant in Michigan.
41. James K. Polk, June 7, 1844, Washington.—Congratulating him on presidential nomination; Michigan vote will be for him.
42. To the President, June 13, 1844, Washington.—Frederick Hall, having been rejected for political reasons, recommends David Irish for Ionia land office.

43. Frederick Hall.—Advising him of his rejection by the senate for political reasons.
44. M. C. Young, June 17, 1844, Washington.—Recommending Dr. Houghton to make geological survey in upper peninsula.
45. To the President, June 17, 1844, Washington.—Urging that office of surveyor general be removed to Detroit.
46. Allen Goodrich, June 19, 1844, Washington.—Have not decided to be candidate for re-election; mortified at failure of Michigan bills in senate.
47. J. W. Tyson, June 19, 1844, Washington.—Recommending change of postoffice name from Freedom to Fawn River.
48. J. A. Holbrook and others, June 19, 1844, Washington.—Will endorse appointment of Henry A. Goodyear as postmaster at Hastings.
49. Thomas H. Blake, Com. Gen. Land Office, June 19, 1844, Washington.—Enclosing Michael Dousman's claim for patent on Bois Blanc island.
50. J. K. Polk, June 20, 1844, Washington.—Enclosing Detroit papers showing political spirit in Michigan.
51. J. W. Tyson, June 20, 1844.—Postoffice at Nortonville.
52. T. Hartley Crawford, Com. of Indian Affairs, June 21, 1844, Washington.—Recommending Mumford Eldred as assistant farmer for Ottawa and Griswold Indians.
53. To same.—Asking for appointment of Indian agent at Grand Rapids.
54. Henry A. Goodyear, June 24, 1844, Washington.—Advising him of his appointment as postmaster of Hastings.
55. R. S. Wilson, June 25, 1844, Washington.—This is deserted place now; President's marriage to Miss Gardner.
56. John C. Calhoun, Sec. State, July 13, 1844, Detroit.—Protesting against removal of Edward Brooks as collector of customs at Detroit.
57. Gen. John T. Mason, July 11, 1844, Detroit.—Appointment of Levi S. Humphrey as marshal satisfactory.
58. F. Shurtz, July 12, 1844, Detroit.—So many candidates for U. S. S. I am not disposed to make any effort for it; Barry and Ransom in the field.
59. Wm. A. Burt, July 14, 1844, Detroit.—Congratulating him on securing appropriation for geological survey of U. P.
60. Thos. Fitzgerald, July 25, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Advising him he was confirmed as register of Ionia land office and commission forwarded to Ionia; it is a pleasant place.
61. Lovett Eames, July 26, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Machine for boring wooden tubes for salt works.
62. A. P. Stinson, July 28, 1844, Grand Rapids.—I feel under obligations to all my competitors in nomination last year and have thought ought not to ask for renomination.
63. H. H. Comstock, Aug. 4, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Will do nothing myself to secure renomination to congress.
64. Timothy Page, Aug. 6, 1844, Grand Rapids.—I would like to see the Union extended to include the whole of North America; the tariff system condemned.
65. Sands McCamly, Aug. 6, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Acknowledging election as honorary member Battle Creek Hickory Club.
66. H. H. Comstock, Aug. 12, 1844, Grand Rapids.—I shall make no effort for re-election.

67. A. P. Stinson, Aug. 13, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Illinois election news is most encouraging; tri-weekly mail brings news too slowly.
68. Lovett Eames, Aug. 13, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Salt manufacturing.
69. W. A. Richardson, Aug. 13, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Gen. Fitzgerald found $17,060 of coin in the vault of the land office at Ionia, said to have been left there for Richmond.
70. S. Y. At Lee, Aug. 15, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Glad to hear of Hunt's renomination; do not expect a renomination myself.
71. Thos. T. Whittlesey, Danbury, Conn., Aug. 18, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Directions for traveling from Detroit to Milwaukee via Battle Creek, Grand Rapids and Grand Haven, with distances.
71½. M. P. Crowell, Aug. 18, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Acknowledging receipt of petition for appointment of P. C. Lawrence as postmaster at Leoni.
72. Lovett Eames, Aug. 23, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Ordering tubing for well.
73. James B. Hunt, Aug. 23, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Congratulates him on renomination; am not a candidate for another term.
74. H. H. Comstock, Aug. 25, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Have instructed delegates from Kent and Ottawa not to present my name for another term unless convention unable to agree upon any other candidate.
75. J. N. Chipman and others, Aug. 31, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Regret that cannot attend Democratic mass meeting at Niles.
77. Dr. Houghton, Sept. 5, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Season has been too damp for making salt with brush house.
78. Gen. Thomas Fitzgerald, Sept. 6, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Do not regret that I did not receive the nomination but do regret that my name was mentioned at all; explains it.
79. Moses P. Crowell, Sept. 7, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Leoni postoffice; suggests that Democrats vote for candidate and the man getting the greatest vote will be appointed.
80. Charles A. Wickliffe, Sept. 7, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Enclosing petition and recommendation for removal of Postmaster March of Kalamazoo and appointment of Alexis Ransom.
81. T. Paige, Sept. 14, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Polk will surely be elected.
82. President of U. S., Sept. 23, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Urges removal of Postmaster March, Kalamazoo, for pernicious political activity.
83. Contract with Elisha G. Hale for salt barrels.
84. H. L. Ellsworth, Com. of Patents, Oct. 14, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Crops.
85. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Oct. 23, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Verdict has been rendered against Newberry and myself as sureties for you for $9,965.23.
86. Henry N. Walker, Nov. 10, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Detroit has done nobly for the Democracy.
87. James K. Polk, Nov. 17, 1844, Grand Rapids.—Introducing A. P. Stinson.
88. Charles H. Stewart, Dec. 3, 1844, Washington.—Rule forbidding slavery petitions has been repealed.
89. Gen. Cass, Dec. 5, 1844, Washington.—Cabinet gossip.
90. Gen. H. H. Comstock, Dec. 5, 1844, Washington.—I have not thought of being a candidate for senate; have all along desired Gen. Cass's election; if he declines then I may be a candidate.
91. C. A. Wickliffe, Dec. 9, 1844, Washington.—Sam'l D. Smith for Ionia postoffice.
91.—To same, Dec. 10, 1844.—Gidley Station postoffice, Jackson county.

92. H. N. Walker, Dec. 16, 1844, Washington.—Cass's best friends here are opposed to him going into the cabinet; hope he will be elected unanimously to senate.
93. E. Bradley, Dec. 17, 1844, Washington.—Cabinet gossip.
94. Adam L. Roof, Dec. 20, 1844, Washington.—Postmaster Johnson, Ionia, will not be removed; Cass for senator.
95. Timothy Eastman, Dec. 23, 1844, Washington.—Grand Rapids-Grand Haven mail carrying contract.
96. John McDonell, Dec. 23, 1844, Washington.—I hope if Cass will accept senatorship he will be elected unanimously; have not authorized the use of my name, but if Cass declines would be candidate.
97. P. H. Brown, Dec. 24, 1844, Washington.—Cass's services in campaign.
98. S. M. Johnson, Dec. 25, 1844, Washington.—Am not a candidate for foreign appointment; cabinet gossip.
99. Petition to Michigan legislature asking permission to build dam across Grand river.
100. W. A. Richmond, Jan. 2, 1845, Washington.—Many of his friends think Cass ought not to go into senate but his inclinations are to accept; if he declines, however, you may do what you can to procure my election.
101. Gen. Cass, Jan. 6, 1845, Washington.—I consider the senate a better place for you than the state department and am glad you have decided to accept.
102. E. Bradley, Jan. 12, 1845, Washington.—Cass has decided to accept senatorial election and for many reasons I am glad.
103. Levi S. Humphrey, Jan. 15, 1845, Washington.—Advising him his nomination for marshal has been confirmed.
104. W. A. Richmond, Jan. 15, 1845, Washington.—Am surprised at your suggestion that I can be elected to senate in opposition of Cass; I trust to your friendship and judgment to keep me in a position where my honor and good faith shall not be questioned or questionable.
105. W. A. Richmond, Jan. 29, 1845, Washington.—Am glad to learn that my name is not to be brought into Senatorial contest; sorry that Cass has any opposition; ought to be elected unanimously.
106. D. Goodwin, Feb. 13, 1845, Washington.—Polk arrived this morning.
107. W. A. Richmond, Feb. 16, 1845.—No Presidential candidate for four years hence is liable to have a place in the cabinet.
108. George W. Dexter, Feb. 16, 1845, Washington.—Have turned appointments in Ionia Co. over to my successor, Gen. Chipman; Polk's administration not liable to be proscriptive.
109. Jeff G. Thurber, Feb. 23, 1845, Washington.—Cass arrived on 21st; cabinet gossip.
110. W. A. Richmond, March 7, 1845, Washington.—Contest for Indian Affairs appointment; Farnsworth recommended; have been informed appointment as Surveyor General will be given me; Bradley for District Attorney.
111. Cave Johnson, P. M. Gen.—Asking for appointment of Truman H. Lyon as postmaster of Grand Rapids.
112. Mitchell Hinsdill.—Persons now in office appointed for a particular term will be allowed to serve that term regardless of political opinions.
113. Maj. A. P. Stinson, March 17, 1845, Washington.—President is determined to check the excessive and indecent eagerness of office hunters.
114. Sheldon McKnight, March 18, 1845, Washington.—Gen. Cass has set himself to create special office of Supt. of U. S. Mines for your benefit.

115. To the President—Recommending W. A. Richmond for Supt. of Indian Affairs.
116. Gen. Cass, March 31, 1845, Washington.—Senator Norvell has secured promise for district attorneyship for himself.
117. To the President, March 25, 1845, Washington.—Enclosing petition and endorsement for appointment of Edward Bradley as District Attorney in Michigan.
118. S. M. Johnson, April 2, 1845, Washington.—President was cross and complaining of the importunity of office seekers when we called upon him in your behalf.
119. Wm. Medill, 2d Ass. P. M. Gen., April 3, 1845, Washington.—Recommending several postoffice appointments.
120. John S. Barry, April 7, 1845, Washington.—Recommending John Almy as emigrant agent in New York.
121. Wm. Medill, April 8, 1845, Washington.—Recommending establishment of Fort Wilkins postoffice in upper peninsula.
122. John Mullett, April 8, 1845, Washington.—If I am appointed Surveyor General will employ no deputy who is not a geologist and able to take accurate observations.
123. Wm. A. Richmond, April 14, 1845, Washington.—Congratulating him on his appointment as Indian Agent and telling how it was brought about.
124. Dr. Houghton, April 15, 1845, Washington.—Explaining recent appointments in Michigan; Cass went home leaving things unsettled.
125. E. McGavock, April 18, 1845, Washington.—Depreciation in Michigan real estate.
126. James Buchanan, Sec. of State.—Urging consular appointments from Michigan; this State has never had its share of public honors.
127. Gen. Cass, April 22, 1845, Washington.—President determined to appoint Norvell; prospects for other Michigan men.
128. W. A. Richmond, May 1, 1845, Washington.—Investigation of your books show them all right; Bradley's efforts to injure you are recoiling upon his own head.
129. John S. Chipman, May 3, 1845, Washington.—Additional treaties with Michigan Indians; better send an agent.
130. George W. Thayer, May 7, 1845, New York.—Will be here a week and then go to Detroit; hope you will be ready when I arrive.
131. Gen. Cass, June 3, 1845, Grand Rapids.—S. M. Johnson has heard of his appointment and is happy.
132. S. Barton, Solicitor of Treasury, June 7, 1845, Grand Rapids.—Recommending suitable agents to take charge of property acquired by government under judgments.
133. James Scribner, June 2, 1845, Grand Rapids.—Permission to take stone from rapids for construction of bridge.
134. Capt. John McNeil, June 2, 1845, Grand Rapids.—Received my commission as Surveyor General last night; fine prospects for crops; success in securing appointments for western Michigan men.
135. John Almy, July 13, 1845, Detroit.—Appointments in Surveyor General's office.
136. Hiram Burnham.—Entered upon his duties on the 11th; preparing to go to the Lake Superior region.
137. Gen. C. C. Hascall, July 10, 1845, Detroit.—Mining properties in Canada; possibilities of getting a lease.

138. Seth Barton, Solicitor of Treasury, July 12, 1845, Detroit.—Suggesting that a district attorney act in the disposal of public lands taken on judgment instead of having agents in different parts of State.
139. E. D. Burr, July 25, 1845, Detroit.—Copper mining excitement increasing; Wing and Kingsley candidates for Governor.
140. Thos. S. At Lee, Detroit.—Surveyor General's office appointments.
141. S. M. Johnson, Aug. 11, 1845.—On steamer Illinois en route to Lake Superior to make arrangements for surveys and to open silver mine; Dr. Houghton's work.
142. W. A. Richmond, Aug. 17, 1845, Sault Ste. Marie.—Mining plans and prospects; clairvoyants in the party.
143. S. M. Johnson, Oct. 17, 1845, Detroit.—Mining prospects.
144. Cave Johnson, P. M. Gen.—Urging that Detroit be made distributing point for mail all the year around.
145. Col. Joseph P. Taylor, Oct. 22, Detroit.—Offering $1.75 per cord for hickory wood.
146. Gov. Mocton, Louisiana, Oct. 31, 1845, Detroit.—Introducing Hiram Moore, inventor of harvesting machine, who goes south for his health.

LETTERS.

SECTION I.

On the fly leaf:—"Date Book, 1820."

On the next page:—Note: This book contains the dates and subjects of divers letters sent and received by me from various persons.

April, A. D., 1820. LUCIUS LYON.

(1.) First entries:

May 1, 1820. Sent a letter to Dr. Wm. Atwater requesting his advice concerning my future employment.

June 20. He wrote an answer to the above wherein he rather declines giving advice upon that subject.

Various other letters sent and received are noted, covering the period to November, 1822, and then is copied a letter in full, as follows:—

Detroit, Nov. 10, 1822.

GARRAD BURRITT, ESQ., *Shelburn, Vt.:*

DEAR SIR—I am indebted to John I. Deming, Esq., clerk of the United States Circuit and District courts for the opportunity of sending this letter. * * * The value of this section of the United States has not been correctly estimated until lately. Michigan has been considered the waste land of the United States; whereas in exploring the country it was found to possess an excellent soil and to be well adapted to the purposes of agriculture. Its situation for commerce is unrivalled as respects facilities of water communication with every part, for in addition to four lakes, viz., Michigan, Huron, St. Clair and Erie, which lie upon its border, it has several rivers which are navigable a considerable distance, thereby furnishing a safe and easy conveyance for the produce of the interior to any market the owner may choose. These advantages have not escaped the notice of enterprising emigrants. The influx of population last year was double the preceding year. This

year double last and next year will probably bring five times as many. The fisheries are a source of profitable employment at this season of the year, as I am creditably informed one seine has taken already this fall 1,600 barrels in Lake Superior. The season for catching whitefish has just commenced here and it is surprising to see the number that are caught. The shores of the river are lined with fishermen and their nets. One fishery night before last took sixteen thousand. The whitefish are very delicious and are preferred to every other kind. Those caught here weigh about two pounds. They are ascending the river and those caught about Mackinaw and Ste. de Marie are much larger. Those caught here are sold for one cent a piece.

The Territory of Michigan in its full extent comprehends all the territory of the United States north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi river and is governed by a Governor and three judges appointed by the President and Senate during good behavior, which the people say is the same as during life, for they can never get them out, notwithstanding they are trying pretty hard for it and are going to petition Congress for the privilege of choosing a legislature consisting of nine members from the several counties to govern the Territory in lieu of the present form.

But a small part of the Territory is yet surveyed and I have not been able to obtain a job from the United States yet, but have a fair prospect of obtaining a district of ten townships to survey on the opening of spring, which at three dollars per mile will amount to 1,800 dollars, out of which I can save something pretty handsome.

With much respect,

Your humble servant,

LUCIUS LYON.

The following letter was also copied in full:—

Detroit, Nov. 11, 1822.

MESSRS. MILLS—Although I reside at Detroit, I still take an interest in events in my native state and should be glad to have you send your paper in exchange for the Detroit Gazette, published by Sheldon & Reed, which is the only paper published in the Territory and is read with considerable interest. I have sent the last paper that you may judge of its value. Should this proposition meet your feelings, you will please to send it soon, as I should like to know who our legislature are, what they are doing, etc., etc. This section of the United States has been much undervalued. Michigan has been considered but little better than the waste land of the United States, but when the country was explored and surveyed, though but a small part of it is surveyed, it was found to possess as good a soil and greater advantages than the famed Ohio. These have attracted the attention of emigrants from the states and this territory is now fast settling by an industrious, enterprising and intelligent people. The county of Oakland which now contains about 1,500 active and industrious citizens, four years ago was destitute of an inhabitant. The number of emigrants are increasing so that ere long Michigan will claim admission into the union on an equal footing with the other states.

With much respect,

Your obedient, humble servant,

LUCIUS LYON.

The last entry in the book is as follows:—

August 20, 1823. Wrote to Ira Lyon, principally advising him of my situation in business and requesting an answer.

Detroit, Sunday Evening, August 21.

(No date given, probably 1825.)

(2.) My Dear Sister—It is now by my "patent lever silver watch" about twenty minutes before ten o'clock p. m., or to write the words in full, "past meridian." Where you are, I suppose it is about eleven. But the distance between us which occasions this difference in time is no reason that I should not have a little "chit chat" with you before I go to bed. If I supposed the candle extinguished, so that I cannot see you nor you see me, then the difference between our conversing "tete-a-tete" and conversing as we are is only this, that you will not hear what I say until about ten days and I shall not hear what you say short of twenty days. The last conversation we had was some time in May. Then the blades of corn were small; now they wave their gallant heads in rich luxuriance above the silken ears and the exquisite gusto of green "succotash" tempts the longing taste, while the busy husbandman is scattering the seed for a crop to succeed the golden harvest which he has just gathered.

Soon will toll the knell of summer,
Fleeting as the busy wind,
Autumn is a speedy comer,
Joy or grief to leave behind.

Then since time in all its power,
Will not stop nor stay behind,
Let us seize the present hour,
Mend the heart, improve the mind.

I did intend to have written as many verses as you sent me and so repay you in your own coin, but, disliking to be fettered by numbers, my refractory muse played the truant and left me at the second verse. So here I am, seated at a large and substantial pine table, on one side of which, against a partition, stands a homely book case of the same material, where the greater part of my knowledge is arranged in rows, for I must confess that like many of the would-be sages of the times I have more knowledge in books than in brains.

I have in my room three chairs, a looking glass on the window and a few feet back stands my bed, where I have had many pleasant dreams in the arms of Morpheus, and

In sleep profound full oft I ween,
I've seen what ne'er was to be seen.

The broad expanse of the delightful river lies open before the window in full view. Turning to the left the eye is arrested by the city buildings in that direction, and as I glance along the main street I observe but here and there a solitary taper beaming through the sullen gloom of night. The watch dogs bark. The crickets chirp and creak. It is eleven o'clock, so I bid you good night.

Monday, August 22.

A new steamboat called the Pioneer has just arrived. There are now two steamboats on Lake Erie; next summer there will be five. Fare will be cheap. I wrote to father on the 2d of June, enclosing a $100 United States note, about which I feel considerable anxiety, as I have not heard a word from it, although I requested him to write immediately. It may have been purloined from the mail. Please write and let me know whether it ever arrived. I am affectionately yours,

Lucius.

To Miss Lucretia Lyon.

P. S.—I am going to the woods in a few days to be gone about two months and a half. L.

(3.) Lucretia! ah, could you but know
What days of pain, what nights of woe,
I've spent since last I wrote,
Your sympathetic heart, so soft
When wracking pains were felt so oft,
Would not be far remote.

Oft when in life's all-varying scene
Some adverse luck my lot has been,
I've thought life little worth,
But never was I brought to think
Myself so near upon its brink
Before, since day of birth.

The very day upon which I wrote,
As if for punishment for breaking
The Sabbath, which we ought to note,
With fever I again was taken
And five long weeks of writhing, turning,
Still saw me parching, starving, burning.

Whilst two of Esculapius' sons,
Whiting and Clark, as sleek as nuns,
Were dosing me full well
With many different draughts and stuff.
Soda and ipicac enough,
Tartar and calomel.

At length, reduced in every way,
Which doctors find to soften clay,
And make it better mold,
So weak, so low, so lean, so light,
Like generous enemy in fight,
The fever quit its hold,
Or like Vesuvius, snow-capped mount,
Of belching fire, the liquid fount,
A punishment for ill.*

Whose bowels filled with sulphurous store
Ignite and boil and spout and roar,
Burn out and then are still.**

Thus 'twas with me, worn down and lame,
There was no fuel for the flame
Which of itself went out,
Since which, by shunning common ills,
And drinking wine and taking pills,
(Pills of the sulphate of quinine.)
I now can walk about.

* See Winchester "on the prophesies," who supposes the interior of the earth will be made a place for the punishment of the wicked after death, in brimstone and fire, from which he supposes the volcano to come.

** I have been told by a gentlemen who has often had an opportunity of knowing, that after a volcano has had a blow out, as he terms it, it would frequently be silent for a considerable time.

Returning strength comes slowly back,
And many a check it doth not lack;
It is no easy trick
A craving appetite to quell,
And every now and then a spell
I eat myself down sick.

The ripening peach, the juicy pear,
The sweet blue plum and apple fair,
All tempt my longing taste;
But of all these I've tried the power
And paid in sickness many an hour,
Dear price for being in haste.

But a truce to my story, whilst health is so near,
I can eat it in bread, I can drink it in beer,
And when from the lakes of pure air there's a puff,
I will health and good humor and strength from it snuff;
And now, my dear sister, as I promised to write,
Concerning your studies, I will do it tonight.

My advice is but short, few words will contain it,
Still fewer be used to expound or explain it.
Stick close to your English, make perfect in that,
Then French and Italian, if chances are pat;
There's music and drawing should ne'er be neglected,
And fancy and needlework never rejected.

As for old Greek and Latin, they cost so much time,
To obtain a good knowledge in prose and in rhyme,
That one hardly gets paid for the trouble one's taken,
The pleasure he's lost and the studies forsaken,
But stop! What's here? The mail's just brought a letter,
Of September twelfth; Shelburn postmarked! What's better?

Let's open and see who its from? Whose inditing?
Why! its the same loving sister's to whom I am now writing!
So here ends my story. We will just make a swap,
I'll keep your kind letter and send you this scrap,
Though its doggerel, for wisdom can't vie with Confucius,
It may serve to remember the friendship of

LUCIUS.

Dctroit, 25th of September, 1826.

Detroit, Sept. 4, 1825.

(4.) DEAR FATHER—I have just concluded a bargain with the Hon. Augustus B. Woodward, judge of the Supreme court of Florida, and formerly chief justice of the Supreme court of this territory, for two tracts of land containing about 700 acres, lying on the River Huron of Lake Erie, thirty miles west of this place, for which land I paid $2,300. About three years ago Judge Woodward laid out a village on this ground, believing at some future time it would be a place of some importance. There was not then an inhabitant in that part of the country, now the population is considerably dense along the river above and below this place and is every day

increasing. At a tavern three-fourths of a mile distant they frequently have from ten to twenty lodgers in a night, although the accommodations are of the poorest kind. The advantages of this situation are, in my estimation, greater than those of any other place within 100 miles of Detroit. It is on a navigable river about 22 miles from its mouth, in the midst of a fine country. A leading road, one of the greatest in the territory, which has just been laid out and which will probably be finished in two or three years, passes through it. It is the best site for a mill in that part of the country. If you can sell your property for what it is worth, I think you would do well to move here next spring. You can place yourself in a situation where you would have very little to do, more than overseeing business, and would, I think, be more pleasantly situated than where you are. The distance is no objection to moving. The Erie canal is to be finished this month and you can come by water all the way. Sell off everything except bedding and what you can put into trunks, and go on board the steamboat at Burlington and you will soon be here, all hands. Please consider the proposition and let me know what you think of it. If you can raise out of your property $3,000 cash beside paying debts, I am sure you would do well to remove. Your farm and improvements are worth $2,500; cattle, horses and farming tools $1,000 more, and furniture $300 more. I send you a plat of the village that you may see how you like it. It was named by Judge Woodward in honor of Prince Ypsilanti, who was so zealous in the Grecian cause three or four years ago. The name is pronounced as if written Ipsilanti.

Your affectionate son,

LUCIUS.

Mr. Asa Lyon, 2d, Shelburn, Vt.

Detroit, 4th July, 1828.

(5.) MY DEAR SISTER—Your letter of the 18th of May I received a few days ago on my return to this place, with mingled pleasure and pain—with pleasure as it affords convincing proof of your improvement in composing and writing and brings with it the assurance that I am still remembered with affection by at least some few friends; with pain as it informs me that several of our relatives have passed the bourne to that unknown country from which no traveler has yet returned, and left us to mourn their loss. For, although it is certain that we must soon follow them, I confess that I am not yet philosopher enough to be consoled for the loss of friends for whom I have a strong attachment by the stoical reflection that "births and deaths are the order of nature."

* * * * * * * * * * *

I am to start this morning in a vessel for Green Bay. From that place I shall go up the Fox river and down the Ouisconsin to Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi river where I am ordered by the government to survey some few private land claims. From the prairie I contemplate going down the Mississippi River, stopping at the lead mines of Fever River and at St. Louis, and up the Ohio to Cincinnati and thence home through the State of Ohio. I hope to arrive here again by the first of October and shall then, if my health will permit, go immediately out into the western part of the peninsula of Michigan, near Lake Michigan, on a three months' tour of surveying.

Gov. Cass and suite, Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, author of several valuable works, with whom I board, and several members of the Legislative Council of the territory, are passengers in the same vessel with myself. The vessel starts at 9 o'clock a. m., and the passengers are now going on board. * * * *

I have myself turned author so far as to write several short pieces for some of the periodicals. One piece on the subject of Land Surveying, Instruments, etc., will be published about this time in the American Journal of Science, published in New Haven, Conn., and edited by Prof. Silliman.

L. LYON.

Detroit, Oct. 31st, 1828.

(6.) DEAR SISTER—I have just returned to this place. * * * Marriages nowadays are generally the result of cold-hearted calculation rather than fervent feelings and those who plan best win most. Blind chance in such affairs has less to do than it had in the days of chivalry. I have the pleasure to inform you that my health is considerably improved since I wrote you; this I think is attributable to the air and water of the Mississippi. I have travelled, as you will perceive by tracing my route on the map, about 2,400 miles, via Michillimackinac, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati and Chillicothe. At Prairie du Chien, where I had business, I accidentally met our old friend Hiram Rich, who lives at Cassville, thirty miles below, in the mining district, on the east bank of the Mississippi, where he is engaged in mercantile business and doing well. He is not yet married but report says he will be next winter to a young lady in Missouri. I spent a week with him. Mr. Charles Peck also resides at the mine on Fever River. I saw him at St. Louis where also I formed some valuable acquaintances, amongst whom is Gen. Wm. Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs, and formerly Governor of Missouri, the same who, with Lewis and Clark, crossed the continent to the mouth of the Columbia in 1805, 6 and 7.

Ever yours,
L. LYON.

Columbus, Ohio, 4th Feb., 1830.

(7.) MY DEAR SISTER— * * * I left Detroit more than three weeks ago and have spent a fortnight here in a very pleasant and polished society—as much so perhaps as any west of the mountains. Judge Parrish, who is at the head of the bar in this State, invited me to his house, which, by his uncommon liberality, is the seat of hospitality and good cheer. Here we see many of the magnates of the land—Governors and Generals dine with us every day. Our family is composed of about half-a-dozen of elegant ladies and as many gentlemen of distinction and I have received the most polite attentions. Last evening there was a party given me by a friend of mine of the first respectability which was numerously attended. I leave here tomorrow morning for Cincinnati from which place I shall write.

Adieu,
LUCIUS.

Miss Lucretia Lyon, Shelburn, Vt.

Charleston, Kenhawa Co., Virginia, April 14, 1830.

(8.) DEAR SISTER— * * * Cincinnati has been very gay for the last two months, balls, parties and somewhere almost every night. The principal cause of the unusual sociability in the city is the presence of the celebrated western belle, Miss Elizabeth Philips of Dayton, Ohio, a very elegant and accomplished young lady whose father is very wealthy. She has been in the city on a visit and all the inhabitants seemed to vie each with the other to see which should show her the

greatest attention. You have no conception of the sensation produced by one of these articles called belles even in the back woods of the "westward" as the good people of New England used to call this terra incognito on this side of the big Alleganies. There are three or four belles in Cincinnati, of different degrees, but Miss P. is the chief. She has turned the heads and broken the hearts of nine-tenths of the beaux of the city and country, always excepting the present company, and yet her heart remains unscathed. * * * You ask, when will I marry? Don't know. Have been married to as many as a dozen different ladies in different places without ever having shown them anything more than common civility; but these marriages were all solemnized by that heretical minister whose name is "Common Report" and of course they are not binding. Must get the money to support the love before marrying; for the old story has it, "When poverty came in at the door love flew out at the window."

I stayed in Cincinnati much longer than I had intended on account of some little delay in settling some of my accounts. I am now on my way to Washington City and shall probably from there make an excursion to North Carolina and thence back by Washington, Baltimore, New York, etc., to Detroit, where I shall be about the 25th of May, and then proceed soon after to the mining country on the Upper Mississippi, to make some surveys for the government, which will take me all summer and fall. Brother Orson is now at Buffalo waiting to go with me to make my surveys. * * *

In haste,
L. LYON.

P. S.—This is the great salt town on the Great Kenhawa. About a million of bushels are manufactured here annually and the people partake in some degree of the spirit of Old Virginia hospitality. I came in last evening in a steamboat and am obliged to wait two days for the stage to go east and although an entire stranger I have an invitation to dine today with a very wealthy man and to take tea and pass the evening at another place. How different from the customs of New England! Yesterday I passed the mouth of the Big Kenhawa, near where Logan, the celebrated Mingo Chief is said to have delivered his speech to the whites, as reported by Mr. Jefferson and published in some of the old school books.

Howard's Hotel, Troy, N. Y., Nov. 24th, 1830.

(9.) DEAR SISTER— * * * My inducement to come here at this time was to take on with me one of the professors of the Rensselaer school to give lectures the coming winter at Detroit in chemistry, experimental philosophy, mineralogy, geology, etc., and thereby to prevent our frisky old bachelors and gay young belles, puny young beaux and prim old maids from suffering so much from ennui as to cut their throats during the long season that by mud and water, frost and snow they are almost cut off from the world.* I find however on a visit to Prof. Eaton this morning that my young professor has gone on before me; of which, by the way, I will not complain, for as he was poor I had been induced when I saw him four or five weeks ago to offer to bear all his expenses out of my own pocket. * * * After leaving New York I went on through Baltimore where I called an hour at Mr. Wirt's while Mr. Johnson of Burlington, who is in my business, and traveled with me, called on Dr. Smith. Mr. Wirt is the late Attorney General of the United States and is one of the greatest as well as one of the most eloquent men in America. Since the present administration came into power, he removed to Baltimore where his practice

* The professor was Douglas Houghton.—STUART.

in his profession is worth to him about $15,000 per annum. He is in his personal appearance, as well as in talent, one of the most splendid men and has one of the most splendid and accomplished families in the United States. * * * Mr. Johnson and myself arrived in Washington on the 4th and next day went to visit Maj. Gen. Macomb and some of the heads of departments. On the 6th Mr. Johnson left Washington for Norfolk in steamboat, to proceed to Edenton on my business and I remained to settle my account with the War Department for surveying an Indian boundary the past summer west of Lake Michigan. I was detained until the 17th and in the meantime had opportunity to visit all my old friends and to form some new ones. My old acquaintances are the family of Samuel Harrison Smith (the father is president of the United States Branch bank at $3,000 per year and the mother a distinguished literary lady, author of "A Winter in Washington" and "What is Gentility," (two vols). There are three daughters. * * * They reside in the city in winter and at a most delightful country place three miles out which they call Sidney in summer. Another family of old acquaintance is Mr. Elgar's, commissioner of the public buildings at $2,000 per annum, and has a very agreeable lady and two very amiable, animated and accomplished daughters. * * * Capt. Thomas Hunt of the subsistence department of the army has three beautiful children and a blooming and beautiful wife. * * * Mr. James Larned, a clerk in the Treasury Department, and a very highly respectable gentleman, has a very superior lady. * * * The stage waits and I can say no more than God bless you.

L. L.

Galena, Ill., Oct. 13, 1832.

(10.) DEAR SISTER— * * * As for myself, I know not when I shall marry. I have no one in view at present, nor have I ever had. The story you mention about Miss Cass and myself is one of the thousand every day circulated by the gossips who have nothing else to talk about and was without foundation. I write frankly and in confidence when I say this. She was a fine girl. I knew her well, but the vision of beauty and loveliness has now passed—the spirit that was too angelic for this world has fled to a better, and if there be in Heaven a place more pure, more holy and more exalted than another, it is there to rest forever. She died in July while I was with her father on his return from Washington to Detroit.

I have been here now about four weeks and shall probably remain until some time near spring. In about a week I am to resume my duties as commissioner to establish the northern boundary of Illinois and hope to complete the business in about two months. I shall then have a survey of several townships of public lands to complete, and then return to Detroit. Orson is now surveying about 25 miles northeast of here and has James Videto, who formerly lived with Judge Hall in Shelburn, to assist him as chain bearer. My health is better now than it has been in three years before. The atmosphere where the cholera rages and people die suddenly and rapidly, as is the case here now, seems to suit me best. Four deaths have occurred today in this little town of less than 1,000 inhabitants, and yet the disease is now known to be perfectly under the control of medical skill if taken in its early stages. A dose or two of calomel, with a little opium at first, would cure 99 out of 100 cases. Strange that people will be so careless when first they feel the symptoms. An acquaintance and friend of mine, one of the richest and most influential men in this part of the State, has been ill for three days, but was visiting and doing business all the time. I was with him four hours ago doing business at his office. He sent for the physician two or three hours later for the

first time and now, while I am writing, I hear he is dead! The doctor says he has had the cholera for three days, but its first stages were so mild and so little painful or troublesome that the patient himself was not at all aware of the danger of his situation.

Affectionately yours,

LUCIUS.

Miss Lucretia Lyon, Shelburn, Vt.

Galena, Ill., May 24, 1833.

(11.) MY DEAR SISTER—Your letter of September 22d, by Mr. Lyman, was mailed at Buffalo on the 17th of December last and was received by me on my return here from establishing the northern boundary of this State, about the middle of January. * * * With the exception of a few weeks during the Indian war last summer I have been in the mining country in the neighborhood and within 150 miles of this place, for the last nineteen months and if my interest and what little property I have lay here I could be content, I think, to settle down here for life, though in doing so I should, according to your estimation, place myself beyond the pale of civilization. Were you to come here, however, you would find yourself under mistake, as persons generally do who come from the old states. The people here, and of the new states generally, are people of the world. Many of them are and have been acquainted with the society of our eastern cities, and by mingling with society and persons from all parts of America and of the world, their views are consequently enlarged, while they lose in a great measure those local feelings and prejudices that characterize persons of narrow minds and a limited education. Such persons look with pity on the "green horn" that comes on from the east, and whose whole knowledge having been gained from books alone, not infrequently seem to think themselves a superior order of beings.

Since I have been here I have been forcibly struck with the particular, marked and respectful attention at all times paid the ladies by the gentlemen of the town and throughout the country. This may arise in part from the great disproportion in numbers between the ladies and gentlemen, but is certainly one of the strongest evidences of a highly refined and intelligent society. It must, however, be admitted that the gentlemen do not more exceed the ladies in point of numbers than they excel them in respect to talent, education, knowledge of the world and all the accomplishments that can lend a charm to society. You will infer from what I have said that it must be one of the finest places in the world to get good husbands, and such is the fact. Connected with this subject, I have a plan in my head which I suggested to one of my mercantile friends, who expects to make by it a pretty handsome speculation. It is an experiment, but next time he goes "down east" he calculates to collect from Connecticut and some of the old states a cargo of young ladies, a whole steamboat load, which he intends to dispose of here at a handsome advance on the original cost and charge of transportation.

But before I get to the bottom of my sheet I must tell you more about myself. I am about completing my business here and shall leave this part of the country to return to Detroit in about three weeks. By some letters and papers received a few days ago from the peninsula, I learn that I have been nominated by a general territorial convention as a candidate for Delegate to Congress. You will see some notice of it in the last "Galenian" which I have forwarded to father. Whether I shall be elected is of course now very doubtful. All things, however, look tolerably fair at this time. The election will take place on the second Monday in July next.

* * *

Affectionately yours,

LUCIUS.

(12.) The convention so modestly alluded to was held at Ann Arbor, February 12, 1833, and among the papers is found a poster, about 24 by 18 inches in size, upon which is printed the official proceedings of that convention. From this poster it appears that the delegates collected in the assembly room at Mr. Thompson's hotel and David C. McKinstry of Wayne county was chosen chairman and J. H. Terry of Monroe and H. L. Stewart of St. Joseph secretaries. The following committees were appointed:

On credentials: Ellis Doty of Wayne, Lyman J. Daniels of Kalamazoo, Isaac E. Crary of Calhoun, J. D. Davis of Wayne, Alanson Fox of Monroe, A. J. Bolton of Jackson, Olmstead Hough of Lenawee, Silas Finch of Washtenaw, H. L. Stewart of St. Joseph.

On resolutions: John P. Sheldon, L. J. Daniels, J. Q. Adams, I. E. Crary and Justus Goodwin.

The convention reassembled at 2 o'clock and the committee on credentials reported the following entitled to seats:

From Wayne county.—John P. Sheldon, N. O. Sargeant, John Wright, Henry Newberry, James Hanmer, D. C. McKinstry, Elliot Gray, Ellis Doty, C. Ten Eyck, J. D. Davis.

From Monroe.—James Q. Adams, J. H. Terry, D. B. Miller, Levi S. Humphrey, Alanson Fox, Medard Couture.

From Lenawee.—John Hutchens, A. J. Comstock, Olmstead Hough, H. N. Baldwin, William Foster, Paley Pettis.

From Washtenaw.—Henry Rumsey, J. Goodwin, Nathan Noble, Richard Brown, John Gilbert, B. J. Woodruff, Orrin How, Silas Finch, Esek Pray, Anthony Case, Rufus Matthews.

From Calhoun.—Isaac E. Crary, Benj. T. Dwinnell, Daniel G. Garnsey.

From St. Joseph.—H. L. Stewart, (five absent).

From Jackson.—J. W. Bennett, Wm. R. Thompson, A. J. Bolton, Ethan Allen, H. Austin.

From Kalamazoo.—John Perrine, A. J. Smith, L. J. Daniels, John Moore.

Total 46.

The report was accepted and adopted, the temporary organization was made permanent and the convention proceeded to business, a resolution being adopted that the nomination be made by ballot without nominating speeches, a majority ruling. The first ballot resulted:

For Lucius Lyon	25 votes.
Darius Comstock	10
John P. Sheldon	9
Austin E. Wing	2

The nomination of Mr. Lyon was made unanimous and the committee on resolutions presented the following:

Resolved, That as we have been honored by the confidence of our fellow citizens in being selected to represent them in this convention, we deem it to be our peculiar duty, vigilantly and industriously, to extend the principles of democratic republicans, and to promote their union and organization in Michigan, agreeable to those usages which have secured the success of the democracy throughout the Union.

Resolved, That the character of our democratic republican fellow citizens, for consistency, demands, and the best interests of Michigan, requires the immediate, general and permanent organization of the democratic party.

Resolved, That we deem it a distinguishing characteristic of the democratic party, that they give or withhold their support to candidates, according to the

views which such candidates may entertain of measures and policy affecting the rights of the people and the general welfare; which support also depends upon the undoubted and admitted political standing, the unwavering integrity, and the capacity of candidates for the public suffrage.

Resolved, That we are at all times ready to extend the hand of political fellowship to those who may have opposed us, whenever they may be convinced of the correctness of our principles, yet we cannot, without departing from democratic consistency, aid in the elevation of any candidate whose claim to our suffrage rests, solely, upon an approval of the Proclamation of our venerated President and the measures adopted by the administration against the effects of the novel and unconstitutional doctrines of nullification.

Resolved, That the odious misrepresentations of the opponents of the democracy of the Union, relative to the general policy and measures of the administration of Andrew Jackson, sufficiently distinguish them as the unappeasable enemies of the principles which triumphed in his election.

Resolved, That we recommend with pleasure and confidence to our fellow citizens, Lucius Lyon as a sound and consistent democratic republican, possessing useful talents in an eminent degree, an integrity never yet questioned, and a minute and accurate knowledge of the Territory and its interests, which cannot fail to render him a valuable and an efficient representative; and we solicit from our fellow citizens throughout the Territory a united and cheerful support for the democratic republican candidate for congress.

The resolutions were read twice and then unanimously adopted.

The following committees of correspondence were elected:

Territorial central correspondence committee.—John P. Sheldon, Andrew Mack, Elliot Gray, D. C. McKinstry, Henry Newberry.

For Kalamazoo county.—J. Moore, John Perrine, J. A. Smith, Caleb Eldred, J. Humphrey.

For Monroe county.—J. H. Terry, James Hale, J. Q. Adams

For St. Joseph county.—J. S. Barry, Wm. H. Welch, H. L. Stewart, J. W. Willard, Hubbel Loomis.

This completed the business of the convention, but before adjournment, a resolution was presented by L. J. Daniels, and the following substitute presented by Isaac E. Crary was adopted:

Resolved, That we recommend to the Legislative Council of this Territory, the passage of an act, providing for a census, to be taken within the limits of the proposed State of Michigan, as a preparatory measure, necessary to secure to the recently settled portion of the Territory an equal representation in the convention that may be called to form a state constitution.

The poster has for a head, in black letters: "Michigan Democratic Republican Convention," and bears the official signatures of the chairman and secretaries. Near the bottom of the page, in black letter, extending clear across the sheet is the name of the candidate nominated.

Bronson, Kalamazoo Co., Michigan Territory, Oct. 19, 1833.

(13.) My Dear Sister— * * * I shall leave Detroit for Washington about the 10th of November, and shall leave here for Detroit in about a week from this time. The place where I now write is the seat of justice for one of the richest and most productive counties in our Territory, and although there are now but two stores and about a dozen dwelling houses, it will in a few years be one of the finest villages in the western part of the peninsula. It is situated on the southwest side

of the Kalamazoo river about 50 miles above its mouth and about 140 miles west from Detroit. I own one-third of the village plat and about 160 acres of land adjoining, which must in a few years be very valuable. I also own the village of Schoolcraft, on Big Prairie Ronde, about twelve miles south of this, in the same county, one of the pleasantest and most beautiful places in any country. It is situated on the east border of an island of about 700 acres of wood land, in the center of a high and fine, rich and beautiful prairie containing about 20,000 acres. You have never seen a prairie and can form no conception of its beauty, so a description is useless. The village I named after my friend, Henry R. Schoolcraft, of Mackinaw, in this Territory, who is well known to the scientific world, both in America and Europe, as a distinguished traveler and writer. It was laid out about two years ago and now contains two stores, a large public house and about a dozen private dwellings. On the prairie around it there are settled about 300 families. They purchased their land about three years ago for a dollar and a quarter an acre and it now sells readily, without improvements, for four dollars per acre. Besides the village plat, I own about 220 acres adjoining it, which would bring $12 per acre (cash) any day. I look upon this country as my future residence, at least for three or four years, and perhaps forever. I have not passed much of my time here, as yet, and perhaps, for two or three years to come I shall be as much in Detroit as in this place. I, nevertheless, call this my home.

Since my return to Detroit last May I have been in different parts of the peninsula arranging and settling up my business and have passed a few weeks in Illinois, all of which has brought me up to the present time. I shall not have an opportunity to spend much more time in the Territory before some time next summer. Orson is engaged in surveying in the north part of Illinois for Col. I. W. Stephenson. * * * Geo. Robinson has gone into the grocery business at Ypsilanti, in the eastern part of the Territory, thirty miles west of Detroit. * * * My own health the past season has been pretty good, though the states of Illinois, Indiana and the western part of the peninsula of Michigan has been far more sickly than usual. * * *

Tell me whether old Mr. Asa Lyon is still living in Shelburn, that I may know how to address father. I don't know exactly why it is, but I always feel a little dislike when I place "2d" after his name. I think it ought to be No. 1. I wish he had been a colonel or a general or a judge or a "squire" that he could have been distinguished in some other way. * * *

Affectionately yours,

LUCIUS.

Miss Lucretia Lyon, Shelburn, Vt.

Bronson, Michigan, Oct. 9, 1835.

(14.) DEAR SISTER— * * * I have engaged largely in farming operations, rather beyond my means, I fear, and besides, I am constructing, or rather paying one-half the expense of constructing, a canal 60 feet wide on the water line, 5 feet deep from the surface of the water to the bottom and about a mile and a quarter in length, around the rapids of Grand river, where I own a part of the land. It is intended to furnish an excellent water power, and also to facilitate the passage of steamboats up and down the river, and will cost about $8,000. I have, besides, engaged to pay $1,000 towards building a steamboat to run on the Grand river next summer, so that, all things counted, my engagements, as well as my business, have been very much extended within a few months. After a year or two, however, I hope to reap my reward and have money in plentitude.

I have harvested a fine crop of about 70 acres of wheat this year, also about 100 acres of oats, besides building a new barn 30x40, in which my wheat, after being threshed out, is now safely garnered, ready for market. It is worth $1.00 a bushel. This is on my farm at Schoolcraft, 14 miles south of this. I expect to build another barn there next spring, 40x60 feet, besides finishing a large house which I have commenced building at this place. * * *

Within a week or two I shall make a journey to Detroit and remain there until after the meeting of the first State Legislature on the first Monday of next month, when two Senators are to be chosen to represent the State of Michigan in the Congress of the United States. From all appearances now my prospect is fair for one of these seats, which is as high as I can ever hope to attain, for there is no higher office in the United States excepting that of President. * * *

Ever yours,
LUCIUS LYON.

To Miss Lucretia Lyon.

Washington, Feb. 26, 1837.

(15.) MY DEAR SISTER—Your letter of the 14th was received yesterday and in reply I have only to say you had best do as you think proper about going west in May. * * * I fear you would not be as comfortable at Lyons as you ought to be till Mr. Taber and Edward get their houses finished. So on the whole perhaps you had best remain and improve yourself as much as possible, but what you most need is an acquaintance with fashionable society and to know how to dress. You may, perhaps, learn something of this in Burlington without making yourself at all observed, or at least, not particularly remarkable. As to information, you have more from books now than nine-tenths of the ladies who shine most conspicuously in fashionable life. * * *

Yours most affectionately,
LUCIUS LYON.

Miss Lucretia Lyon.

Lyons, Mich., July 12, 1837.

(16.) DEAR SISTER— * * * Luman Atwater and his wife are living with Mr. Taber and are to make Lyons their home. Mr. Dean has purchased a farm about three miles from here but is going to build and live in the village directly across the street from Edward Lyon. * * *

I arrived here from Detroit on the 4th inst. and found a great number of persons had been assembled to celebrate the day. They had a procession, oration and dinner, at which about 80 persons sat down at table and in the evening they had a ball which I attended, at the house of Truman H. Lyon, where I found about thirty well dressed, respectable looking young ladies. All things through the day and evening were done in order and good taste. The ladies furnished several beautiful banners for the occasion and graced the dinner table with their presence. Several of the flags were flying at the tops of the houses when I arrived at sunset in the evening.

I shall leave here tomorrow for Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo and get around to Detroit in about two weeks. In about four weeks I shall start for Washington City by the way of the city of New York and shall probably not return again till next May or June. Congress, you know, is called together on the first Monday in September and I must be there.

Affectionately yours,
LUCIUS.

Miss L. Lyon.

Washington, April 8, 1838.

(17.) My Dear Sister— * * * I am unable to keep up with my correspondence here during the session of Congress and have now before me more than a hundred letters unanswered that I have received within the last two months. Some of my answers require to be copied, when they relate to important business transactions, and this almost doubles the work of writing them; but in January last I purchased a copying press which cost about $50, by means of which the labor is greatly lessened. * * * The copy is taken on a sheet of thin tissue paper made about as damp or wet as a newspaper when it comes from the press. When this damp sheet is laid on the page and put in the copying press a moment or two the ink of the writing sticks to it sufficiently to be seen and show through the thin paper, so that it may be read on the other side. The copy may be taken either in a book or on separate sheets which may be bound up in a book afterwards. The copy will, of course, be precisely a fac simile of the original. Any good ink will answer to write a letter intended to be copied, provided it has some loaf sugar dissolved in it so that part of it will remain on the surface instead of sinking into the paper.

* * * To give you some idea of the parties that have been given here in the fashionable world during the present session of Congress, and of the persons who gave them, I enclose herewith between 20 and 30 invitations to parties that I have attended, and I have added to each invitation a short account of the person who gave it. They will afford you amusement for an hour or two and will at the same time give you a better idea of the forms of society here than you can get from any other source. The invitations to large parties are usually sent out at least a week beforehand; to the smaller ones an invitation in pencil on a card sent around on the day of or the day before the party is sufficient. Invitations to dinners always require an immediate answer, and generally all invitations should be answered; but here invitations to evening parties are very often not answered at all, unless the person invited does not attend, in which case a note of excuse or apology is always sent. * * *

Lucius Lyon.

Miss Lucretia Lyon, Burlington, Vt.

(18.) The President.

An elegant social dinner party in a smaller room than before; about fifteen gentleman and ladies sat down at half-past five and rose at half-past eight; took coffee, had some music and separated at half past nine in the evening.

Mr. and Mrs. Polk.

Col. Polk is the speaker of the House of Representatives and a man of talent. His wife is not handsome but her kind manners have made her one of the most popular ladies in Washington. They are from Tennessee.

Mrs. Woodbury.

Mrs. W. is the lady of the Secretary of the Treasury, is rather fashionable and good looking, gives many large parties and has a lively and beautiful daughter about 16 just coming into society, besides several younger ones. The whole family are my particular friends.

Mrs. A. Kendall.

Mrs. K's husband is the present able Postmaster General. I see she has written out my name in full because there is, in the House of Representatives, another Mr. Lyon from the State of Alabama.

The Misses Kendall.

Daughters of the Postmaster General; they are young but not beautiful and have just come out into society; there are two of them.

Mrs. Forsyth.

Lady of the Secretary of State; lives between Washington and Georgetown in a large house; parties there are very magnificent; she has a large family of children.

Mrs. T. L. Smith.

Maj. T. L. Smith is the register of the treasury and a fine looking man of fashion, about 43 years old; his wife is a fashionable lady but not handsome; they have four or five children and their parties are considered the most select and agreeable in Washington; she is one of my best friends.

Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Bradley.

Fashionable and wealthy people; he was formerly Assistant Postmaster General and afterward mayor of Washington.

Alexander Hunter.

Gen. Hunter is marshal of the District of Columbia.

General Van Ness.

Brother of Gov. Van Ness of Vermont; he is a very wealthy man and lives in higher style than any gentleman here; his house is the seat of hospitality; he is president of the Bank of the Metropolis and drives a coach and four horses.

Major and Mrs. James D. Graham.

Highly educated, intelligent, fashionable and agreeable people; she has two or three beautiful little girls about 6 to 10 years old; he belongs to the engineering corps of the army.

Le Ministre de France.

Mons. Pontois, the French Minister, is a large, fine looking, good natured gentleman about 43 years old and unmarried; his dinners and soirees are elegant and delightful.

Miss Forsyth.

A beautiful girl about 17 or 18 years old; her father is secretary of state; they have delightful parties at their house; Miss Clara Forsyth, an elder sister, was married in the early part of the winter to Murray Mason, a midshipman in the navy.

Miss Blair.

She is the most sprightly and popular young lady in Washington and a confidential friend of mine.

Mrs. Blair.

Her husband is editor of the Globe and government printer; has an interesting daughter.

Mrs. Hagner.

Mr. Hagner is the third auditor of the treasury and a very valuable officer; this is the first large party his wife ever gave here though they have lived here 20 years; she has 10 or 11 children and two or three sons and daughters grown; they are all highly respectable.

Mrs. Morris.

Wife of Commodore Morris of the navy and she has a pretty daughter; they live in Georgetown, two and a-half miles from here.

Gen. and Mrs. Tewsen.

Gen. Tewson is Paymaster General of the U. S. army and was distinguished in the last war; his wife was Miss Bingham of Boston, an elegant and fashionable lady; her parties are always crowded and of course agreeable.

Mrs. Dickens.

Her husband is the Secrtary of the Senate; they have three pretty daughters in society and give a great many small but delightful parties, to all of which I am invited, being a particular favorite; the mother is a good soul, she will play on the piano all the evening for the young people to dance and waltz.

Miss Kane.

She is one of the finest girls in the world—that is Miss Sally Kane; her elder sister, too, is an uncommonly fine woman; they are both good friends of mine.

With a very few exceptions the invitations are written, all of them in feminine hand and though more than half a century has passed they are in a perfect state of preservation. The presidential invitation is engraved on a small sheet of fine paper and except the word "President" is in script; in form and wording it is as follows:

The President
Requests the honor of
(Mr. Lyon's)
Company at (dinner Saturday) the (10th Feby) at (5.)
The favor of an Answer is desired.

The words in brackets are blanks in the engraved invitation filled in with writing. The Vice President gave a party at the close of the session and his invitations were in writing as follows:

R. M. Johnson desires to spend a social hour with the Senators before the close of the session, requests the favor of the company of Mr. Lyon on Tuesday evening next, the 26th inst., at 7 o'clock.
Feb. 22, 1839.

The invitations to the receptions, dinners, entertainments and other functions given by the French, Russian, English and other foreign ministers are all engraved, with blanks to be filled in with the names and dates. In addition to the invitations are many cards left for Mr. Lyon by friends. Most of the cards are engraved on fine enameled card board, though some are written and some printed. There is a card among them of Lewis Cass, severely plain, engraved in script on an enameled card. Henry R. Schoolcraft wrote his name on a card. The cards of the cabinet officers are in script engraved on enameled cards. The cards of the representatives of the foreign governments are fine specimens of the engraver's art. Two cards in the collection recall an interesting chapter in American history. They are those of "Memucan Hunt, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Texas," and "Anson Jones, Minister Plenipotentiary of Texas, near the Government of the United States."

Washington, May 5th, 1838.

(19.) My Dear Sister— * * * Observing that you seem to feel much anxiety for the safety of our friends at Lyons, I write to say that I am constantly receiving letters from them * * * and I assure you they have not the slightest apprehension of danger from the Indians, nor is there, in fact, any more danger there than there is in Burlington where you reside. * * * * *

If you will let me know the town or towns in Michigan where Mr. Crane has been invited to reside, I will tell you all about them, and what sort of society he will find should he go there, for there are very few towns in the State in which I am not pretty well acquainted with the people. I should like very much to have him go to Michigan with his family on your account, if for no other reason. * * * In the first place we have in Detroit a society which for intelligence, cultivation and refinement is equal to that of any town of similar size in the United States; and, of the different religious societies there, the Episcopal is decidedly the most wealthy and respectable. Our young and talented bishop, who was from Philadelphia, Bishop McCoskry, resides there and is a very great favorite with the people of all denominations throughout the State. Consequently the church is looked upon with favor by the people generally, and is in a prosperous condition. In the next place there are many towns in the State which are just now rising to be large villages and growing with a rapidity unexampled in the history of the world. These towns present fine fields for the labor and exertion of able clergymen, where their services are much needed and will be amply rewarded. One of these is Grand Rapids, the county seat of Kent county, on the Grand river, about 50 miles below Lyons. The first house was built there about four years ago, and it now contains a population of about 1,200 persons, or is about one-third as large as Burlington, and within ten years it will unquestionably be larger than Burlington ever can be. I am one of the principal proprietors of the town and should like very much to have Mr. Crane and his family go there. There is already an Episcopal society organized there and when I last heard anything said on the subject, they were looking out for some able clergyman to settle among them. The society is very good and is daily improving. A branch of the University of the State has lately been located there with a department in it for the education of young ladies in the higher branches and it seems to me it would be one of the best places in the U. S. for Mr. Crane. There is a society of Roman Catholics there and a church erected for them, but that only makes an Episcopal church more desirable. * * * Yours ever,

Lucius Lyon.

Detroit, August 22, 1838.

(20.) My Dear Sister—I reached here night before last in the steamboat Buffalo, after visiting Boston, Connecticut, Saratoga Springs (where I passed about sixteen days most delightfully) and Cooperstown where I stayed five days at the elegant mansion of my friend Sam'l. W. Beall, Esq. There was a great number of visitors at the Springs, principally from the cities of New York, Albany and Troy, embracing the best and most select society of these cities, with several distinguished families from Philadelphia and Baltimore. I became acquainted with all the most distinguished belles and had two or three flirtations, some one of which may become serious hereafter, if I should find time to go to New York and renew it; and should not in the meantime fall in love with some one else, against which I shall not promise for I feel that I am in some danger from a certain pair of black eyes that you are acquainted with, which are near me at the National Hotel where I am now staying.

Miss Prescott is just such a belle as I am proud to see from my native State. I was introduced to her night before last, immediately after my arrival, at a party at Governor Mason's, given to Maj. Gen. and Mrs. Macomb and his son, Maj. Macomb, who is his aide-de-camp. * * *

Tuesday, August 28, 1838.—Since I laid by my letter on the 22d, I have been so much occupied in receiving and paying visits that I have not been able to put pen to paper. Miss Prescott has been enjoying herself in rides, visits, etc., and seems quite happy. Her mother and grandmother are with her. They all came here to visit her uncle who is a bachelor and boards at the same hotel that I do, so that I see them all at every meal, if not oftener.

By a letter received by Miss Prescott, from Mrs. Crane, I learn she has lately been at Winsor, on her way to Boston. When she returns please present her my best respects and thanks for her remembrance of me. I almost love her for her kindness to you. Tell her that, much as I esteem Miss Blair, I have so high an opinion of herself and of her scholars, judging from the specimens I have seen, that I am thinking of making application to her to select a wife for me from her school. The climate of Michigan would be, I fear, too cold for a Washington belle, and I see no reason why I should not turn my attention to my native State. * * * You had better remain with Mr. and Mrs. Crane till I come for you or until they remove here, which I hope they will do, though I have not yet been able to see the board of Regents and ascertain their views. They meet on the 10th of next month and I hope to be with them.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Affectionately yours,

LUCIUS LYON.

Miss Lucretia Lyon.

Washington, March 14, 1839.

(21.) MY DEAR SISTER— * * * I am off tomorrow direct for Detroit. * * * The Italian books cannot be obtained here and I would, if I could possibly spare the time, go by way of Philadelphia and New York to get them for you but the navigation of the Hudson river and Lake Erie is still interrupted with ice and I should be detained too long. * * * I wish I understood Italian myself, for we have had in our society here the past winter a very interesting Italian lady with whom I should like to converse. I allude to Miss America Vespucius, a lineal descendant of Americus Vespucius who gave name to this continent. I have enclosed her memorial to Congress and the report of the committee on public lands in the Senate thereon, by which you will perceive she has not been successful in her application which the Queen of France encouraged her to make to our government. She is a lady about 30 years old, of fine personal appearance, dark hair, large dark eyes, and clear brunette complexion; figure rather embonpointe, manners dignified and well cultivated and disposition generally mild, good natured and sober, but some times very animated and sprightly. She speaks and writes Italian, French and Spanish very fluently and correctly and has received much attention wherever she has been. I have frequently met her at the French minister's and at other places, at dinners and evening parties, and although she does not speak English and I do not speak any other language, we have, by nods and winks and killing looks, got very well acquainted. * * * I enclose you the cards of several foreign ministers, and members of the cabinet of President Van Buren, with invitations to dinners and parties which will amuse you for a half hour.

Very affectionately yours,

LUCIUS LYON.

Detroit, April 25, 1839.

(22.) My Dear Sister—I have received two letters from you, the last dated the 6th inst., and bringing the unwelcome intelligence that Mr. Crane and family are not coming here at all. This is a great disappointment to me as well as to the families of Mr. Whiting and General Burdick who had considered it almost certain that we should have the pleasure and advantage of their society. * * * Seriously, now, I shall have to marry in order to provide for you as I would wish, and besides, some of my friends are talking of bringing me out as a candidate for the next Governor, to succeed Gov. Mason, whose term of service will expire on the 31st December next, and I think I should be much more popular if I had a good wife. At all events I should be happier and perhaps better; for I look upon a woman as the connecting link in the scale of creation between man and the angels, and I begin to regret that I have not secured some one of these celestial beings to lead me to heaven. There are few men in the United States whose acquaintance with the most beautiful, interesting and distinguished ladies of this continent has been more extensive or more intimate than mine has been for the last eight or ten years; and there are very few who have been more flattered or who have had better opportunities to make an advantageous selection. But I have never thought seriously on the subject and now I find myself growing rather too old to please and quite too fastidious to be pleased myself, so that I doubt very much whether I shall not remain a bachelor, notwithstanding my resolve to the contrary. I am now on excellent terms with a sister of the Governor here, Miss Emily Virginia Mason, who is one of the finest girls in the United States; but we have known each other too long and too well to let such a violent, rowdy fellow as young Cupid sometimes proves himself to come in to interrupt our friendship; and as you object to Mlle. Vespucci, on account of her ancestry, I see no chance for me at present. Your objections, by the way, are not well founded, for old Commodore Vespucius had nothing to do with robbing Columbus of his name to this continent, and giving his own in its stead. This was done by some loafer whose name I do not recollect, who published an account of the voyages of Americus Vespucius many years after they were made and, I believe, after Americus was dead. * * * * * * * * * *

I have within the last few days accepted the appointment (tendered me by the Secretary of War) of commissioner to apportion and distribute the money (amounting to about $100,000) to be given to the Half Breeds of the Chippewa Indians under the treaty of 1837, and I am to leave here, with my secretary to the commission, on the 15th of June and meet the Indians at La Pointe in Lake Superior, on the 10th of July. I shall not get through the business so as to return here before the middle of September and then my own private business will require every moment of my attention during the remainder of the fall. * * * If I can possibly do so, I will spare a few days to come and bring you out here some time in October. * *

Please present my affectionate regards to father and mother and the rest of the family, and believe me ever yours,

Lucius Lyon.

Miss Lucretia Lyon, Burlington, Vt.

Detroit, Wednesday, 9th September, 1840.

(23.) Dear Sister—On Monday, the 28th of the present month there is to be a great public gathering here from all parts of the State in honor of the Vice President of the United States, Col. Richard M. Johnson, who is to be here on that day, and I hope, if it is possible for you to do so, you will be here before that time so as to be present on the occasion. You will see more people than you will have a chance to see again for a long time. There is to be a "barbecue" in Kentucky style and in

the evening a grand ball. * * * * The Vice President is to have rooms at the National Hotel and the ball will be given at the same place. I am waiting here now for Judge Carroll who is expected here tomorrow or next day. When he comes I shall probably go with him to Grand Rapids, but shall be back here on the 28th.

Yours affectionately,

LUCIUS LYON.

To Miss Lucretia Lyon, Lyons, Ionia county, Mich.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 1, 1844.

(24.) MY DEAR SISTER—I left Grand Rapids, as you know, on Monday, the 11th of December, and having stayed two days in Detroit, one day in Upper Canada and four days in the city of New York on my way hither, I arrived here on Saturday evening, the 31st ult., called on Gov. Woodbridge and Mr. Porter, Senators from Michigan, and on James B. Hunt, one of my colleagues in the House of Representatives (Mr. McClelland, my other colleague having gone to Pennsylvania to pass New Year's day with his father), and then proceeded to the capitol to get my letters and found at least a bushel basket full, but none from Grand Rapids.

I was occupied all day in opening and reading them, and in the evening went to call on Misses Emily N. and Laura Mason who are passing the winter here with their father, Gen. John T. Mason. They board at Mrs. Ulrick's, a fashionable boarding place near the Treasury department, and are already very extensively acquainted and very popular in society here. This day, being New Year's, I have been with them and Mrs. Bonnycastle, a rich widow and cousin of theirs, to call on the ex-President, J. Q. Adams and his lady, on Mrs. Madison and her nieces, the Misses Cutts; on James Larned and his family; on C. A. Wickliffe, Postmaster General and family (he has two daughters), and at many other places too numerous to mention.

I am tired out and while I am resting in my room No. 13, at Gadsby's Hotel, sit down to write you this letter just between light and dark, when I could do nothing else. I have promised to go to a party this evening, at Mrs. Eaton's, the wife of our late minister to Spain, the lady who blew up General Jackson's first cabinet in 1830, and there are to be none but young ladies there. * * * The day has been as fine as it could possibly be and I should judge that at least six or eight thousand ladies and gentlemen have called today on the President and his family.

The President, it is said on good authority, is so much offended at the election of Blair and Rives to be printers to the House of Representatives that he will make no more removals from office unless it be to remove Democrats and put Tyler men or Whigs in their places.

Adieu,

LUCIUS LYON.

P. S.—Mrs. Madison looks as young and well as she did six years ago. She is the most remarkable woman in America. In 1795 she married Mr. Madison and was then a widow and had one child. She must be as much as 75 years old and yet she has been on her feet all day and seems as fond of society as a girl of eighteen.

Washington, Dec. 22, 1844.

(25.) MY DEAR SISTER— * * * Yesterday I received your letter of the 8th inst. informing me of Mr. Sidney Smith's death at eight and a quarter P. M. on the 3d inst. * * * Mr. Smith's death was not unexpected, though I had hoped that he might live much longer than he did. The severance of earthly ties of friendship

and affection must always be painful, but aside from this, I do not regard death as a sad or dreadful change. If we are to exist hereafter, as I believe we shall, there is good reason, from analogy, to believe that we shall occupy a higher rank in the scale of created beings than we now do. It is true that a man is at the head of created beings on this earth, but among the countless millions of worlds that hang in the regions of space around us there are very few heavenly bodies as small and insignicant as our little ball; and as it is reasonable to suppose that the inhabitants of other worlds bear some proportion in knowledge and power to the size and importance of the worlds which they inhabit, there is certainly good ground to expect promotion, and it is not improbable that if we could know or have any just conception of the enlarged faculties and powers that our friend now possesses, instead of grieving for him, we should rejoice on his account and be impatient to follow him. We may grieve for ourselves but we have no occasion to grieve for him. * * * I expect to die myself within the next ten years and probably within five years, but when I die I want no one to grieve on my account, or because it may be thought that death is a sad change for me, for I do not so regard it.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Yours affectionately,

LUCIUS LYON.

Miss Lucretia Lyon.

Detroit, June 3, 1846.

(26.) MY DEAR SISTER—I send for your perusal Hobert's Life of Swedenborg, and one of the works of that wonderful man, called "Heaven and Hell."

You know that for many years past I have been a skeptic. I did not believe the Bible to be the word of God, nor the Savior to be God himself. I now most fully believe both. I have not time now to tell you all the steps in the process of the change of my belief, which has taken place, mainly, within the last month, but I can truly say the perusal of Swedenborg's writings has completed a revolution in my sentiments so effectually that I have not one single solitary doubt remaining. His writings contain such internal evidences of truth that no unprejudiced mind sincerely desiring to know the truth and willing to receive it can resist the conclusion that his spiritual sight was opened and that he actually saw and heard the things that he describes.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Yours affectionately,

LUCIUS LYON.

Miss Lucretia Lyon.

SECTION II.

(1.) From R. McClelland, Monroe, Nov. 12, 1835.—Permit me to congratulate you most cordially on your success. It must be flattering to you to receive such a decided manifestation of the approbation of your previous conduct by the representatives of your former constituents. Our section has done itself honor in manifesting its gratitude for the efforts you have made in our behalf and though some have been disposed to deprive you of the credit of having obtained for us one appropriation yet there are others who have fully appreciated your motives and your acts. I hope you will again disappoint the prophecy of some of our good folks in regard to our most important improvement and show as you have heretofore that our prosperity does not depend on the efforts or influence of one man. * * * * *

(2.) To Frederic Bronson, New York, dated Bronson, Mich., Oct. 13, 1835.— * * * I am using all the funds I have or can get of my own in my farming operations and in constructing a steamboat canal around the falls of Grand River; and for this reason should be glad also to sell out my interest in the remaining fifth part which we, the former proprietors, I understand now own with the present company: Will you purchase, and if so at what price? I understand property at Chicago is still rising as it is also very rapidly at Milwaukee.

(3.) To S. W. Beall, receiver of public money, Green Bay, dated Bronson, Oct. 7, 1835.— * * * Our election took place here yesterday and the day previous. The Democratic ticket has undoubtedly prevailed throughout the new State. There may be a few Whigs elected to the legislature, though I think not more than half a dozen. Horace H. Comstock is undoubtedly elected one of the three Senators from this senatorial district. He is now here but will go to Ann Arbor or Detroit in a few days. We have given no votes I presume for delegate to Congress.

(4.) From G. H. Bowen, Galena, Oct. 16, 1835.—In regard to a claim of Mrs. Harfore, formerly widow of William Ewing who was an early settler of Maumee, for property lost and destroyed in the war of 1812. The property was ninety-six head of cattle, six horses, four hundred hogs, the newly constructed rough buildings and farming implements, in all estimated in value at about $6,000.

(5.) To Hon. E. A. Brown, Commissioner General of the Land Office, dated, Green Bay, Michigan Territory, Sept. 12, 1835.—As you may be much troubled by conflicting statements relative to the propriety of the decisions of the Land Office here on different pre-emption claims in this district, it may not be improper for me to say that I have been here for several weeks past during the public sales and after having all the different cases, both of pre-emptions and "floats," fully discussed, and having made myself particularly acquainted with all the circumstances relative to the cases at Milwaukee about which you will probably have the most trouble, I believe the decisions of the officers in every case strictly and rigidly correct, with, perhaps, the exception of allowing the "floats" of Genor and Claflin and the pre-emption of Solomaon Janeaux to cross and embrace fractions lying on both sides of the Milwaukee river; whether this is allowable by the construction given the pre-emption law at your office I do not know.

(6.) To Arthur Bronson, New York, dated Bronson, Oct. 12, 1835.— * * * Mr. N. O. Sargeant has with him an excellent engineer and about 50 men who are prosecuting the work (on the canal around the falls of Grand River) vigorously, and will probably have the excavations nearly completed before winter sets in. The expense of the excavation alone is estimated at $5,000. I enclose herewith a rough and imperfect diagram of the canal and lands adjacent drawn by J. (Almy) the engineer, from which you will be able to form a tolerably correct notion of the situation of the place and works. The length of the canal as at present projected is something over a mile. It now is intended to terminate above the mill dam which you see laid down, but as soon as we make any satisfactory arrangement with Mr. Campau, who is a jealous, selfish and troublesome Frenchman, we design to construct a dam across from the lower end of the islands to his land. I allude to the foot of the two upper islands. To this point steamboats of light draught can at all times come up, and if we should not succeed in making an arrangement with him, we shall excavate a channel between or around the islands to our work. The whole fall below the mill dam in low water is about three feet—in high water nothing. This dam, with a saw mill and about a third of an acre of ground where the mill

stands. Mr. Sargeant and myself have lately purchased from Wadsworth, Frost and James H. Hatch of your city for $5,500. We deemed it better to buy than to have a law suit with Wadsworth, who by raising his dam near our line had flowed the water about three and a half feet deep in front of our land. Beside, I think the property can easily be made to pay double the interest of the money. * * * We mean to excavate a tail race along the margin of the river above, so as to use the water from the canal under a head of twelve feet, all of the way along the bank from the place marked "first privilege" down to the lower lock, as the canal is 60 feet wide on the water line and the water in it in its lowest stage will never be less than four feet deep. This will afford sites and power for a great many mills and as there is an inexhaustible quantity of pine up the river, on the north side, and an excellent grain growing country on the south, a great many will be needed. You will observe that by this arrangement nearly all the water power will be used on the fraction owned jointly and wholly by you and myself. We also own an undivided third part of the long fraction of 135 acres above it and a third of the fraction of 48 acres below Campau's. N. O. Sargeant owns the other two-thirds of the last named fractions, or rather did own them but has sold one-half his interest to Janson Fairbanks of the city of Boston. He and his partners were reluctant to make the improvement which we are now doing unless they could have a joint and equal interest in the whole. To this I objected but agreed for myself and said I believed you would assent to it that the whole of the three fractions should be held by us jointly and that referees mutually chosen should decide what proportion of the whole they should hold and that then each should execute deeds to the others. Please advise me whether you consent to this.

Mr. Almy has concluded to wait till the leaves fall before he finishes the survey of the village plat and that is the reason I do not now send you a more complete map. In the winter he is to superintend the building of a steamboat at the Rapids to run on the river. I have agreed to take $500 and we hope you will subscribe that sum or more. The boat will cost about $6,000. Another such boat must be built next year to form a daily line with stages from Detroit across the peninsula. * * *

P. S.—I had forgotten to mention that we design to erect next spring a large and commodious public house on the corner where the cite is marked in pencil on the north side of the 100 foot street leading down to the canal. Such a house is much needed. I ought also to inform you that the wife of Louis Campau, Jr., of whom I purchased the fraction which we own together has never relinquished her right of dower in said land and refuses to do so. I am about to commence suit to compel her husband to perform the covenant in his deed to me.

(7.) To Arthur Bronson, New York, dated Oct. 15.— * * * The cost of clearing, fencing, plowing and fitting 200 acres for a crop of oats, corn and potatoes next summer will be about $1,500. * * * I think it advisable to erect a saw mill as soon as practicable near the mouth of the Thorn Apple, where it is indicated on the map inclosed. The mill and dam will not cost over $2,000 and will bring us in clear of all expense at least $5,000 per annum, besides its effect on our other property. The reason why I would do this in preference to allowing some one else to erect a mill at present there is that the water power from its situation and advantages will increase in value quite as much as any of our property and can be sold to much greater advantage when the country around it shall be settled, as there is every probability it will be in two or three years. * * *

(8.) To Arthur Bronson, not dated.— * * * The canal we are constructing is the first ever made in Michigan and is turning public attention a good deal to that point. When it is completed and a good public house and two or three mills erected, our town lots there will be in demand. You will recollect when I first saw you I was confident that lands at the Rapids, at the mouth of the Thorn Apple and at the mouth of the Maple river would some day be valuable. I have not changed my opinion in regard to any of these points and the last named I think quite as important as either. All that is wanting is the settlement of the country around there and this will now shortly take place. The emigration this fall to the counties of Calhoun, Kalamazoo, St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien has been astonishing. More than half a million of dollars has been received this season in this village for this district alone. Our town is keeping pace with the growth of the country around and is now one of the largest as well as the most beautiful villages in Michigan. * * *

(9.) Letter of instruction, Lucius Lyon to Giles S. Isham, dated Detroit November 3d, 1835.—Herewith I hand you a plat of all my lands at the mouth of Maple river in Ionia country in this State and a power of attorney to manage, superintend and control all my business there as you may judge most to my interest. It has been and is now my intention to fence and cultivate all or nearly all the prairie that I own at that place as early as possible, and with this view on the 28th of July last I entered into contract with Wm. D. Moore and Wm. Hunt to fence the same in the manner described in the contract, a copy of which is herewith handed to you. You will please see that this contract is carried into effect, at least as far as you may think advisable. With a view to have the prairie plowed, my agent, Ira Lyon, for me entered into a contract sometime in August past with Mr. Baldwin of Prairie Ronde, Kalamazoo county, to plow 100 acres of the prairie for $3.00 per acre and from what I learn I believe he has been faithful in endeavoring to fulfill his contract so that the ground may be ready to be sowed with oats or planted with corn and potatoes next spring. A contract was also written and entered into with Mr. Hamilton of Oakland county to break and turn for the same price per acre 300 acres more of the prairie in season for a crop next spring, 100 acres of which, I believe, was to be plowed by the first of this month, but I am sorry to hear that * * * nothing has yet been done toward the fulfillment of his contract. Hearing that he did not intend to fulfill it I wrote about two weeks ago to Mr. Baldwin directing him to continue on and plow all that he might be able to do and if he should find that the contract price was too low I would pay him whatever three disinterested men acquainted with the business might say would be a fair and equitable compensation. * * * You will pass by the house of Mr. Hamilton on the way from Detriot to Pontiac and can ascertain from him what he intends to do about the plowing and make such arrangements with him as you may think proper either by purchasing his team and doing the plowing yourself or agreeing to give him such a price as three disinterested men, mutually chosen, may say is equitable and right, provided he should, as I am informed he does, deem the contract price insufficient. I wish to have as much of my prairie land at the mouth of the Maple plowed, planted and sowed next spring as possibly can be, for I am satisfied that everything we can raise will command a high price in cash on the ground as fast as we may wish to dispose of it. Knowing as you now do the situation of my property and business there, I leave to you to carry into effect my views and wishes in relation to it as thoroughly and at the same time as economically as possible, and in any manner in which you think my interest requires.

(10.) To Amos Kendall, Postmaster General, dated Detroit, Nov. 14, 1835.— Enclosed herewith I send you the recommendation of 50 out of 63 members of the senate and house of representatives of Michigan, now assembled at this place in favor of the appointment of Sheldon McKnight to the office of postmaster at Detroit, in place of John Norvell, who has lately been elected to the Senate of the United States, and so far as I can, consistently, with proper courtesy to Mr. Norvell, I beg leave to urge the claim of Mr. McKnight to your favorable consideration. He has for some years controlled and owned the leading press in Michigan, was unanimously elected printer to the late convention assembled here to form a constitution for the State, has lately been elected State printer by the unanimous voice of both houses, and I believe may, with truth, be said to share as largely the confidence and good wishes of all, and of the Democratic party in particular as any other person in Michigan. Having some years ago been employed in the postoffice here he is well acquainted with its duties and recommendatory letters will soon be forwarded you from the most respectable citizens and business men of the city, showing that he has their confidence and support as well as the support of the legislature.

(11.) To S. R. Hobbie, Assistant Postmaster General, dated Detroit, Nov. 15.— Enclosing proposal for carrying mail on a private route from White Pigeon to Constantine, St. Joseph county, and recommending the establishment of a postffice at Constantine, with Hon. John S. Barry as postmaster. The proposed office will be by the road 4½ miles north by west from White Pigeon, 6 miles northeast of Mottville, 10 miles south of Buck's, 10 miles southeast of Centerville, the county seat, and will be situated about two miles west of the nearest mail route at present established, which leads from White Pigeon to Schoolcraft. The key, blanks and instructions may be sent to the office at White Pigeon.

(12.) To Edwin Crosswill, Albany, N. Y., dated Detroit, Nov. 15, 1835.— * * * I shall leave here in a few days for Washington City. I have the pleasure to inform you that I have been elected, by the unanimous vote of both houses of the legislature, now convened in this place, to a seat in the Senate of the United States, whenever Michigan may be admitted into the Union. John Norvell, Esq., postmaster of this city, has been elected my colleague, by a majority of seven votes over Maj. John Biddle, formerly delegate from the Territory. You may probably see him as he is now on his way through your state for Washington City. I hope it is not true, as reported here, that New York is going against our preceedings in forming a State government and against the admission of Michigan into the Union. Such a course would most effectually break up the Democratic party here, and besides would do us the greatest injustice as a people entitled to the rights of self government. Michigan has petitioned year after year for the passage of an act authorizing her to form a State government, a request always heretofore granted the new states whenever asked by them, and long before they had as great a population as Michigan has had for the last three years. At length, finding that by her census taken last year, a considerable excess over the number necessary according to the fifth article of the compact contained in the Ordinance of 1787, which guarantees her the right in the most solemn manner, she has proceeded as did the state of Tennessee, by the spontaneous action and voice of her whole people carefully to form for herself a constitution and State government and she now asks, by every consideration of legal as well as moral right, to be recognized by Congress as one of the twenty-four states of the Union. Her population now is not less than 150,000, a number much greater than either Delaware or Rhode Island can claim,

and this number is fast increasing. Unless it can be contended and shown that notwithstanding the most solemn obligations to the contrary, Congress can, at its pleasure forever keep a people under the bondage of a territorial government, I do not see how it is possible to doubt the validity and propriety of our proceedings, though I have just heard with regret that the Attorney General of the United States does so, and that he is about to prepare an official opinion against us.

(13.) To Ira Lyon, dated Detroit, Nov. 16.— * * * I am well pleased with all your arrangements as detailed in your letters. Thirty-one cents per bushel for storing and transporting 400 bushels of oats from Moran's down the Thorn Apple and up the Grand river to Koo-Koosh prairie seems to be rather a high price, but I presume you did the best you could in the matter and I am satisfied. Will 400 bushels be sufficient to sow 200 acres? If not you had better send more. * * * If you can sell whatever wheat you may have to spare at $1.50 per bushel, I think it is about as much as you will be able to get in cash. I shall leave here in a few days for Washington City.

(14.) From H. McCure, Detroit, dated Detroit, Nov., 1835.—I have the honor to inform you, at a recent meeting of the board of the Young Men's Society you were elected an honorary member of the society. You will please accept this simple tribute of respect from the young men of Detroit as an evidence of regard to talent so long and ably directed to the interest and welfare of our peninsula, and the cherished esteem they ever hold for private worth.

(14.) To H. McCure, recording secretary of the Young Men's Society, dated Detroit, Nov. 17.—Your letter of the 5th inst. informing me that I had been elected an honorary member of the Young Men's Society of this city, by some mischance did not reach me till today, or it would have been sooner replied to. I beg you will assure the society that knowing as I do the worth and talent of its members, with many of whom I have the honor to be acquainted, no person could value more highly than I do this evidence of their regard, and to yourself individually I beg leave to express my thanks for the flattering terms in which it is communicated.

(15.) To Hon. John Horner, dated Washington, Nov. 30, 1835 (marked confidential).—I arrived here yesterday (Sunday) after a fatiguing journey of eight days and the first place I called at last evening was at Mrs. Watson's to deliver the letters which yourself and Mr. Watson gave me to Mrs. Horner and her sister. Found them both at home and quite well. After sitting half an hour I rose to leave when little Richard said his grandma wished me to come and dine some day next week, which I promised to do, and then went to call on the Secretary of War to deliver some letters with which I was charged. From there about 8 o'clock I went to the President's and had a talk of half an hour, but Mr. Livingston, Minister to France, and several other gentlemen being present, I did not remain long. Both the President and the Secretary of War supposed that you had gone to Green Bay to meet the legislative council. I told the latter that it was your intention to have done so, but he would perceive it was a case of some difficulty for you to decide on in the absence of all instructions or even an intimation from the state department on the subject. On the one hand, the law of Congress made Detroit the seat of government for the Territory of Michigan and required the residence of the Governor to be there, and on the other, the State legislative council had passed a law which was approved by your predecessor providing for the next meeting of their body at Green Bay. Under these circumstances it was very desirable that you should have received intimation of the course to pursue, but as none was given

you felt inclined to comply with the provision of the council and go to Green Bay if you could do so without being accused of deserting your post at the seat of government and thereby subject the administration to censure. Indeed, I said, I believed you would have gone in any event had not some person here wrote to you that the President would expect you to remain at Detroit. To this he replied that "whoever wrote so wrote a falsehood" and added, "it was impossible for the government to notice at all any inchoate proceedings of this sort, and that you were purposely left to act as circumstances might render proper." He, however, seemed satisfied with the course you had adopted and remarked that you had nothing to do but remain as quiet as possible and await the action of Congress on the admission of Michigan as a state, which he said he thought would take place in about two or three weeks after the commencement of the session. When he receives the authentical copy of the constitution together with the census and law providing for the convention, he will transmit them to both houses with a special message similar to that, if not in the precise language of Gen. Washington's in the case of Tennessee in 1796. Everybody here thinks that nothing but our Ohio boundary difficulty and the provision in our constitution which will conflict with the boundary of Indiana can prevent the immediate admission of the State into the Union. I can judge better on this subject when I shall have seen the members who are now fast coming in. My own impression is that we shall not get our seats before February. In the meantime, I take the responsibility of saying to you that you will be left by the President wholly free to act your own discretion and either go to Green Bay or remain at Detroit as you think proper. In either case I believe he will not blame you. You may rely on my writing you from time to time and apprising you of everything that can effect your individual interest as well as the interests of the State and Territory of Michigan.

(16.) To N. O. Sargeant, Grand Rapids, dated Washington, Dec. 5, 1835.— * * * Arthur Bronson reached here from New York city last night. As he did not assent to our agreement, I commenced negotiations to buy him out and have effected a purchase of all his interest at Grand Rapids for $21,000. * * *

(17.) To E. D. Ellis, Monroe, dated Washington, Dec. 6, 1835.— * * * Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary have both been here for some days and we have had a talk among ourselves to see who we should recommend to publish the laws. We had no difficulty about two of the papers—all agreed that the Free Press and Statesman should be selected and my opinion was then asked as to the other. I replied that I was in favor of the Sentinel. Mr. Norvell was opposed and wanted the Argus or Oakland Patriot and Mr. Crary would not decide, so the matter rests at present. I shall recommend your paper, but if Mr. Norvell and Crary, who are a majority of the delegation, oppose it they will probably carry their point. * * * I find the members of Congress as well as the cabinet as favorably disposed toward the admission of Michigan into the Union as could be expected. It will probably be made a party question but I think the State will be recognized as early as February. Ex-President Adams and John T. Mason will take charge of the matter in the House of Representatives, and Messrs. Benton, Grundy and Wright in the Senate. You need have no fear that we shall be sent back and the people required to make the constitution over again. Nobody here thinks of such a thing, and our friends in Michigan may make themselves easy on the subject. The death of Senator Smith from Connecticut, which took place this morning about 2 o'clock, renders it certain that that State will have at least one senator favorable to the administration and it is believed, under all the circumstances of his situation,

Senator Tomlinson, his colleague will go with him. This on all party questions will make a tie in the Senate. * * *

(18.) To William Oliver, Cincinnati, dated Washington, Dec. 13, 1835.— * * * Gen. George W. Jones from the mining country on the Mississippi has taken his seat as the delegate from Michigan. Several persons are now here and many more are to come from the State of Michigan to pass the winter. Among the number of those here already are Maj. and Madam Stickney. Austin E. Wing will not be here. * * *

(19.) To Rix Robinson, Kent county, Mich.; dated Washington, Dec. 13, 1835.— * * A gloom is cast over the city by the sudden death of Senator Smith and Mr. Wildman of the House of Representatives from Connecticut, and Senator Kane from the State of Illinois, all of whom have died here of different diseases within a week past. Besides these members it is reported that the Hon. Ely Moore, another member of Congress from the State of New York, died yesterday at Philadelphia on his way here. You will see by the papers that the case of Michigan has been presented in both houses. We shall be strongly opposed on party grounds. Our admission is likely to be a party question and it is doubtful whether we shall not be delayed till June next, perhaps longer.

(20.) To John F. Bacon, Albany, dated Washington, Dec. 15, 1835.— * * * Should Mr. McKnight be out of the way as an applicant for the office of postmaster at Detroit, it will give me much pleasure to aid the application of your son Marshall, but I do not think there is the least possibility that Mr. McKnight will be out of the way, for I think he is sure of the appointment whenever the vacancy may occur. He some time ago made an arrangement to dispose of his Press in the event of obtaining the appointment and this the Postmaster General tells me is sufficient. It is not necessary that he should give it up and separate himself from it before he gets the office. You are correct in supposing that our admission as a state will be made a party question, and I fear we shall meet with so strong an opposition that we shall be delayed longer than we have anticipated. I am gratified to know that the Democrats of the Empire state will support us, for we had, before I left Michigan, rumors afloat that they were going against us, members of Congress, Mr. Van Buren, Butler and all, and the report which your son Marshall brought from the East on his return strongly confirm what was before said.

(21.) To Col. Hart L. Stewart, Mottville, Dec. 19, 1835.—Acknowledging receipt of petitions for improvement of harbor at St. Joseph. I shall have them presented in Congress and do all I can to effect their object. The circumstances attending the transition from a territorial to a State government are unfavorable to appropriations of the sort, yet I hope in this instance for success.

(22.) To J. Kearsley, receiver of public money, Detroit, Dec. 21, 1835.— * * * Mr. Norvell informed me that Mr. Buchanan spoke to him about your reappointment a day or two ago, and here I must say, to be entirely frank with you, you have nothing to expect from two of the Michigan State delegation here but strong opposition, on the ground that you have held the office long enough. If you were here you might perhaps neutralize their opposition, but unless you come your reappointment is certainly very doubtful, and perhaps it might still be so if you were here. I shall see Gov. Cass tomorrow and write you.

(23.) To the same, Dec. 22.—I have today seen the President, secretary of the treasury and Gov. Cass on the subject of your reappointment. Governor Cass

could not, with propriety, do more than generally express his opinion, at least he has always abstained from taking any part in procuring appointments since I have been acquainted here. On seeing the President he informed me he would send in your name to the senate whenever it should be sent to him for that purpose by the secretary of the treasury. I then went to the department and received assurances that your name should be sent up to the President tomorrow. So the matter stands at present. It is impossible to say what may occur, but I should think it not impossible that your nomination may be confirmed before those who would oppose you are aware of its being sent into the senate. You will see by the report of proceedings of today that the senate have decided against Col. Benton's proposition to allow Mr. Norvell and myself to take seats in the senate as spectators, but they have extended to Mr. Norvell the same privileges allowed by the rules of the senate to members and delegates of the house of representatives, the same privilege that I already possessed.

(24.) To Rix Robinson, Grand Rapids, Dec. 25, 1835.—Mr. Schoolcraft, who has lately arrived here, has just informed me that he wrote you yesterday about having a delegation of Indian chiefs north of Grand river come on here soon for the purpose of making a treaty with the government for the sale of their lands, or at least a part of it, and he remarked that he should have been glad to have been able, officially, to request that you would have come on with them, but not being authorized to that effect he could not do so. Yet, I have no doubt, nor has he any, that should you come your expenses at least and perhaps a fair compensation for your time would be paid you; and I write this to urge you by all means to come. You can promote your own interest and the interest of the government in an imminent degree thereby. I also feel very desirous that Mr. Drew should come, unofficially, of course, as you do, if you come at all, and will thank you if possible to convey him this enclosed letter on the subject, and add to my suggestion such reasons as you may think will induce him to start. Mr. Schoolcraft informs me he said nothing about having any of the Thunder Bay Indians come, but think it important that they should be represented, and I wish you would send to them for that purpose. It is contemplated to purchase all the lands owned by the Indians on the Peninsula of Michigan, and having conversed with you and knowing your views on the subject, I take the liberty to request that you will bring or send on here such chiefs and other persons as you may judge necessary to have the Indians fully represented and at the same time to effect a treaty with them for the whole peninsula if possible. I have no doubt whatever you may think proper to do will meet the wishes of the government and that you will be paid for it, though there is as yet no appropriation for that purpose and on that account it is very desirable that the expenses of the treaty be as light as possible. Should a treaty be made, some person will be appointed to ascertain and pay the just debts that the Indians may be owing the whites.

(25.) To John A. Drew, Michillimackinac, Dec. 26, 1835.—Partial arrangements have been made by the war department to have a treaty held here with the chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians for the purchase of at least a considerable portion of the peninsula of Michigan north of Grand river, and yesterday Mr. Schoolcraft, with the approbation of the department, wrote to Rix Robinson to have him send to the different bands north of him, so that their chiefs may come on here as soon as possible. Mr. Robinson, however, can inform you better than I can what he has been requested to do. My object in writing to you is to suggest the propriety of your coming on here yourself with such chiefs as yourself and Mr. Robinson may think best to bring in order to have all the different bands fairly

represented, so that the government may purchase the whole peninsula. I am satisfied yourself, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Biddle can effect this object, and fully satisfied, as I am, that both the interest of the government and the Indians would be promoted by purchasing the whole at once. * * * I should write to Mr. Biddle on this subject but Mr. Schoolcraft thinks he could not be induced to come here in the winter.

(26.) To Wm. Anderson, Ann Arbor, Dec. 26.— * * * I did not come by way of New York, consequently have been unable to procure for you the "Sheriff's Companion," as I promised.

(27.) To E. A. Brown, commissioner of the land office, Dec. 26.—Understanding that an attempt has been or will be made by two or more persons to obtain from the United States a patent for the three sections of land reserved for "Wee-Saw" by the treaty of Tippecanoe of 1832, I am requested by C. K. Green of Niles, Michigan, to file in the proper office the enclosed papers to prove beyond doubt that Wee-Saw, the Indian chief residing near Niles, in Michigan, is the person to whom the grant was made, and I am requested by Mr. Green to procure the patent for said land as early as possible.

(28.) To C. K Green, Dec. 27, 1835.— * * * The commissioner of the land office informed me on my arrival here that the location of Wee-Saw's three sections and nearly all the grants to individuals by the same treaty had been made wrong and could not stand. The objection is that they have been located on lands to which the Indians making the treaty had no special claim. You will observe that by the treaty of the 20th of October, 1832, the Pottawattomies of the Prairie ceded all the lands of the tribe in the state of Illinois; by the treaty of the 26th of October at the same place (Tippecanoe) the Pottawattomies of the Wabash ceded all the lands of the tribe in the state of Indiana west of the Indiana and Michigan road, with the exception of some reservations; and by the treaty of the 27th of October, 1832, the Pottawattomies of Indiana and Michigan ceded all the remainder of land in Indiana and Michigan south of Grand river to which the tribe had any claim, with the exception of a few reservations as described, and by the third article of said treaty the United States agree to grant to each of 73 persons named the quantity of land annexed to their names, which land was to be conveyed to them by patent. It is contended by the commissioner of the land office that these three treaties, and the purchases made under them, are separate and independent and that the reservations and grants in and by each were intended to be made out of the lands ceded by the particular treaty by which the reservation or grant was made, instead of going out to lands purchased by another treaty, as has been done in the case of Wee-Saw. The whole matter has been referred to the attorney general for his decision, which decision, I understand, will not be given for some time. * * * I need not write you about our prospects as a State. You will see by the debates that they are not very flattering. The including a portion of Indiana within our limits, I fear, will lose us the disputed tract between Michigan and Ohio. Had we bounded our State on the south by Ohio and Indiana without saying where that boundary should be fixed all would have been well; as it is, two to one, we lose all.

(29.) To Austin E. Wing, Monroe, Dec. 27, 1835.— * * * Situated as we are here now, without the privilege of a seat on the floor of either house, our opportunity is not very good to forward business of any kind, for, by some portion of the members of both houses, it seems to be thought rather indelicate and improper

in us to make ourselves at all active in any way until the recognition of the State, which from present appearances is not likely to be very soon, if at all, unless we relinquish all claim to the disputed territory. The opposition will again go in a body for giving Ohio her claim. I speak now of the senate and a great many of Mr. Van Buren's party friends in the house of representatives and some in both houses will be induced to go for Ohio through fear of losing the state politically if they go against her. So the probability is that before Congress acts on the question of our admission into the Union, that body will do all in its power to cut off from us everything that is asked for by others. The question will then arise, shall we come into the Union at all, before our rights are restored to us? I think not, and shall say so on all suitable occasions. I do not know that we need make any difficulty with Indiana, as it is the opinion here of the President, Gov. Cass, Mr. Woodbury, Mr. Wright, Senator Wright, Mr. Benton and all our most valuable friends that whatever our right might have been originally there is now no practicable way of effectually asserting it, short of a resort to arms, and they advise us to go for settling the boundary between Michigan and the two states south precisely as they now stand. I am satisfied that had we bounded Michigan on the south by Ohio and Indiana as was done in a bill which you got reported once in Congress, we should have got along without much difficulty, for Indiana would then have gone with us in both houses. I don't know but that it is now too late to do so with advantage. I regret that you will not be here this winter, both personally and on account of the interests of our State. Crary and Norvell are at Mrs. S. A. Hill's, near where you were last winter, and I am at Mrs. Pittman's, in Third street, a few doors above Polk's, where yourself and Senator Wright once were. Gen. Jones, delegate from Michigan, is with me, but has now gone to New York. I will send you a congressional directory as soon as they are published that you may see where your old friends are. On my arrival here I went to see Gen. Gratiot about the estimate for Monroe and found he had put it at $30,000, which is all we shall be able to get this year. I hope we shall get that sum. Cambreling is chairman of the ways and means committee and talks favorably. I shall see him tomorrow and urge him to report.

(30.) To Col. Geo. Wm. Boyd, New Orleans, Dec. 29, 1835.— * * * I derived much pleasure from the perusal of your letter on account of the sentiments expressed, so nearly allied to my own, on the subject of foreign influence in our government. We have had a good deal said on the subject the past season in Michigan, occasioned by a provision in the law, or rather recommendation, of the legislative council of the Territory for the election of delegates to form a constitution. The fifth article of the Ordinance of 1787 provides that whenever any of the states laid off by said article in the northwestern territory "shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on the same footing as the original states in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government, provided such constitution is republican and in conformity to the principles of this ordinance." This compact, being formed when each state made its own naturalization laws, and confirmed by the federal constitution as one of the "contracts or engagements entered into under the articles of the confederation" gave the right to form a state government to all persons alike, whether Americans or foreigners and though we had the power to exclude foreigners, for the right of an elector is not a natural but a conventional right, or rather may be termed a natural right to be conventionally exercised, yet in the very outset, when a new frame of government was to be formed, under the authority of the ordinance aforesaid, by the spontaneous

action of the whole people responding to the recommendation of a number of gentlemen who were members of the legislative council, it was thought impracticable to then draw a line between Americans and foreigners who had been inhabitants within the limits of the State, according to the meaning of the ordinance. The number of aliens in Michigan who took part with the Americans in the formation of our government was very small and could not in any case have changed the result of the election, yet much has been said about the principle involved, and when the constitution came to be formed this subject occasioned a split in the Jackson party which in all probability can not be healed. One class of the delegates to the convention wished to insert in our constitution the article on the elective franchise as it stands in the constitution of Illinois, giving every free white male inhabitant of the age of 21 who may have resided six months in the State, the right to vote at all elections. This I, with my friends, opposed most strenuously, and finally succeeded in requiring citizenship, which I think will be a sufficient protection for us, situated in the interior as we are, but I can readily believe it will not be for you, where so many foreigners from all nations are daily coming in. If it is not, you must amend your state constitution and require such time in addition to naturalization as you think proper. The whole subject, so far as the elective franchise goes, is completely within the control of the states, and needs no action of Congress. Congress has no right to interfere in any manner whatever with the states in saying who may and who may not vote. The giving a man the right of voting does not make him a citizen, nor does the fact of his being a citizen entitle him to a vote. If so, negroes and women and boys would have the right. Any state may if it chooses so amend its constitution as to require every man to be 30 years old to enable him to vote, or any state may require every foreigner to be naturalized according to the existing laws of the United States and reside in the state 15 years afterwards before he can exercise the right of voting, or foreigners may be excluded from ever voting at all, as boys and women usually are, just as the constitution and laws of a state may provide. In any event Congress can have nothing to do with prescribing the qualifications of electors, either directly or as a consequence of naturalization, and if the opposite of this should be the reason argued for a change of the naturalization laws, I presume no action will be had on the subject. The senators and representative elect from Michigan are here waiting for the admission of the State into the union, but how long we shall remain unless Congress should act favorably on the subject is uncertain. It is no very agreeable situation to be placed in, to be obliged to bear the abuse and misrepresentation of our opponents without the power of replying in our defense. * * * * *

(31.) To Allen Hutchins, Adrian, Dec. 29, 1835.— * * * I need not inform you that from present appearances the rights of Michigan will have to give way to the interests of Ohio and the two states leagued with her. Mr. J. Q. Adams made yesterday in the house of representatives one of the best and most thrilling speeches I ever heard on this subject, but all to no purpose; the iron arm of power stimulated by interest disposed of the matter under consideration, so as best suit the "millions of freemen." * * * I should have written you occasionally about passing events but really I can scarcely find time to eat my meals. All the old business has returned to me and everybody is urging me to attend to some claim, or something or other, because they think, after two years' service here, I know where to find their papers better than a new member. * * * * *

(32.) To John A. Drew, Jan. 2, 1836.—Lest my letter of the 25th ult. should not reach you through Rix Robinson to whom I sent it with a request that he forward it, I now send you a copy by mail and will add that since that letter was written I

have conversed with the Secretary of War and have no doubt that should you come here with such Indian chiefs as you may deem proper to fairly represent the Indians, and effect a treaty with them, you will be well paid. Mr. Schoolcraft will be the commissioner to make the treaty. Gov. Cass informs me there will be provision made for the payment of all the just debts of the Indians and thinks it desirable now to buy the whole peninsula. I hope you will start immediately after getting this letter and come on with such chiefs as you can get.

(33.) To John McDonell, Detroit, Jan. 2, 1836.— * * * I thank you for the copy of the census and can now say to you that the proceedings in the case of Tennessee which you forwarded the members are doing much good. * * *

(34.) To O. D. Richardson, Pontiac, Jan. 3, 1836.— * * * The committees of both houses are to set shortly on our boundary question and the aspect of affairs just now is very unfavorable for Michigan. There is very strong probability that both houses will pass a bill for cutting off from Michigan and giving to Ohio all she asks. This they will probably do before acting on our application for admission as a state, and will make one dependent and conditional upon the other. Then when it shall be proposed to us to change our constitution so as to conform to the new boundary, the question will arise, shall we do so? or shall we not, at least so far as Ohio is concerned, rather remain a state out of the union? I say, for one, we shall. We shall never acknowledge the power of Congress to take from us the tract claimed by Ohio. It is enough to submit to the unconstitutional action of that body in giving part of our territory in Indiana—more than this we cannot bear, especially as there can not be found in either house a single member except from the states interested, who will say that state has any legal claim.

(35.) To A. S. Schoolcraft, Detroit, Jan. 3, 1836.— * * * The prospects of Michigan look dubious so far as relates to her southern boundary, though nobody has yet been hardy enough to openly oppose her admission into the union, nor has any body even proposed to have her form her constitution over again, as some of our good Whig brethren in Michigan would have us do. * * * * *

(36.) To Maj. Chas. W. Whipple, Detroit, Jan. 3.—I thank you for, at the same time that I acknowledge the receipt of your draft of a memorial to Congress from the senate and house of representatives of the State of Michigan. * * * I shall have it printed in both houses of Congress. In another fortnight and perhaps another week we shall know the sentiments of all the committees of Congress who have our boundary question under consideration. Things look unfavorable at present, though nobody here thinks of requiring Michigan to go back to a territorial government, nor does anybody find fault with the constitution, except of that part relative to boundaries.

(37.) To Dr. Z. Pitcher, Old Point Comfort, Va., Jan. 3.— * * * Mr. McKnight has probably informed you that my election to the senate was unanimous in both branches of the legislature, and you have learned that Maj. Biddle failed by a few votes of having enough to elect him. The question of most interest, both to myself and the State of Michigan, now, is when will the Michigan senators take their seats in the senate? There is a very strong disposition to fight us behind the boundary question and impose some restrictions on the State which we will not submit to for the purpose of keeping us out till after the presidential election. What the result will be I can not tell. Of one thing I am fully satisfied, that is that the course pursued by Michigan in forming her State government is entirely constitu-

tional, legal and proper in all respects. McKnight left here for Detroit I think on the 26th ult., after attending a splendid Christmas party at the President's. Before he went he received such assurances from Mr. Kendall as fully satisfied him that when Mr. Norvell should resign he would receive the appointment of postmaster of Detroit. Under this impression he started for home in fine spirits, but judge of his feelings on his arrival there when he is told that during his absence a packed grand jury have indicted him for manslaughter. Such is the fact, as I learn by a letter dated the 18th and received the 31st ult., which is since confirmed by other letters. DeGarmo Jones was foreman and B. B. Kircheval secretary of the jury, and they managed the matter with such perfect secrecy that not an individual suspected what they were doing. It is undoubtedly a cool-blooded, black-hearted attempt to prostrate and ruin him, and through him to injure his friends, both personally and politically; although they well knew he was fully acquitted and honorably discharged from his bonds last spring, and not a voice in the whole community was heard to express the slightest dissatisfaction. Were it not that there are some six or eight active candidates electioneering for the post office, who consider him as standing in their way, public indignation would brand all who have been concerned in this matter as they ought to be. * * * * *

(38.) To Arthur Bronson, New York, Jan. 8.—Relating to property at Mt. Clemens; bounded south by Front street, west by New street, north by Court street and east by Market street; setting a valuation of $5,000 upon it, though this is low because the legislative council had granted a railroad charter between Mt. Clemens and some point west which would greatly increase the value of property at that place.

(39.) To H. D. Gilpin, Philadelphia, Jan. 9, 1836.— * * * The state of Michigan affairs was such that it was impossible for me to leave here to spend the Christmas holidays with you. I hope, however, to visit Philadelphia sometime during the winter, if our legislature do not get tired of waiting the movement of Congress and recall their senators and representatives, which would not much surprise me after the reception we have had here. Our boundary question is before committees in both houses. How they will report is uncertain, but there is a strong probability that both houses will decide in favor of Ohio, let the reports be what they may. I send you herewith a communication on the part of Michigan made to the judiciary committee of the senate a few days ago on this subject. The return of Mr. Barton and the news from France is the general topic of conversation now. Most persons here now regard a war between the two countries as highly probable, if not unavoidable. A message from the President, it is supposed, will be sent to Congress on the subject on Monday next. How parties will stand in Congress in relation to this matter I do not know. It seems to me our course is plain. We ought to make large appropriations to put our fortifications in repair and to strengthen our navy by fitting out all our vessels now built and by building at least fifty new ones. After these arrangements are made wait and see if France does not fulfill the treaty and if she does not, when we get ready, proceed to collect the money wherever we find it. By the first of March, 1837, we can be well prepared to commence operations against her. We ought not to do so sooner unless in self defense.

(40.) To P. R. Toll, Centerville, Mich., Jan. 10.— * * * I doubt whether Michigan will be admitted into the union till after the next presidential election. The opposition in the senate are determined to prevent it if possible and the administration members from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois will go with them until the boundary question is settled as they wish it.

(41.) To His Excellency Stevens T. Mason, Governor of the State of Michigan. Jan. 10, 1836.—Your two letters of the 18th and 26th of December were duly received and would have been sooner replied to but the delegation have been waiting for some days past to have a full and free conversation with the President and ascertain whether in the event of the postponement of the admission of Michigan into the Union, he will feel bound to make an appointment of judge of the Supreme Court when their terms expire. As this is a question which will probably have to be referred to the attorney general for his opinion, Gov. Cass thought it best not to propound it until his return to the city from New York, which most likely will be tomorrow. My own opinion is that we ought, if possible, to prevent any appointments being made. If we cannot effect this, then we must be sure and have such persons appointed as we know are friendly to a State government. When the legislature meet next month, my impression is that the best course will be for them to proceed to mature, digest and perfect everything they mean to do in order to be ready to proceed with the State government, and leave the final organization of the judiciary department to be the last thing done before adjournment. It is very desirable to avoid the charge of being precipitate and rash, and as the territorial order of things, under a provision in our constitution, will prevail till the organization of the judiciary, we shall have it in our power to point to the forbearance we have exercised and the respect with which we have treated Congress in waiting for their action in delaying to put our State government in operation, as we doubt not we have a clear right to do. This course, I think, will gain us friends in Congress and will occasion no loss of time to the legislature, for they will have enough to do to digest a code of laws for the new State and provide the means of raising a revenue to support the government without finally acting on the bill to organize the judiciary. You will, however, be promptly advised from time to time of the state of affairs here and can then judge better what to do than any person whatever can at present.

(42.) To Stevens T. Mason, Jan. 14, 1836.— * * * It was generally understood here in the early part of the last session that Col. Mack would have been appointed governor of Michigan had it not been represented to the President that his habits were bad, or, in other words, that he was a drunkard. This the President stated to me, and I presume to every other person who spoke to him about the office. By whom the representation was made I did not know, nor do I now. I contradicted it at the time, but could not remove the suspicion from the mind of the President, and thinking, on the whole, it would be as well to have you remain in charge of the office, did not press the matter further. Nor did I inform Col. Mack either directly or indirectly of what had been said against him. On my return to Michigan in the spring, however, the colonel treated me with less cordiality than usual and without any cause so far as I knew continued to do so during the summer. In the fall I learned from a mutual friend that he was aware of what had been said to the President against him and as I had not written or spoken to him on the subject he believed me implicated in the attempt to injure him and treated me accordingly. On hearing this I embraced an opportunity soon after to apprise him of his error. * * * According to my best recollections your name was not mentioned, though that of your father, he having been here at the time referred to, was spoken of, and the colonel expressed a determination to find out whether he had made interest against him. On this subject I did not and could not inform him, as I did not and do not know, myself, to this day. * * * * *

(43.) To Hon. George Morell, Detroit, and similar in purport to Solomon Sibley, Jan. 15, 1836.—The time having arrived to make a new appointment of Judges of the Supreme Court of Michigan, Mr. Norvell, Mr. Crary and myself yesterday called

on the President to make a nomination, at which time objections were made to you on account of your being opposed to the present order of things in Michigan, in other words, on account of your opposition to the course Michigan has taken and is taking in the establishment of a State government. This objection was positively affirmed by a portion of the delegation, both against yourself and Judge Sibley, and believing it important that Michigan should have judges who would not bring her, so far as the State is concerned, into conflict with the United States, I reluctantly consented that another nomination should be made in your stead. I did this because it was necessary to act immediately before I could hear from you. Otherwise I should have written and have gotten your opinion from under your own hand before consenting to your being left off on the statements of any person whomsoever. Epaphroditus Ransom and Charles W. Whipple will be appointed in place of yourself and Judge Sibley.

(44.) To John S. Horner, Jan. 17 (private).—You will see by the Globe of yesterday that your nomination is confirmed by the senate. It was acted upon immediately after being sent in and disposed of before the Michigan delegation knew it was there. * * * I have never found the President in such a mood that I could venture to speak to him about your coming on here. He feels an interest in the success of our State government and will do anything he can legally to promote it. It is because he understood that two of the judges of our Supreme Court were adverse to it and doubted our right to proceed as we have done that he leaves them out and appoints two others to their places. * * * Because of his desire to see our State government established I have no doubt he would much prefer that you should leave the State and go either to Green Bay or the mining country within the limits of the territory, as soon as convenient, though no instructions can be given you to that effect without in effect prejudging the question whether Michigan is or is not legally a State, and this he would not appear to do so long as it can be avoided. * * * Michigan will not be admitted till toward the close of the session. Congress will act slowly on our boundary matters. In the senate Mr. B. Clayton is making a report against us which will doubtless be sanctioned by a majority of that body, and in the house the judiciary committee are hearing the arguments of Ohio and Michigan on the subject. Probably the committee of the house will report in our favor. If they should and the bill from the senate should fail in the house and a proposition be made by Congress to fix the boundary between Michigan and the states south of her as the possessory line between them now stands, Michigan will be admitted as soon as she assents to it. This in my opinion will be the result of the whole controversy.

(45.) To Gen. David White, Jan. 17, 1836.— * * * Will you write us who should be appointed postmaster at Toledo in place of S. B. Comstock who has resigned. Mr. Way, Mr. Brown and I believe one other person is recommended, but we want some competent man of good character and standing in the community who will at least be so much on the side of Michigan as not to date his post bills "Toledo, Wood county, Ohio," or "Toledo, Lucas county, Ohio," as they have been heretofore. By advising me on this point as early as possible you will oblige us all.

(46.) To E. Ransom, Jan. 21.— * * * Your nomination as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan in place of Judge Sibley is before the senate.

(47.) To Wm. H. Welch, Jan. 27.— * * * Pre-emption claims are now most rigidly scrutinized here on account of some alleged abuses, and the avowed determination of Senator Ewing and some others to look into the matter.

(48.) To Charles C. Hascall, Jan. 31.— * * * I shall expect to see you now in a few weeks and if you can bring all the company you name with you so much the better. I presume the legislature will deem it expedient to adjourn and wait for the action of Congress on our matter, which, however, cannot now take place before the month of May. The President says if party spirit keeps our State out of the Union beyond the present session our opponents shall have no countenance from him, but as a matter of expediency he thinks the legislature had better adjourn and not go on to legislate at present. He seems to have full confidence in our admission before Congress adjourns. The only thing in the way is the boundary question and that, I believe, will go against us. The question will then arise, shall we submit?

(49.) To Charles W. Whipple, Jan. 31, 1836.— * * * Tomorrow I suppose you will again take your seat in the legislature, but whether the two houses will immediately adjourn again to await the action of Congress on our application for admission into the union, or continue in session and proceed to prepare the different subjects of legislation for their final action at the proper time, is a matter about which I am not well informed. The President himself and all our leading political friends here think it best for the legislature to adjourn and wait the action of Congress until the close of the session or until the admission of the State into the union, but if not admitted before the adjournment, they will then have no objections to our going on in our own way and enjoying the rights of self government as well as the people of the original states. They will do nothing to countenance further delay on the part of our political opponents, in according to us all the rights guaranteed by the ordinance, but whatever these rights may be they think it would be inexpedient for us to go further just at present, as it would give the opposition some plausible ground on which to oppose us. * * * * *

(50.) To Sheldon McKnight, Feb. 3, 1836.—Your letters received with the certificates of acquittal from the clerk of the court in the case of your indictment for manslaughter. I have handed Col. Winder's certificate of acquittal and the letter of Judge Morell over to our delegate, G. W. Jones, who is now writing a letter to the postmaster general enclosing them, and expressing a strong hope that you may receive the appointment of postmaster. The matter shall be fully explained to Mr. Kendall tomorrow by Jones and myself personally. The copy of the indictment which Col. Schwarz sent here was returned to him by William Ward to whom it was sent to be presented to the Postmaster General. Ward would not present it. * * * Mr. Matthews is here, I understand to get the postoffice. * * * You may say to Judge Morell it is probable that he will be reappointed. Judge Sibley declines. Of course somebody will be appointed in his place. The delegation here do not agree as to who it shall be.

(51.) To Marshall J. Bacon, Feb. 4.— * * * As he (McKnight) has now been acquitted, I presume he will receive the appointment as soon as Mr. Norvell shall resign. You are aware that I recommended him, and believing as I do that he was not in the slightest degree censurable for what occurred in the Avery difficulty, I feel bound now in justice and honor to stand by him the more firmly on account of the late movement against him. * * * * *

(52.) To Col. D. Goodwin, Detroit, Feb. 4.—I thank you for the suggestions contained in yours of the 22d ult., relative to an addition to the State of Michigan on the west, provided Congress should break up our boundary on the south. The matter has been fully discussed here and I have no doubt the committee will be willing to give us all the country west of Lake Michigan and north and east of the Menominee river of Green Bay and the Montreal river of Lake Superior, thus giving us the greater part of the coast of that lake, which may at some future time be valuable. This seems to be the division fixed on in case our southern boundary should be, broken up which I yet hope will not be done. If it should be, however, I for one shall go in for all the country Congress will give us west of the lakes. It will only require the consent of the legislature to receive it, according to the doctrine which maintains that Congress can cut and carve the territory as they choose, and if that doctrine is to prevail, we will take advantage of it and let the "Devil take the hindmost" as gamesters say; for on this principle, all the legislation of Congress in relation to the boundaries of the states formed in the territory northwest of the river Ohio has been and is a mere bullying and gambling operation where power and interest and artifice combine to insult and rob and cheat the weak and defenseless of their just rights. * * *

(53.) To E. Ransom, Feb. 7, 1836.— * * * I was under mistake the other day when I informed you your nomination was before the senate as judge. It was not and it is doubtful now whether it will be. There will doubtless be a new appointment in place of Judge Sibley who declines, but whether it will be yourself or Chas. W. Whipple is the question. One of the Michigan delegation will recommend you and use every exertion to secure your appointment, while the other two will go for Whipple. We shall see who will be successful.

(54.) To Hon. John Forsyth, secretary of state, Feb. 7, 1836.—Understanding that Judge Sibley of the Supreme Court of Michigan has declined a reappointment, I beg leave to recommend Epaphroditus Ransom of Bronson, in the western part of the peninsula of Michigan as a gentleman every way well qualified and the best selection that could possibly be made to fill his place. For the convenience of the people, some attention ought to be paid to the geographical location of the judges of the court and as Judge Wilkins and Morell, who I understand are to be reappointed, reside, the one at Tecumseh and the other at Detroit, both in the eastern part of the peninsula, this alone would be a strong reason in favor of Mr. Ransom, who resides where I do myself, in the western portion; and as no person can deny his qualifications and fitness for the station, I hope he may be appointed.

(55.) To John S. Horner, acting governor of Michigan, Feb. 8, 1836.— * * * The legislative council at Green Bay have memoralized the President for your removal from office because you were not at their meeting, as they seem to suppose you were instructed to be. They are in error in this matter and you ought to inform them that you received no instructions on the subject. The time having passed for meeting the council at Green Bay, you ought now to convene them at Cassville in Ioway county, at some proper period, perhaps in April or May, and in the meantime visit different settlements in that region of the country and make yourself well acquainted with the people there. You will find them warm friends when you once get their good will. The legislative council have memoralized Congress, also, on the subject of a territorial government and the establishment of a seat of government at Cassville. I have no doubt that is the most proper place for it. * * *

(56.) To Col. Dan Goodwin, Feb. 8.— * * * Judge Morell arrived last night. His nomination as judge was sent in about three weeks ago and without my knowledge. As circumstances are, he will doubtless be reappointed but whether Whipple will be placed on the bench is more doubtful. I do not recommend him, yet there are two to one against me and his chances are certainly good. In relation to yourself, I doubt whether Norvell or Crary will either go for your appointment as district judge. Mr. Crary said the other day that he wished to be better satisfied as to the fact whether you were or were not the counsellor of Gov. Horner in relation to the pardons granted for offenses under the act of February last providing against the exercise of foreign jurisdiction. Senator Buchanan told me he should support Wilkins, his countryman, for the office of district judge and, taking all circumstances into consideration, I should not be much disappointed if Wilkins should succeed. * * * * * * * * *

(57.) To J. Q. Adams, Monroe, Feb. 9, 1836.—Your letter of the 29th ult. received addressed to Messrs. Norvell, Crary and myself and has been sent to Messrs. Norvell and Crary. I yesterday saw Mr. Norvell who thought it best to wait and do nothing until something more could be heard about the kidnapping which you mention. My own impression is that the sheriff of Monroe county should be sent to collect the taxes by selling property where it is necessary and that he should be supported by a posse sufficient to sustain and enforce his authority, and that warrants under the law of last February should be immediately issued against all the persons who aided in any manner in carrying off the deputy sheriff. The people of Toledo must be made to respect the laws and jurisdiction of Michigan and the sooner decided measures are taken the better. I write this in great haste and without much reflection. It is probable I may write you again soon.

(58.) To S. McKnight, Feb. 9, 1836.— * * * Judge Morell arrived here night before last and found that his nomination had been before the senate since before the time that I wrote him. There was a probability at one time that it would be withdrawn. A portion of the delegation were opposed to him, and I could not consistently advocate, myself, the appointment of any man to that station who held the opinion that Michigan could not organize and put in operation her State government until Congress should first assent to it by admitting the State into the union. If this is true the ordinance of 1787 is a solemn mockery and a bench composed of Judges of the Supreme Court holding this opinion would decide, on the very first case that should come before them, that all laws enacted by the State were void and no laws at all, and that the jurisdiction of the territorial government must continue till it shall please Congress to admit our State into the union. This opinion is directly opposed to that of John Quincy Adams and several of the ablest men of the Union, and, as a friend to the State government, I could not advocate the appointment of Judge Morell who entertained such opinions. Yet my personal regard for him prevented me from taking any part against him and also from allowing anything to be said to his personal injury. His nomination will be confirmed as will also that of Judge Sibley in all probability. The latter will doubtless resign as soon as he shall receive the appointment, but that will leave ample time for the bar and the people to select the candidate of their choice. I have all along recommended E. Ransom of Bronson in place of Judge Sibley, who I supposed, did not wish a reappointment, but on this matter of the succession the delegation have been divided, two one way and one the other. * * * * * * *

(59.) To Arthur Bronson, New York, Feb. 10, 1836.— * * * The vote of the legislative council at Green Bay in favor of Cassville as the seat of government was 7 to 2, and Gen. Jones has said he would procure the insertion of a clause locating the seat of government there in the bill now before Congress. * * * There will no doubt be a strong remonstrance from the mines and other places and he will be censured.

(60.) To Amos Kendall, postmaster general, Feb. 15, 1836.—Having been called upon for maps of Michigan by the different committees of the senate and house of representatives with whom I have had business to attend to relating to the interests of my constituents, I ordered the publishers at New York to send ten maps of the territory and ten of the State of Michigan to the clerk of the house of representatives for the use of the committees of the house and senate. They were accordingly sent to him in two packages weighing about two and a half pounds each, but upon the cover corner each package was marked for me, and the postmaster at New York, supposing they were for me, charged postage accordingly, amounting to some forty or fifty dollars. As the maps are not in any way for my use or benefit, but exclusively for the use and benefit of the two houses of Congress and were sent to the clerk of the house of representatives, I beg leave to request that the postage may be remitted.

(61.) To Hon. J. D. Doty, Green Bay, Feb. 10, 1836.—I thank you for your letter and the resolutions and report it contained, and also for a copy of the memorial adopted by the council asking the President to remove Gov. Horner. He is now, I understand, on his way to Mineral Point where, or at Cassville, he will convene the council at some time during the coming spring. I think the bill now before the senate for the organization of the new territory will become a law, but it is extremely doubtful whether Congress will not pass both that and our State government question by until another session. There seems to be a general admission that both subjects should be acted on immediately, but no one seems to think it of much importance, and so long as Congress can find anything else to do, they will not be taken up. * * * I, last year, at your suggestion, introduced a resolution into the house of representatives, which was adopted, requiring the secretary of the treasury to prepare copies of the plats and field notes of the surveys of private land claims at Mackinac, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, also at the Portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and to transmit them to Congress at the commencement of the present session. My object in making the call was to have the report and maps printed so that the people of those places could be furnished with copies, but now when the documents are received from the secretary, the house refuse to have them printed, and they lie before the committee of private land claims almost entirely useless. The report itself is not as full as it should be, for instead of transcripts of the decisions of the commissioners on these claims, there is only a reference to the congressional document where they may be found published in the State papers.

(62.) To Dr. A. Philes, Galena, Ill., Feb. 18, 1836.— * * * In relation to carrying the mail in stages to Fort Winnebago, I have talked with our delegate on the subject and both he and myself will do all we can to advance your wishes. In relation to the land office at Milwaukee, Jones will probably have the nomination of one of the officers and the other will be sent from abroad, I think from New York. * * * The corruption and management of the delegation in Congress from Ohio and Indiana is about to deprive Michigan of the country claimed by the former state, and to compensate us in some measure, the committee will probably

give us a strip of country along the southern shore of Lake Superior, where we can raise our own Indians in all time to come and supply ourselves now and then with a little bear meat for delicacy. * * *

(63.) To W. L. Newberry, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 21, 1836.— * * * The bill for the organization of the Wisconsin territory will undoubtedly become a law. It will embrace all the present territory of Michigan west of Lake Michigan and Green Bay and south and southwest of a line running up the Menominee river of Green Bay and through Old Desart Lake, down the Montreal river to Lake Superior, and thence northwesterly to the national boundary, leaving about two-thirds the south shore of Lake Superior to be attached to the State of Michigan, to pay for the part which Congress seem determined to give to the state of Ohio. It is doubtful whether the seat of government will be fixed in the bill. The council have recommended Cassville, but private letters from Maj. Legate and some others say "that place was fixed on, not to promote the interests of the people but to gratify foreign speculators," and the people of Ioway and Dubuque counties are said to be strongly opposed to it. Before the receipt of such letters Gen. Jones had agreed to have the bill fix the seat of government as the council asked it. The bill provides for two branches of the legislature. I will send you one as soon as it can be obtained. There is a rumor here that Gov. Cass is to go as minister to France as soon as the indemnity is paid, but I have not taken the trouble to ascertain the truth of it. * * *

(64.) To Amos Kendall, postmaster general, Feb. 21, 1836.—Sheldon McKnight who was here in the early part of the present winter, an applicant for the appointment of postmaster of Detroit, on being insulted last year struck a man with his open hand on his mouth and knocked him down; in consequence of which, it was supposed by some, the man soon afterward died. On account of the unfortunate affair he was bound over to make his appearance at the next term of court; on examination no blame was attached to him and he was discharged from his bonds and everybody supposed the matter was ended. So it probably would have been had he not been a prominent candidate for the appointment of postmaster. Occupying this position, while he was absent from Detroit, on a visit here this winter, a secret movement was made against him, and on his return he found he had been indicted by a lean majority of the grand jury for manslaughter. Much to his credit and to the destruction of the hopes of his opponents, who would have gladly kept him under the odium of a prosecution as long as possible, he immediately demanded trial and although he knew that the indictment against him could be quashed, waived all objections and instructed his counsel to proceed without delay. The result was an immediate and triumphal acquittal, as you will perceive by the accompanying statement of the case by Judge Wilkins, who was on the bench at the trial. You will also see by the accompanying letter from Elon Farnsworth, one of the most highly respectable lawyers and citizens of Detroit, that the trial has raised Mr. McKnight in the estimation of the citizens of Detroit so that his standing among them is better than before, though his support for the appointment of postmaster has always been much stronger than that of any other individual.

(65.) To Col. Andrew Mack, Detroit, Feb. 21, 1836.— * * * Mosely, LeRoy, Thorn, Judge Steel and Judge Morell are here and we only want yourself and Mr. Receiver Sheldon to make out a full team for logging and breaking up any farm whatever. * * * I am sorry to have to inform you that the committee

on the judiciary in the house of representatives will report on the boundary question in a few days against us and in favor of Ohio. I have very little doubt the report of the committee will be affirmed by both houses in opposition to everything we can do against it. Anticipating this, I have said to the committee, if they break up our southern boundary I for one shall go in for all the country we can get on Lake Superior and Michigan without producing serious inconvenience to the inhabitants that may now or hereafter reside there; and I have no doubt the committee will recommend that our western boundary be so altered as to run down Lake Michigan to the Fox islands, thence along the main ship canal into Green Bay and up the Bay to the mouth of the Menominee river, thence up said river to the head of the branch nearest Lac Vieu Dessert, thence through said lake down the Montreal river to Lake Superior. I understand Messrs. Norvell and Crary are opposed to this addition and will try to prevent it, but it seems to me if we are to lose so much on the south we ought at least to have something on the west and north. What think you? It can certainly do us no harm if it does no good. My opinion is that within twenty years the addition here proposed will be valued by Michigan at more than forty millions of dollars, and that even after ten years the State would not think of selling it for that sum. When compelled by the strong arm of power most unjustly to give up and yield to the gigantic state of Ohio a part of our territory on the south, I can perceive no good reason why, under the circumstances, we should not receive all Congress are willing to give us elsewhere. If we lose on the south and gain nothing on the north and west, we shall be poor indeed.

(66.) To Charles C. Hascall, member of the Senate, Michigan, Feb. 21, 1836.— * * * It is now known here that the committee on the judiciary in the house of representatives have agreed to report in favor of the state of Ohio on the boundary question and in favor of our immediate admission into the union whenever the legislature of the State shall assent to the proposed change in our southern boundary. If the legislature does not assent, the State is to be kept out of the union and the President, however unjust it may appear, will feel himself compelled to maintain the jurisdiction of the Territorial government. He thinks, and so does the attorney general, that the act of the legislative council for the election of delegates to form a constitution, and our proceeding under that act, in forming a State government, were strictly legal and in accordance with the provisions of the ordinance of 1787; but he also thinks, that having formed a constitution and State government, we must now wait to be admitted into the Union before we can constitutionally proceed any further. The faith of the nation, he says, is pledged for our admission, and it is not for him to presume that Congress will fail to perform their duty. For this reason he will feel bound to see the laws of the Territory enforced until Congress shall admit the State into the Union. Now, if Congress will not admit the State, except upon the condition that the people of the State through their legislature shall consent to have it bounded on the south by the line claimed by the state of Ohio as her northern boundary, we have no other remedy but to attempt to maintain our State government and the integrity of its limits by force. This would be revolutionary, but in my opinion would be justifiable. Yet, as we should in this case have both the state of Ohio and the the power of the United States to contend against, it is obvious that we must be unsuccessful, and lose the disputed tract at last. For this reason, although justifiable in principle, a resort to force may not be expedient. Flagrant as the wrong is it will probably be better to submit to it than attempt a revolution in which we must eventually be overpowered. There is no way in which this case can

be brought before the Supreme Court of the United States for a direct decision till Congress shall prescribe the manner of doing so, which will never be effected, consequently, we are wholly without the means of obtaining redress. Under this state of things I have said to the committee, who are now preparing their report, if they are determined to break up our southern boundary they ought also to change our western boundary so as to give Michigan all the country on the south shore Lake Superior that can be attached to her without material inconvenience to the people who may eventually reside there. In accordance with this suggestion, I believe the committees of both houses will be willing to propose to the legislature to assent to an alteration of our western boundary so that it may run from the northwest corner of the state of Indiana down Lake Michigan to the most western extremity of the most westerly of the Fox islands, thence through the middle of the main ship canal into Green Bay, thence through the bay to the mouth of the Menominee river, thence up the middle of said river to the head of the fork which rises nearest to Lac Vieu Dessert, thence to the head of said lake and through the same down the Montreal river to Lake Superior, and thence to the Canadian boundary where it leaves the lake on the west. This will give Michigan about twenty thousand square miles of land, together with three-fourths of the American shore of Lake Superior, which may at some future time be esteemed very valuable. A considerable tract of country between Lake Michigan and Lake Superior is known to be fertile and this with the fisheries on Lake Superior and the copper mines supposed to exist there may hereafter be worth to us many millions of dollars. At any rate it can do us no harm and I am in favor of getting it while we can, for at best, if we are cut down on the south, as we certainly shall be, our State will be quite poor and small enough. Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary, I understand, differ with me in opinion on this subject and will be opposed to this addition, but seeing no good reason to the contrary, so far from objecting to it myself I shall continue to urge it, under the present circumstances, as of the first importance. I am satisfied both houses of Congress will agree to it unless strong objections should be made by a portion of the delegation.

(67.) To George Howe, member of legislature, Michigan, Feb. 22, 1836.— * * * There is now a prospect of a more speedy action of Congress on our admission into the Union than could have been expected three weeks ago, and on that account I am inclined to think the legislature may venture to proceed to legislate without the fear of injuring our cause here, though such a feeling exists against the course we have taken that there has been danger of appearing to go too fast for our own good.

(68.) To Albert G. Ellis, Astor, Green Bay, Mich., Feb. 22, 1836.— * * * The bill for the organization of the new territory (of Wisconsin) will doubtless become a law. Gen. Dodge will be Governor, Horner secretary, I presume, Irvin one of the judges and who the others will be I do not know. Jones, however, thinks Irvin is opposing him and would rather see some one else from Green Bay appointed in his stead.

(69.) To H. H. Comstock, Feb. 23, 1836.— * * * There was nothing in my letter to Judge Morell to induce anyone to suppose that I approved the nomination of Mr. Whipple as the best that could be made, although I did say in substance that however strong my friendly feelings might be for Judge Morell I could not support him if he believed we could not constitutionally proceed to organize and put in operation our State government in the event that Congress should delay our admission beyond a reasonable time. Nor can you or any other person holding

an office under our constitution support any man for a seat on the bench who will decide that you have no authority to act and that consequently all you may do can have no binding force or effect. If you and the other members of the legislature were to do this you would present the gross inconsistency of a body attempting to destroy itself. I am not an advocate of hasty proceedings in the matter of putting our State government fully in operation, but I believe we have the right to do so, and that it will be expedient whenever Congress shall delay beyond what under all the circumstances may be considered a reasonable time to act on our admission into the union. I have been of the opinion that as a matter of expediency we had better wait until about the close of the present session of Congress before you go on to pass laws, but as there is now a prospect that Congress will, within a month or two decide on our admission, I do not know that it is of much importance whether you remain in session or adjourn. I suppose from what I see in the newspapers you will go on without adjourning. * * *

(70.) To Edward Lyon, Feb. 24, 1836.— * * * I think the best place for you to go will be to the mouth of the Maple river at the head of steamboat navigation on Grand river, about 95 miles from Lake Michigan. The place is called Arthursburg on the map which I send you, but we will change the name and call it, if you choose, Lyonsburg. I own the whole town site and a large tract of farming land of a most superior quality around it. It will be one of the most important towns in Michigan, though little or nothing has been there yet. I shall probably expend several thousand dollars there during the coming season in improvements and you had best immediately on the opening of navigation in the spring get a small stock of goods suitable to a new settlement and at Buffalo or Cleveland or wherever you can buy cheapest get 150 or 200 barrels of flour and 50 or 75 barrels of pork and take the whole, by way of the lakes, around to Grand river, thence up the river to the place I have been describing and there set yourself down in business. * * * The country immediately around there will settle very fast next summer and you will probably in the course of the season be able to dispose of five or six thousand dollars' worth of goods, besides selling a great quantity of all kinds of provisions which will command almost any price you choose to ask.

(71.) To C. K. Green, Feb. 25, 1836.— * * * I see the legislature have determined to go on without adjourning to await the action of Congress. It is a matter of no very great consequence except that they will have to remain longer in session than they can find business to occupy their time profitably. (Describes situation in Congress on Michigan affairs.) I understand Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary are opposed to any addition there in any event, but if we lose on the south, as I now see we must, I should feel that I did not do my duty if I should neglect an opportunity to extend our boundary west. You are aware by this time, I hope, that there was no occasion for the scolding in your last letter. My course here is straight forward and whether it leads me through a bog or over mountains I shall follow it and follow it alone if my company have left me. * * *

(72.) To C. K. Green, Feb. 28, 1836.— * * * The nominations of Judges Morell, Wilkins, Sibley and Irvin were confirmed by the senate a day or two ago. Judge Sibley, it is understood, will not accept but his appointment will give time for a fair expression of the public voice as to who shall be his successor. Governor Horner left here this morning and is going by way of Detroit to the western part of Michigan Territory to convene the legislative council sometime in May next. The President was not pleased with his coming on here.

(73.) To Edward Mundy, Lieutenant Governor, Michigan, Feb. 26, 1836.— * * * I am waiting with anxiety and impatience to see the report of the committee on the judiciary of the house of representatives on our boundary question and admission into the union. The report will be made in a day or two and on the boundary will be against us. All political parties here are courting the favor of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois and there no longer remains any doubt that the interests of Michigan are to be sacrificed. Our admission will be made to depend on the assent of the legislature to the boundary claimed by Ohio and Indiana. If we refuse to come into the union on these terms we shall have a conflict with the general government, for it is the opinion of both the President and attorney general that the duty of the former requires that he should see the laws of the Territory faithfully executed until the admission of the State and however painful it may be to him to oppose our State government he will not feel at liberty to disregard the laws which he finds now in force. I have had hope that he would veto the bill proposing a change in our boundary as a condition of our admission but that hope has gone. A majority of the cabinet as well as a majority of both houses of Congress believe Congress have power to give the State such boundaries as they choose, and if so, the President, I believe, thinks there are not sufficient grounds to justify a veto. Under this state of things there remains for Michigan no hope of redress. She will be compelled either to submit to the grossest wrong or make an attempt at revolution. It will be for the legislature to consider and decide on the matter that will be presented to them as they may think the honor and best interests of the State may require and I write this now that your mind may be made up on the subject.

(74.) To Stevens T. Mason, Feb. 28, 1836.— * * * I thank you for the copy you sent me of your message. It has been a good deal sought here and has added much to your reputation. I regret that you did not send me more copies. There is one thing, however, that I am sorry you touched upon at all. It is the power of the legislature to assent to a change in our boundaries. I fear your remarks on this subject will occasion us a good deal of trouble and I will tell you how. It is now absolutely certain that Congress will never consent to our admission into the union without a change of boundaries, at least so far as our southern boundary is concerned, and if we remain out of the union the President will consider it his duty to enforce the Territorial government with all the power at his disposal. This, united with the force that we should have to encounter from Ohio, would make resistance almost hopeless if we should attempt it. I don't say that we ought to submit, let the odds be what it may against us. Our cause is too righteous to ever impose a thing of this sort as a duty, but it is my impression we shall be compelled to submit by the strong arm of power. I can see for us no escape and if, on consideration, the people of Michigan should deem it better to submit than attempt a revolution, it is desirable that they should do so by giving the consent of their legislature without calling another convention. Such consent would have been considered sufficient by Congress if the power of the legislature over the matter had not been questioned, and may be sufficient now, but I am informed that since the receipt of your message the Ohio delegation have determined to consider any consent the legislature may give as insufficient and they will therefore require the consent of the people represented by delegates in a convention. If they succeed in their attempt we shall be in a bad condition—but if they do not all will be well.

(75.) To David Carver, Chicago, Feb. 28, 1836.— * * * I am glad to learn that you have made arrangements to run a vessel weekly from Chicago to the mouth of the Grand River. I have no doubt a steam boat would do very well next summer

on the same route. N. O. Sargeant and Richard Godfrey of the village of Kent (Grand Rapids) and some other gentlemen are now making provision for a steam boat to run regularly next summer from Kent to the mouth of the river. Another light steam boat will be placed on the river above the falls some time next summer so as to form a regular line of travel from Detroit to the mouth of the Grand River and thence to Chicago, Milwaukee or wherever the lake steam boats or vessels can be found to carry passengers.

(76.) To John S. Barry, Detroit, Feb. 29, 1836.— * * * You will see by the editorial of the Globe this morning in an article headed "Arkansas" evidence of the prejudice which I am sorry to say exists against Michigan here on account of her assuming to be a State. This prejudice is seized on and fostered by the influence of Ohio for the purpose of carrying their point in the boundary controversy.

(77.) To James Kingsley, Ann Arbor, March 2, 1836.— * * * Reports have been made against us in both houses on the boundary question, in the senate yesterday and in the house today. Congress will certainly decide against us.

(78.) To James W. Taber, March 2, 1836.—I am glad to hear you have decided on going to Michigan. You ought to take nothing with you but what you can box up and carry in a comparatively small compass with safety. Probably you had better carry your crockery, but no farming utensils except such as axes, hoes, chains, etc. Harrows, plows, carts and so forth are too cumbersome. You had also better dispose of your horses, oxen, calves, sheep, hogs, etc. The driving will cost you more trouble and delay than will balance the loss you will experience in consequence. Take nothing but your family and what you can put in a few boxes and travel conveniently with on board steam and canal boats to Detroit. At that place Giles S. Isham will meet you with my wagon and horses and convey yourself, family and baggage to the mouth of the Maple River, about 125 miles northwest by west from Detroit. You will see where it is by the map which I herewith enclose. It is laid down by the name of Arthursburg though no town has yet been laid out there. * * * You had better stop at the mouth of the Maple and take charge of my business there. There are now two log cabins on my land there, one built by a man named Hunt three or four years ago without my permission and the other built this winter by Isham and his family. You will have at first to go in with either Hunt or Isham unless Hunt can be removed and pursuaded to go away. It is a pleasant place and there are some very good inhabitants living around within a mile or two and the whole country will settle next summer faster than almost any portion of the United States. You will soon find yourself in a better society than where you are now. * * * I had better fix the time for your reaching Detroit as the 10th of May, so that Isham may be there to meet you. This will require you to leave home on the first of May and at that time you can go without difficulty as far as Buffalo and if the harbor there should not be clear of ice you can leave your boxes in the care of some forwarding merchant to be sent to Detroit by the first vessel that goes out and yourself and family can take the stage to Dunkirk where you will be able to find a steam boat and proceed to Detroit. You can learn where the team is and whether it has arrived by inquiring of E. B. Bishop who has an extensive iron store on Jefferson avenue. * * * You can say to Mr. Pierson that I would if I were in his place go to Michigan or the country west of Lake Michigan for I know that anywhere in the new states and territories a man either with or without a fortune can make money faster than in any of the old states.

(79.) To Ethan A. Brown, commissioner of the general land office, March 8, 1836. —Enclosed I send herewith a resolution of the legislature of Michigan requesting

the secretary of the treasury to approve such selections of land for the University of Michigan as may be made by the senators and representatives from that State to the Congress of the United States. This I presume will be sufficient authority for us to act on the part of the University, especially as no evidence of any authority to act has ever heretofore been furnished by the persons who have made former selections, and I therefore, perceive no objection to the immediate approval of the selections made and forwarded to the secretary of the treasury a few days ago, unless it may be the want of evidence that none of the lands selected can be legally claimed under any of the pre-emption laws that have been or are now in force. On this point it may be difficult without the trouble and expense of hiring an agent to visit and examine every square rod of the ground to exhibit positive testimony to prove beyond all possibility of doubt that no such claim can be made, but I can certify that late in the fall of 1833 I visited and saw every section that we have selected and there was no person on any part of the land then and that I have never heard and do not believe that any part of the land selected will or can be claimed under any of the pre-emption laws that have been passed. I have seen hundreds of persons within the last six months who are well acquainted with the land but have never heard an intimation from any source that there would be even the pretense of a claim set up to any part of it. The fact that the land is worth much more than the government price and that no pre-emption has been claimed at the Monroe land office since the passage of the act of the 19th June, 1834, is ample proof that no claim exists. If, however, what has been stated should be deemed insufficient to prove that none exist, I have to request that the selections may be approved subject to any pre-emption claims that may be legally established. Early action on this subject will confer a favor on the trustees of the University who are desirous to complete the location of the lands to which the institution is entitled as early as possible.

(80.) To John S. Bagg, Detroit, March 10, 1836.—I am much gratified with the spirit and temper of an excellent article in the daily Free Press of the 1st inst., just received in reply to the Macomb Democrat. You may feel perfectly sure of occupying the right ground now on the question of the adjournment of the legislature, which I perceive has produced some excitement among those who should but, I fear, will not be friends. I say to you in strict confidence that the course pursued by the majority of our legislature has had the effect to create a prejudice against us here, even among our friends, that is operating injuriously on our interests as a State. The unanimous advice of the President, cabinet and every leading member of the Democratic party of both houses has been: "Wait till the adjournment of Congress before you set up for yourselves and put your State government in operation. We will do all we can for you if you do not, by your own imprudence, place yourselves in a situation where we cannot sustain you without serious injury to ourselves as a party." A great many persons think we took rather too high ground in proceeding to form our State government without a special law of Congress authorizing it, but the President, attorney general and most of the leading members of the party in both houses think that thus far we have proceeded strictly in accordance with our rights under the ordinance, but they say we can go no further till Congress shall act in the matter. We have done all that is necessary on our part and Congress is under the most solemn obligation to receive the State into the union. The President is exceedingly impatient on account of the delay of Congress to act in the matter, yet he says, and the attorney general and all his friends say, we can not proceed to put our State legally in operation until Congress does act, and in their opinion the time has not yet come for a revolutionary movement on our part. I am particular in giving you the prevailing sentiment here because it is desirable that

you should know it fully, yet you will see the propriety of saying nothing about it because it might look like censuring the majority of the legislature which can now do no good. Since matters have gone so far it is of very little consequence whether they go on or not. We shall lose the disputed country and by a much larger majority than I had ever supposed. I understand the bill has passed the senate today with but three dissenting votes. The political influence, together with the prejudice excited against us is so strong that nobody will open his mouth in our favor.

(81.) To Z. Pitcher, Fort Monroe, Va., March 12, 1836.— * * * I send you a copy of the report of the judiciary committee of the senate on our boundary question. It agrees with the report of the committee of the house and both show beyond all question that practically there is no such thing as morality or honesty in politics. All parties are courting the electoral votes of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois and poor Michigan must be sacrificed. We shall probably be allowed to come into the union, if we surrender our rights, but the union of gamblers and pickpockets, to a poor traveller who has just been robbed, is hardly to be desired.

(82.) To George Crawford, Elkhart, Ind., March 12, 1836.— * * * In relation to Indian lands, Rix Robinson and several other persons with about 20 or 30 of the principal chiefs of the Chippewas and Ottawas are now here for the purpose of making a treaty with the government for the sale of all the remaining Indian lands in the peninsula of Michigan. Many of the chiefs are opposed to selling but I think a treaty will be made in the course of a week or two. * * * Gov. Cass will be sent Minister to France some time next summer. Who will fill his place is unknown at present. * * * * * * * *

(83.) To John Biddle, Detroit, March 16, 1836.—By the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1835, "William Woodbridge, John Biddle, and the governor of the Territory of Michigan, trustees of the University of said Territory" are "authorized to sell at auction to the highest bidder, after sixty days previous notice of the time and place, in three of the newspapers of said territory, the following lands belonging to said University, and lying near Toledo on the Maumee river of Lake Erie, to wit: tract number three and four, the southwest quarter of No. 2, and the west half of section No. 3, within the twelve mile reservation at the foot of the rapids of the said Maumee river, and the said trustees are hereby authorized to make good and sufficient conveyances of said lands, etc." The object of this letter is to apprise you that a bill has passed the house of representatives and will probably pass the senate providing for the sale of the above mentioned lands according to the terms of an agreement made by Major Oliver with the trustees of the University some time, I think, in 1834. I wish to know if a majority of the trustees are willing to now let the lands go on these terms? If they are not they had better advertise and sell them to the highest bidder as soon as possible for the bill now before Congress is urged on the Ohio delegation and will certainly pass. My opinion is that the lands are worth 3 or 4 times what Maj. Oliver was to give for them.

(84.) To A. E. Wing, Monroe, March 19, 1836.— * * * In regard to the appointment of Capt. Clark to one of the new land offices in Michigan I can only say I shall recommend him and I hope he may succeed, yet I presume a majority of the delegation will be against him as we are and have been divided on most subjects since our arrival here. It appears to me some of us here wish to build up a personal party that will be devoted to our own views and interests and denounce all others. Such an effort will receive no aid from me in any shape whatever, and I am confidant that those who make the attempt will fail and be themselves denounced by the people. The true state of things in Michigan is as well understood by the Presi-

dent, Mr. Forsyth, Van Buren, Wright, etc., as it is by you or I and the opponents of intrigue and base management have nothing to fear. The land office I presume will not be removed from Monroe for I have heard nothing said about it here. * * * Mr. Schoolcraft is here holding a council with a delegation of Chippewa and Ottawa chiefs for the purchase of all the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan. Their answer yesterday was that they would not sell and the present prospect is discouraging. Yet I think their objections will be overcome and that the United States will get the lands. It is well settled that Gov. Cass goes Minister to France but his successor in the war department is not yet selected. Polk has been spoken of but will not be appointed.

(85.) To John S. Barry, Detroit, March 20, 1836.— * * * I thank you for your letter of the 27th ult., and the copy of the protest you enclosed. You also enclosed one to Mr. Forsyth as he informed me sometime ago, and yesterday at dinner at his house he expressed to me his entire concurrence in the views and principles it presents, yet he said he did not wish to advise the legislature or any member of it but leave them to act on their own responsibility with a view of the whole case before them. So far as any interest has been felt here in our proceedings, the course of the minority of the legislature in attempting to adjourn and await the action of Congress has been approved of by all the cabinet and every member of Congress of both houses without exception; yet very little is cared about us and probably one-half of the members of Congress do not know whether our legislaure is going on or not. The select committee of the senate will meet to consider our affairs tomorrow and will report a bill precisely similar to the one reported by Mr. Thomas in the house of representatives with the addition of three or four sections providing for the establishment of a district court of the United States for the state of Michigan. It will not be more than a month before the legislature or people will be called upon to act on the proposition submitted to them by Congress relative to a change of boundary for our state. I understand I am represented as having advised assenting to the change giving up to Ohio what she asks. This is unqualifiedly false and every citizen is as competent to judge for himself as I am when he has the facts before him and to place the facts before him I would do all in my power, but I advise nothing. Our case is precisely this. We are compelled to yield assent to the boundary Congress proposes or remain out of the union indefinitely or till we will assent. The people may make up their minds on this point, for as high-handed, unjust and oppressive as it is, this will be the alternative which Congress will present to them. You remark that I do not write to my friends as often as they wish. This omission is occasioned by want of time and not of inclination to do so. Most of the private business and correspondence relative to business heretofore presented to Congress falls on me so that I have no time to devote to any thing else.

(86.) To G. Burritt, Shelburne, Vt., March 21, 1836.— * * * In relation to the country on the Grand river. Much of the land there is heavily timbered but there are oak openings for ten or fifteen miles in extent in some places. The country for four or five miles around Arthursburg at the mouth of the Maple River is of this description. There is no prairie in that country except about four or five hundred acres of rich bottom lands that I own at the mouth of the Maple and which was cleared off by the Indians to make corn fields about 100 years ago. The climate there is rather more mild than in Vermont and the snow in winter usually falls from 6 to 18 inches in depth. This winter there has not been as much as six inches. Michigan will increase rapidly in population whether she comes into the union or not.

(87.) To Sheldon McKnight, March 20, 1836.— * * * Mr. Norvell has not so far as I can learn the least idea of resigning the postoffice until he shall get his seat in the senate which from present appearances will not be this year as it seems pretty certain that the legislature will not take upon themselves to accede to the conditions which Congress will undoubtedly propose. * * * I have taken care to present all the papers relative to your trial that show your case in a favorable light and I believe that matter has not in the slightest degree injured you. * * * I have very little communication with Norvell and Crary. They board at Mrs. S. A. Hills on the avenue nearly opposite Gadsby's and I board at Mrs. Pittman's, Third street. I hear that Norvell is exceedingly bitter because I prevented the appointment of Whipple by recommending Ransom and the President would not, in consequence, appoint either, but took the old judges. He is welcome to indulge his malice. He is perfectly well understood here by Forsyth, Wright, the President and all the leading administration men and I have heard every one of those here named speak most decidedly against him. Mason is also altogether out of the good books of Forsyth and the President and on the whole Mr. Norvell finds he is not half as big a giant as he supposed himself. * * * I learn from your last letter and another one lately received that Mason is trying to use a letter of mine to my own injury. If so, it is the last time he will have an opportunity to act the hypocrite and scoundrel with me. You are right in pronouncing it false that I have ever in any instance whatever expressed a wish or opinion favorable to gaining admission into the union at the sacrifice of any of our rights. Nothing was ever further from my intention than such a recommendation as you mention. I recommend nothing. I give no advise—for this reason: Every member of the legislature and every citizen of Michigan is as capable of judging for himself as I am and we must all do so upon our own responsibility. I shall state all the facts of the case that may come to my knowledge that every individual may know them as well as myself and when known each may form his own opinion for himself. It would be cowardly in any one to be afraid to do so and give a recommendation of mine as the reason for his action and then blame me for misleading him in the event of his being wrong. I repeat, I shall recommend nothing but shall leave every one to act for himself as I shall do without regard to the opinions of anyone.

(88.) To A. E. Wing, March 21, 1836.—Enclosed herewith I send you a copy of a bill which has now become a law relative to the disposal of certain lands belonging to the University and lying near Toledo, Michigan. Maj. Oliver, assisted by Mr. Ewing and his Ohio friends, has got it through by close attention during two or three months which he has been here. The trustees can confirm the former bargain made with him or not as they may think just and proper. Our Michigan matters will now soon be acted on in both houses. Tomorrow the two select committees of the senate on the admission of Michigan and Arkansas, the judiciary committee of the senate and the judiciary and territorial committees of the house are all to meet together in one room to agree on what Congress shall propose to us. A report will be made by the senate committees immediately thereafter and the matter taken up and disposed of at an early day, unless Benton's Expunger should delay it, which is not improbable, as Calhoun and Clay are both charged with speeches on the subject. Our northwestern boundary on the south shore of Lake Superior will be either the Montreal or Ontonagon river, probably the latter, as a majority of the select committee this morning were decidedly opposed to giving Michigan so much of the coast of Lake Superior as is given by the bill reported in the house. When the house takes up the subject as they will in a few days there will be an attempt made to amend the bill so as to allow our southern boundary to run precisely where it

does now as far east as the Maumee river and thence down that river to Lake Erie, but I have very little hope of success even in this proposition which completely takes away all the ground on which Ohio has ever heretofore urged her claim. There is a fixed determination to sacrifice us by each party in a manner that shall be most acceptable to Ohio. It is really too bad. An honest man after looking on here a month or two would laugh at himself for having ever supposed that the merits of a question like this could have anything to do with the decision of Congress upon it. Can you point out any way of escape from the decision of this unrighteous tribunal, or shall we be unable to help ourselves?

(89.) To E. D. Ellis, Monroe, March 22, 1836.— * * * I am afraid to write freely to anyone in these times for somehow all my private letters are made public and in one or two cases I perceive they have been the subject of debate in the legislature. * * * Norvell finds his situation here rather unpeasant. His character and political relations are as well understood here as they are in Detroit and he is viewed by all the leading Democrats as an unsafe man. Gales says he was a reporter for the Intelligencer about a year before and up to the time when he received his appointment as postmaster and that then he was both an anti-administration and a bank man. He was somewhat surprised at his rapid advancement in the Democratic ranks in Michigan, and under these circumstances well he might be. I presume there is no man who shares more of his hatred than I do at the present time because I have never closed with him in any of his propositions for our mutual advancement. I know perfectly the cause of his feelings and I know too that I could have been on the very best of terms with him simply by saying I would be his political friend. But I choose to stand aloof and enter into no arrangement of that sort and I have as yet seen no reason to regret my course. It was such an arrangement as this that was made, I have no doubt, between him and Crary. Time will determine how long it will serve to keep them up. In this state of things you need have no fears that I will leave my old friends. We shall sink or swim together unless they leave me which I believe they will not do till they have good cause. The select committee of the senate have today reported in favor of the admission of Michigan on the same terms as proposed in the bill reported in the house and the subject is to be taken up this day week and will be disposed of and sent to the house in three or four days afterward. The legislature will of course do as they deem best about acting on the proposition of Congress relative to a change of boundary. I shall not attempt to advise any of the members what course to pursue for they are, or ought to be, able to judge for themselves as well as I can.

(90.) To Stevens T. Mason, March 24, 1836.—In the spirit of frankness invoked by you in a former letter I have to say I am sorry to hear that my letter to you of the 28th ult., intended only for your own eye, has been shown to persons unfriendly to me who have perverted its contents to my injury. I am very loathe to believe that such was your intention and still hope I may have been misinformed as to the fact.

(91.) To John S. Bagg, Detroit, March 23, 1836.—I perceive that some of the Michigan people are opposed to receiving any addition to our State on the northwest because they view it as an exchange for the tract claimed by Ohio. If this were the case I should be opposed to it myself, no matter what might be its value, for I would never have the State of Michigan forced to do anything. But it is not so. We have lost the tract claimed by Ohio so far as Congress can take it from us for it is past all doubt that Congress will decide against us on that point, and the only

question that remains is, shall we not endeavor, as our boundaries are broken up, to get now an addition on the northwest which may at some future time become valuable and which, unless we get it now, we shall lose forever. Our receiving it will in no way weaken our legal claim to the southern boundary alluded to in our constitution because our claim to that boundary (the due east and west line) rests on the provisions of the ordinance of '87, while the only claim we have to our western boundary rests on the act of Congress of January 5, 1805. So if we admit that Congress has now the right to fix the division line between the two states authorized by the proviso of the 5th article of the ordinance, both of those states may still claim to be the east and west line described in that proviso as their southern boundary. But it is very doubtful whether Congress will consent to add anything west of Lake Michigan to our State. Most of those who are opposed to us on the question of our southern boundary are also opposed to this addition, at least very many of them are, and it is not improbable that we may be cut down on all sides. A report was yesterday made by the select committee of the senate in favor of our admission on conditions similar to those imposed by the house and the subject is to be taken up and acted on next Tuesday. There will probably be little or no debate upon it from present appearances, but the bill will pass the senate and be sent to the house sometime next week. The house will not act in the matter till they receive it.

(92.) To E. D. Ellis, Monroe, March 23, 1836.—In reply to your letter of the 15th, just received, I have to say I have never considered myself the agent or one of the agents of Michigan to make any arrangements whatever, either with Congress or the state of Ohio, relative to our southern boundary or any other boundary, unless especially instructed by the people, either directly or through the legislature to do so. I mean, of course, any arrangement at variance with the boundaries fixed in our constitution. To maintain these boundaries it is, as I conceive, my duty to do all in my power, as I have at all times done, and I now take occasion to say that any statement or insinuation that I have not done so is a base falsehood, let it come from what quarter it may. I know nothing about bartering away rights to Ohio and am quite sure that the feelings of every man in Michigan would prompt him to sooner fight Ohio than to surrender to her dictation the smallest portion of our rights. I have always said here that I did not believe the legislature or the people of Michigan would consent to the change of boundary proposed by Congress; if however they should think it better to do so than forever to remain out of the Union either as a territory or an independent sovereignty, we ought to be well compensated for the injustice done us in compelling us to adopt so injurious and degrading an alternative. None but an enemy of Michigan can deny this, yet I very much doubt whether we shall not be put off without anything. I beg leave to refer you to the third section of the fourth article of the constitution of the United States where you will see something relative to the consent of state legislatures to the formation of a state within the jurisdiction of other states, and consequently, relative to the change of boundaries of every state of the Union. Whether this has any bearing on our case our legislature will doubtless determine, should the question of boundary come before them. If they have power to act in the matter either by virtue of this section or of the provision in the ordinance appended to our constitution, they will probably refer the subject to the people for instructions. If they have not the power, they may assent to the proposal of Congress with perfect safety; for their acts cannot bind the State, and they may so declare at the time as did the legislature of Missouri on the admission of that state into the Union. (See 6th vol. laws U. S., p. 666, 667.) I should be very willing so far as I am individually concerned if the consent of the legislature or the

people should be required by Congress to any alteration of our constitution as indispensable that it should be done if done at all by the delegates of the people elected with full powers to form a new constitution and State government, that new elections might be held to ascertain who would not prove to have the people's confidence and approbation; but our State pride will, of course, prevent our asking any provision to this effect at the hands of Congress.

(93.) To C. C. Trowbridge, Detroit, March 27, 1836.—Mr. Schoolcraft has concluded a treaty here with the Chippewa and Ottawa chiefs for all they own of the peninsula of Michigan and about seven millions of acres embracing the peninsula between Lakes Michigan and Superior. The secretary of war is much pleased with this and I yesterday suggested to him the propriety of purchasing all the reservations made by the second article of the treaty of Saginaw of 24th September, 1819. He said he had no authority to invite a treaty with them involving the expenditure of money but if the chiefs interested would come on here and propose to sell the government would give them a fair and liberal price and in case a treaty should be made all necessary expenses would be paid by the government. He further asked if the banks would not advance money to pay the expenses of the chiefs coming on here should they be anxious to come, as I understand from Mr. Williams they are? My belief is the banks would run no hazard of loosing by doing so, but the chiefs must have as few attendants as possible so as to keep their expenses within reasonable limits. I write this that you may understand fully the circumstances under which Mr. Williams of Saginaw proposes to bring the chiefs on here and if the bank of Michigan can consistently aid him I hope it will do so. Mr. Schoolcraft will be the commissioner to treat with the chiefs should they come.

(94.) To Col. D. Goodwin, Detroit, March 27, 1836.— * * * I spoke with Gov. Cass a day or two ago and told him the delegation here would be divided in their recommendations of district judge and that I should support you. He seemed to agree that your appointment would be the best that could be made but said he did not interfere in any way in appointments out of his own department. Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, says he shall himself do all he can for Judge Wilkins. Judge Morell is here waiting I presume to see what will be done with our State that he may ascertain his chance of success. Which of you will be the fortunate man is very doubtful. Wilkins having the majority of the delegation and the aid of Buchanan and being also personally well known to the president will be a very formidable candidate notwithstanding all the recommendations you have on file in the department. It is, however, now considered doubtful whether Michigan will come into the Union at all. It is supposed here that neither the legislature nor the people in convention will ever consent to the change of boundaries which Congress proposes and until they do so it is certain that Congress will not admit the State. Consequently, the opinion is prevalent here that we shall not come in. The opposition to the administration, it is now ascertained, are determined to oppose us at every step and force us back into a territorial government to begin all things anew, in the hope that at the next election their party may have the majority. There are indications that Tipton and Henricks will go with them on the question and if so we shall have another convention, though it may only be to give assent of the people to the boundaries proposed. The Indiana senators will probably be satisfied with this without giving the convention power to go over the whole constitution.

(95.) To Cyren Burdick, Detroit, March 27, 1836.—Your favor of the 12th was received and the views and feelings you express in regard to our southern boundary are very nearly if not precisely the views and feelings I entertain on the subject. Everything we have been able to do in this matter against Ohio seems to have been of no service. Her power and political influence are too much for us and always will be so. I see no prospect that we shall ever get justice at the hands of Congress. It only remains then for us to determine whether we will resist the decision of Congress by force and thus attempt a revolution or get the best terms we can and submit or acquiesce in it. This is the true question for us to determine and in doing so it is of no material consequence whether the legislature or the people themselves act in the matter. The action of either would in my opinion be binding on us, but if not, if the legislature have no power to bind the people, then it is better that the legislature should act for they can do so with perfect safety in that case and may do as the legislature of Missouri did, give their assent in accordance with the requirement of Congress and at the same time and in the preamble to the same act declare that that assent is not binding on the people, and that the question of boundary will be left precisely where it was before. Some of our people seem to have fallen into a very great error in supposing the delegation in Congress or rather at Congress to have assumed power to act in regard to the boundary question when no power was granted. So far from this, if the power had been unquestionably conferred on them they would have deemed it their duty before acting to have received instructions from their constitutuents on all matters which might possibly affect injuriously the interests of the State. The delegation are not so fond of assuming responsibility as the good people may suppose. My advice is, if I might presume to give it, would be, "keep cool, do no rash or foolish act, express no rash opinion, but wait till you see what the question may be that Congress may present to us, and when you know all the circumstances under which the proposition may be made and see fully all its consequences, then act as you may deem the best interests of the State to require of you." There is no occasion for any action of the legislature at present and all they can do can be of no service but may injure us here. You may be certain that the people are not to be relieved from the responsibility of deciding for themselves whenever Congress shall present us the conditions of our admission into the Union. The subject will be taken up in the senate on Tuesday, the 30th, but will be made a party question and probably excite considerable debate. It is doubtful whether that body will not reject our application. P. S.—I shall attend to having the name of the Bronson postoffice changed to Kalamazoo.

(96.) To W. L. Newberry, Chicago, March 28, 1836.—The Wisconsin territorial bill has this day been ordered to a third reading in the senate and will undoubtedly go to the house in a short time and will pass without any change in the provision relative to the location of the seat of government. Gen. Jones has received a strong remonstrance against Cassville and many private letters urging him to let the bill stand as it does so that the governor and council may locate the seat of government at their first session. This added to the circumstance of his having pledged himself while his election was pending that the people should have a voice in the location, so far as he could aid them, has prevented his moving to amend the bill so as to conform to the recommendations of the council. I don't think he is in feeling against Cassville, but he must redeem his pledge to the people. * * *

(97.) To H. H. Comstock, Detroit, March 29, 1836.—Your kind favor of the 10th and 17th came duly to hand and I am surprised to see in both evidence of a belief or at least a suspicion that I am in favor of the passage of the bill reported by

Mr. Thomas for the admission of Michigan on condition that she will change her boundaries agreeable to the provisions of that bill. Such, I beg leave to say to you, is not the fact and I have never given any person under heaven the slightest ground for such belief; on the contrary, I have at all times from first to last opposed by every means in my power the surrender of the disputed tract on any terms whatever and have also at all times denied the power of Congress to take it from us by any lawful and constitutional means. Yet, it seems that I who was the first to assert and, as I think, to prove that Congress had no power to do this am now with my colleagues here censured for yielding to Congress that which Maj. Biddle, one of the principal persons who make this charge, has always maintained that Congress had a right to take whenever they pleased. I am afraid those whom I have always considered my oldest and best friends are going a little too fast. Before they allow themselves to censure indiscriminately they ought to be sure at least that they have good ground for doing so. They ought to know that either through ignorance, negligence or design the interests of the people have suffered or are in danger of being sacrificed. They do not know this nor have they any reason to believe it. On the contrary it is plain on their own showing that so far as boundaries are concerned the interests of the people and of the State cannot suffer from any act of the delegation here because, as they argue, we have not the power to bind the State. Of what consequence is it then whether we attempt it or not? If we possessed the power and had abused it then there would have been propriety in denouncing us. But we neither possessed power nor attempted to exercise it. How then can those persons escape the charge of being mean and unfair when they attempt to insinuate against us that which is wholly unsupported by proof and which they dare not openly avow? It seems to me they are destroying themselves as well as me by such a course. If it is their design to injure my colleagues they will soon find that unjust insinuations against them will do them more good than everything they could possibly do in their favor besides and this is a result which feeling as I do toward them I should not like to see take place. The whole movement has been altogether wrong and will injure me and the opponents of Mr. Norvell more than anything they could have done. I say this to you in the most perfect confidence and friendship but not to be mentioned to any human being. I shall be most heartily glad to find myself disappointed. You seem to think prudence would have dictated to me the propriety of not communicating certain information contained in a letter of mine to Mason. I am at a loss to understand why in all public matters like ours at the present time the truth should ever be concealed. If Mason has made an improper use of the letter it will do him and his friends no good. I always have made it a point to state facts in relation to our matters here and leave every one to form his own conclusions. I shall still pursue that course and if the conclusions that may be drawn from my statements should be wrong it will not be my fault. The subject of our admission has been taken up in the senate today and debated. It is treated as a party question and tomorrow Mr. Ewing is to introduce a bill to allow the people of Michigan within certain boundaries to form a constitution and State government. It will not be carried but a convention of the people will be required to assent to the proposed change of our boundaries as a condition of our admission. * * * * * * *

(98.) To Sheldon McKnight, Detroit, March 30, 1836.—We are now in the midst of the discussion on the admission of Michigan in the senate. We have had yesterday and today a beautiful debate in which the ground taken by the opposition has been so effectually blown up that they have now scarcely anything left to stand on. The question is strictly a party question, yet Senators Hendricks and Tipton

have declared they will not vote for any bill that does not provide for a change of our constitution or the formation of an entirely new constitution by the people. They seem determined to have the latter and if so our admission will not take place this year. Mr. Wright has, however, introduced an amendment providing for a convention to assent to the proposed change of boundaries and this, I think, will satisfy Gen. Tipton. The proceedings of the Detroit meeting have been received here by many if not all the senators and are universally acknowledged to be exceedingly unjust in their insinuations against the Michigan delegation. There is not a member of Congress of any party that does not know there is not the slightest foundation for them. You will see by the debates that Mr. Buchanan has today completely exonerated us and at the same time took occasion to censure the proceedings of the meeting as calculated to injure the cause of our State. The debate will probably be closed in the senate in a day or two.

(99.) To G. D. Williams, Saginaw, March 30, 1836.—I have conversed with Mr. Schoolcraft and he thinks with you that yourself and your brother will be enough to bring the Chippewa chiefs here where Mr. Holiday will remain until you arrive for the purpose of interpreting for them. He also thinks that there should be one chief for each small reservation and two chiefs for a large one, which he supposes will make about six or seven, the number you mention. The price allowed for the land, he says, cannot be more than a dollar or at the extent a dollar and a quarter per acre, perhaps not quite so much.

(100.) To Morse and Bagg, Detroit Free Press, March 31, 1836.—Enclosed I send you a letter on a subject of much interest to the people of our State, which you can use as you think proper:—

On the 28th inst. a treaty was concluded here by Henry R. Schoolcraft, commissioner on the part of the United States, with the chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa nations of Indians, by which they cede to the United States the country lying within the following described boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Grand river of Lake Michigan, on the north bank thereof and following up the same to the line called for in the first article of the treaty of Chicago of the 29th of August, 1821, thence in a direct line to the head of Thunder Bay river, thence with the line established by the treaty of Saginaw of the 24th September, 1819, to the mouth of said river, thence northeast to the boundary line in Lake Huron between the United States and British province of Upper Canada, thence northwestwardly, following the said line, as established by the commissioners acting under the treaty of Ghent through the straits and River St. Mary's to a point in Lake Superior north of the mouth of Gitchy Seebing or Chocolate river, then south to the mouth of said river and up its channel to the source thereof, thence in a direct line to the head of the South Konawba river of Green Bay (near the Menominee river) thence down the south bank of said river to its mouth, thence in a direct line through the ship channel into Green bay to the outer part thereof, thence south to a point in Lake Michigan west of the north cape entrance of Grand river, and thence east to the place of beginning, comprehending all the lands and islands not reserved. The principal reservations are the Beaver Island of Lake Michigan and five different tracts in the peninsula between Lakes Michigan and Huron, viz., one tract of 50,000 acres to be located on Little Traverse bay, one tract of 20,000 acres to be located on the north shore of Grand Traverse bay, one tract of 70,000 acres to be located by Chingassanoo or the Big Sail on the Cheboygan river and one tract of 1,000 acres to be located by Mageekeeis on Thunder Bay river. These are all the reservations made in the lower peninsula. The purchase is estimated to amount to 16,000,-

000 of acres, 10,000,000 on the lower peninsula and 6,000,000 on the upper peninsula and the government pays for it in the whole the sum of $1,601,600 as follows:—

Cash annuities $30,000, for 20 years	$600,000
For education, teachers, schoolhouses, etc	100,000
For missionary purposes, $3,000 per year for 30 years	60,000
For agriculture	10,000
For vaccine matter, medicine, etc	6,000
Annuities of provisions, salt, tobacco, etc	14,000
Blacksmiths, farmers, mechanics, shops, etc	93,600
Commutation of claims of individuals for lands	48,000
Goods and provisions to be delivered by the quartermaster some time next summer	150,000
Payments due to chiefs	30,000
Value of improvements on the lands bought and expenses of holding the treaty about	40,000
Commutation of reservations of lands for half breeds	150,000
Payment of just debts of the two nations not exceeding	300,000
Whole cost of purchase	$1,601,600

This treaty, so just to the Indians, so favorable in its terms for the United States and so important to the best interests and prosperity of Michigan has been effected by Mr. Schoolcraft with the approbation and aid of the secretary of war and in the face of difficulties and embarrassments which no person of less superior qualifications could have overcome. Michigan ought to be grateful for their services. Of the country purchased about 4,000,000 acres extending from the Grand river north is known to be fine land for settlement and within a very few years we shall, no doubt, see towns springing up at the mouths of all the rivers flowing into Lake Michigan for a hundred miles north of Grand river, if not all around the lower peninsula. The upper peninsula is known to contain vast forests of the very best pine, which is even now much wanted in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the southern part of Michigan and Wisconsin, and must very shortly furnish the material of a highly valuable trade.

(101.) To N. O. Sargeant, Kent, April 2, 1836.—I enclose you herewith the first copy I have been able to get of our map of the village of Kent. There are three or four small errors in the plate which I shall have corrected and then have two or three hundred copies struck off and done up neatly in pocket form and shall send you a dozen or two by mail. The paper is thicker than it should be but is the best that can be obtained without having it manufactured expressly for the occasion. The senate have this day passed the bill for our admission into the union whenever a convention shall assent to the change of boundary proposed by Congress.

(102.) To Thomas C. Sheldon, Kalamazoo, April 3, 1836.— * * * The bill for the admission of Michigan has passed the senate and is expected to be taken up in the house and passed there in a week or two, but I think not quite so soon. The conditions of our admission are that the boundaries proposed for our State by Congress shall receive the assent of a convention of delegates elected by the people and that thereupon the President shall issue his proclamation declaring Michigan a State of the Union. Humiliating as these terms are they are the best that can possibly be obtained and our political friends in Congress have had to fight hard for us

to carry the bill through even bad as it is. I perceive that some of our political friends in Michigan have held a public meeting in Detroit, passed resolutions and signed a paper insinuating against the delegation here for an attempt to barter away the country claimed by Ohio. All I have to say to them is, in the language of Crockett, "they are barking up the wrong tree this time." Every member of Congress knows their insinuations are exceedingly unfounded and unjust. We shall, of course, not take our seats this session. * * * * *

(103.) To E. H. Lothrop, Schoolcraft, April 7, 1836. * * * You are now, I suppose, at home and I most sincerely wish I could be with you, but I shall be obliged to stay here till our Michigan business is acted on and until some of the appropriation bills in which we are interested shall be got through. * * *

(104.) To J. M. Howard and George B. Martin, secretaries of the public meeting, Detroit, April 8, 1836.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt today of your letter of the 29th ult., enclosing a copy of the memorial adopted by the citizens of Detroit at a meeting held on the 18th ult., on the subject of the bill now pending before the house of representatives relating to the southern boundary of Michigan. Copies of the same memorial, I learn, have been received by the president of the senate and speaker of the house of representatives, and will doubtless be presented by them to the bodies over which they respectively preside. I beg leave through you to assure the memorialists that no exertion on my part shall be wanting to carry their wishes into effect.

SECTION III.

(1.) To Gen. G. V. Denniston, Albany, N. Y., January 4, 1838.— * * * I will tell you a piece of good news. I have today got the committee on roads and canals in the senate to put into the road bill for Wisconsin, which has been reported, an appropriation of $5,000 for the construction of a road from Cassville to Madison, and the bill will pass. There is also an item of $10,000 for a road from Milwaukee by way of Madison to Dubuque, so that the road from Madison to Cassville will make a road almost due east and west in a direct line from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river. Five thousand dollars will do tolerably well for the first appropriation, especially as the $10,000 on the other road will all be laid out east of Madison, and thus be as much benefit to Cassville as though there were no road running to Dubuque. The same bill will also contain an appropriation for a road from the Mississippi, between Dubuque and Prairie du Chien, which I suppose will bring it to the crossing at Cassville. * * * * * *

(2.) To S. McKnight, Detroit, January 12, 1838.—We have just closed the debate on Mr. Calhoun's resolution relative to slavery and adjourned over to Monday, taking Saturday to recruit ourselves a little. What we shall have before us next week I do not know, but the bill for the increase of the army will come up before long. This seems to be necessary in consequence of the wars and rumors of war with which we are surrounded on all sides. Even our own good people of Michigan, I see, are getting somewhat excited but I hope they will restrain themselves within the bounds of the law.

How do you like our new legislature, and how are they likely to agree among themselves, and what will they probably do? I presume you got a letter that I wrote you from New York saying that I hoped there would be no attempt to bring on the election of the United States senator at this session? If you did not, allow

me at this time to express that hope. I am satisfied, on reflection, that the legislature cannot do so with propriety. I observe what you say in your favor of the 22d November and feel grateful for your kindness, but the matter had better be delayed. * * * Make my best respects to Mrs. McKnight and also my little namesake. * * * * * * * * *

(3.) To Maj. John Biddle, Monguagon, Jan. 13, 1838.— * * * I have today called on the secretary of the treasury and the commissioner of the general land office to see about the settlement of your account of $527, for the services named by you. I find the reason why it has not long since been paid is your charge "for services and clerk hire" in the second account which you forwarded, was not made according to previous information advising you that no charge for your own services could be allowed, nor had you stated particularly the reasons why you charged a gross sum instead of giving the number of days which your clerks were employed. I have sent the commissioner an extract from your letter explaining this point and requested him to forward the money to you at Detroit. * * * You mention your farm. I wish you success with it. I feel proud of mine. If you make yours equal to any farm in eastern Michigan, I will try to make mine equal to any in the western part of the State, to be even with you. * * *

(4.) To Midshipman Henry L. Chipman, U. S. Navy, Norfolk, Jan. 14, 1838.—I enclose herewith a letter from the secretary of the navy, dated the 12th inst., informing me that, agreeable to my request, you had been permitted to attend the Naval school at New York. The great battles of this country with foreign powers will hereafter be fought principally upon the ocean and afford a fine opportunity for ambitious and patriotic young men to distinguish themselves. That you will be one who will do so I do not doubt and that you may be successful and rise to the highest rank is the wish of

Your friend,
LUCIUS LYON.

(5.) To Robert Stuart, Esq., Detroit, Jan. 14, 1838.— * * * I regret exceedingly that I cannot aid your son's application for an appointment at the West Point academy. Last year my colleagues, Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary, united with me in recommending a young man from Kalamazoo county, who was appointed, and it was then understood that, this year, I should unite with them in recommending whoever they may want. In pursuance of this arrangement I had, previous to the receipt of your letter, agreed to recommend a young man, a son of Orin Howe of Washtenaw, whose appointment is the only one that can be made, as Michigan is entitled to but one this year. Your suggestion relative to the treaty of St. Peters shall be attended to, and, if possible, I shall endeavor to get Mr. Romeyn appointed the commissioner to decide on claims. I have more confidence in his integrity and correct principles than to believe he can by any means whatever be swerved from the path of duty, though ever so rugged.

(6.) To H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq., Jan. 14, 1838.—Your favor of the 26th of last month is received and I am gratified to hear that you have been able to complete an arrangement with the Saginaws which will obviate the objections of the senate to the treaty of the 14th January of last year. Mr. Harris concurs with you in the opinion and we have the promise of having the treaty and amendment laid before us again immediately. In reference to the piers which you think necessary to protect and make permanent the State canal at St. Mary's would it not be well for our legislature to memoralize Congress on the subject, furnishing the plan and estimate

of the engineer, complete, and asking an appropriation to construct the work? We have had no survey or estimate yet laid before us, and Congress have, therefore, no datum to proceed upon in determining whether an appropriation ought to be made or not. As to the location of the proposed canal across a part of the Indian reserve, secured to them by the treaty of 16th June, 1820, it seems to me the canal will not injure the reservation for the purposes for which it was granted to the Indians, and for all other purposes it belongs to the United States. I am not well enough acquainted with the place, however, to express this opinion with much confidence, for I do not know the shape or size of the reservation as laid off. * * *

(7.) To Lucius Boltwood, Amherst, Mass., Jan. 14, 1838.— * * * The subject of appropriating money for constructing harbors at the mouths of the streams in the western part of Michigan has been urged on Congress from year to year for the last three or four years at least, and we are now urging Congress again to attend to it, but I fear, to no purpose. If you can induce any of the numerous members from the east, south and southwest who oppose such appropriations, to go for them, in this case you will render a service to the whole lake region. I am myself, personally interested at Kalamazoo and Grand River and shall, of course, do all I can.

(8.) To Wm. M. Holland, Esq., New York, Jan. 14, 1838.— * * * Nothing was done relative to the appointment of professors in our University at the late meeting of the board of regents and I do not know when the appointments necessary to an organization will be made. I derive my information from Mr. Crary who informs me he has written you respecting it. I have written and I believe he has also written to some members of the board to get them to authorize me to employ you, if you consent, in preparing a code of laws, etc., for the government of the institution, but I have as yet received no answer.

(9.) Hon. C. C. Clay, Jan. 16, 1838.—My principal object in introducing the bill now before the committee on public lands, entitled "A bill to settle contested claims that have arisen under the pre-emption laws," was to do justice to a great many meritorious claimants, principally in the territory of Wisconsin, who have paid their money to the government and now hold the receivers' receipts, given them for tracts of land to which they have been decided to be entitled by the registers and receivers of the land office in that territory, acting under either the pre-emption law of 29th May, 1830; 5th April, 1832; 14th July, 1832; 2d March, 1833, or the 19th of June, 1834, but which receipts the commissioner of the general land office decides do not entitle the holders to patents because they are not strictly within the letter of the law, though it is not alleged that in any case its spirit has been departed from. I will state the objections made against one or two classes of cases that come within my own knowledge, viz.:—

First, The register and receiver, supposing the intention of Congress to be to give to each pre-emptor 160 acres, as near as practicable, so as to embrace his or her improvements, have in some cases given the claimant a number of quarter quarter sections and fractional quarter or quarter quarter sections in a compact form sufficient to make up the 160 acres, or as near thereto as practicable, without regard to their being in the same section. Several such cases, after two or three years, have been taken up by the commissioner and decided to be illegal, where in the meantime the claimant, having the receiver's receipts and supposing his title good, has gone on to make valuable improvements on his land, to the amount in some cases of many thousand dollars. I know one case where the receiver's receipt embraced two fractional quarters of one section and a quarter quarter of another

section, so as to embrace the claimant's improvements and make up the 160 acres. The claimant's house was on the smallest fractional quarter section, containing only 17 acres whilst most of his farm lay on the other part of the land he paid for. Both his house and the improvements on his farm were valuable, and as soon as the officers decided on the tracts he should have he added very largely by his improvements to the value of both; and now, after some two or three years, he finds his patent suspended and is told that he must either take the 17 acres on which his house stands and give up his highly cultivated farm or he must take his farm and give up his house, which is worth five or ten thousand dollars; and he must do this because the law confined him to one quarter section, whether a fractional one of 17 acres or a full one of 160 acres. This is evidently not just and as the decision of the register and receiver is just, I want Congress to confirm it and all cases like it. There is no other way in which justice can be done in such cases.

Second. Another and a very important class of cases is where pre-emption claims have been allowed, the money paid and receiver's receipts given to lands belonging to the United States by a treaty made before the passage of the pre-emption law and not ratified till afterwards. The commissioner decides that such lands were not public lands of the United States till the ratification of the treaty and therefore not subject to the action of the pre-emption laws, thus cutting off at once hundreds of the most meritorious cases.

Many of these claims have been sold and have passed through a great many hands and the only way to prevent the utmost confusion of title and in justice to all sides is to confirm the decisions of the land offices and have the patents issued to the claimants who have the receiver's receipts or to them assigned.

These two classes of cases are all that I have any personal knowledge of, though I believe there are others which present strong claims to consideration.

The treaty above referred to was made at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, on the 26th and 27th of September, 1833, but the ratification was delayed by the United States till the 21st February, 1835, more than two years afterward. By it the whole country on the west side of Lake Michigan, from Milwaukee River south to a point 12 miles north of Chicago in the State of Illinois, was purchased of the Indians and was immediately afterwards settled by the whites. I leave it to you to draft such a bill as will secure them and the others that I have mentioned the benefits of the pre-emption laws.

(10.) To Wm. A. Richmond, Grand Rapids, Mich., Jan. 17, 1838.—I enclose you for such disposition as you may think proper a few copies of "A bill to make an additional land office in the State of Michigan," which, should it become a law, will divide the Grand River land district, remove the present office to the rapids of Grand River, and establish the new one at the mouth of the Maple River, all of which, I am confident, will meet the wishes of a large majority of the people living in the Grand River country. The bill will, in all probability, become a law and it may, perhaps, be best to have it published in the Grand River Times, that the people of the country may know what to expect.

(11.) Similar letters, same date, to Gen. Joseph W. Brown, register of the land office at Ionia; Edward Lyon, Lyons; and Allen Hutchins, Ionia. To Mr. Hutchins he adds "If you should prefer an appointment in the new office at Lyons to continuing in your present office and going to the Rapids to reside, I have no doubt you can have it."

(12.) To Edward Lyon, Lyons, Jan. 17, 1838.— * * * D. S. Baldwin wishes me to inform him whether I am going on with the construction of the canal across the bottom below the village of Lyons, from the Grand river to the Maple. I have to state that I shall not go on with that work this year. I can begin it next year and then have it done as soon as the Grand river and Saginaw canal will be finished. * * * In relation to a steamboat, I shall be able to buy as much of any boat that may be built as I shall want, after it is completed and when I can see how it suits me and what the cost is, and as the boat you speak of is to be built by others, I do not choose to subscribe for any stock at present. If the boat does not come to our place as much as we wish, I will build or buy one that shall come there. I have no fear on that head.

(13.) To Col. Jas. B. Hunt, Lake Elizabeth, Oakland Co., Mich., Jan. 17, 1838.— * * * The Detroit and St. Joseph road, I understand, is now done as far as Ypsilanti and I have just been informed that four or five 80-acre lots of valuable white wood timber which I own between Sheldon and Ypsilanti have been cut and used for the construction of that road, the damage of which to me is several thousand dollars, as the timber was the nearest good timber to the mills at Ypsilanti. Will you inform me what course I had best pursue to get remuneration.

(14.) To Lewis Cass, Jr., now at New York, Jan. 21, 1838.— * * * As it is Sunday and I do not go to church, I have called on several of the senators and members from the different states to enable me to answer your enquiries. Senator Spence of Maryland, informs me that he thinks no time is specified for study in that state, but that the applicant can be admitted to the bar whenever he can pass an examination, though not being a lawyer himself, he is not certain. Senator Grundy says the same thing of Tennessee. Senator Young the same of Illinois. Governor Pope the same of Kentucky and Hon. Albert S. White of the house of representatives the same of Indiana. I think you would have no difficulty in being admitted to the bar in either of these states in a year. Examinations, I understand, are not often very rigid and frequently no questions are asked at all. In Michigan, you are aware, that three years' study is required, as it is in most of the New England states. How it is in Ohio I do not know. Your friends have been expecting every day for the last week to see you here. Shall we not be gratified, or are you determined to go into studious if not dignified retirement without paying us a visit? * * * I am gratified to learn that you have had so pleasant a tour the past season and have escaped the plague and cholera which the newspapers informed us were raging in some of the countries visited. * * *

(15.) To Lewis Cass, Jr., Jan. 27, 1838.— * * * In my opinion this district is the best place to study law. You can here have the advantage of being with some of the best lawyers in the United States, and as there are no bar rules on the subject of admission to practice, you can be admitted at any time when you may apply for admission, provided you get a good word or two in your favor from the man with whom you study, which you know is not difficult.

(16.) To James Fraser, Jeremiah Riggs, G. D. Williams, Norman Little and Sam'l G. Watson, committee of the citizens of Saginaw, Mich., Jan. 21, 1838.— Your letter of the 27th ult. asking the opinion of Mr. Norvell, Mr. Crary and myself as to the prospects of an appropriation by Congress this year to complete the Detroit and Saginaw road, is just received, and in reply I have to inform you that, seeing no probability of obtaining an appropriation in any other way for the completion of the roads already begun by the United States in our State, I intro-

duced and got reported a bill granting to Michigan five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands within the State for two years, previous to the time when the five per cent allowed us by the compact commenced; during which time, as we had no appropriations on the roads, we neither got the five per cent as a territory nor as a State. The bill, I think, will pass and if it does, will give the State about $300,000 for these roads. This sum will be sufficient to make them all tolerably good, as far as any of our settlements have yet extended. * * *

(17.) To Hon. John Biddle, Monguagon, Mich., Jan. 23, 1838.— * * * If the rumor which reached here yesterday be true you are near the scene of another Navy Island war. You will see the report to which I refer published in the Intelligencer of this morning, copied from the Baltimore American. We have no dates from Detroit later than the 4th inst., with the exception of the letter published in the American, and that is supposed to be a forgery.

(18.) To T. H. Lyon, Geo. A. Robinson and Edward Lyon, Lyons, Ionia county, Mich., Jan. 21, 1838.—Your favor of the 29th of December, containing a copy of an application for a bank under our general banking laws, to be called the "Bank of Lyons," with a capital of $100,000, was received two days ago, and at the same time I also received a letter of the same date from Mr. Robinson and another dated Dec. 26th from Edward Lyon. I cannot subscribe for any stock in the proposed bank at present for several reasons. The first is that I have not the money to spare at this time. The next, it is not yet wanted and would not be profitable. 3d, It will be impossible to procure the necessary amount of specie to put it in operation. 4th, there has been some alteration of the general banking law lately, and I do not know how the law stands at present. 5th, so many banks have already sprung into existence under that law that the credit of our banks is very much impaired, and as they are growing unpopular with the people, the people will soon begin to make runs upon them to drain them of what little specie they possess, and they will, of course, have to fail as soon as the other banks in the country resume specie payment, and the reputation of having a broken bank will be worse for any place than to have no bank at all. I have no doubt the bank of Ionia will fail (if it should go into operation) next spring, when specie payment will probably be resumed by all solvent institutions, and will then injure the place very much. On the whole I think you had better wait before you proceed further in this business, until the new land office shall be established at Lyons. When that is done, we can, with some propriety, put the bank in operation if we then think it best to do so.

(19.) To John Johnson, Burlington, Vt., Jan. 24, 1838.— * * * My attention has frequently been called to the subject of the "Carver Grant," and my opinion is that it is worth nothing at all. It has never been recognized, either by the British or American governments, and in all probability never will be. During the last summer a treaty was held with the Sioux and another with the Chippewa Indians, by which the whole country embracing this grant was purchased by the United States. These treaties are now before the senate for ratification and will doubtless be ratified, although there has been a remonstrance, presented at the present session, against such a course, by the Mississippi Land Co. of New York, who say, they claim, under Carver, a large portion of this grant, and believe his title to be good. Another remonstrance, or rather notice of claim, was sent me by two very wealthy gentlemen of Philadelphia, who also claim under Carver, and was presented by me to the Senate. The Senate will not, however, regard them. * * * I would advise Anson to invest his money in lands in Michigan.

That State has got a loan of five millions of dollars for internal improvements and is now advancing faster in wealth, population and improvement in everything that renders life comfortable or desirable than any other state of this Union. The State contained at the last census, taken last fall, 173,000 inhabitants, and in less than two years will have a greater population than Vermont. Such an increase of population in any country on the face of the earth must increase the value of real estate very rapidly indeed, and if Anson should lay out his money judiciously he could not fail to profit by it. If he thinks best, however, to keep his money on interest, he had better have it drawing 8 or 9 or 10 per cent, as it may in Michigan, since our laws have been revised, than to lend it out in Vermont at 6 per cent. I will myself give him 8 per cent per annum for it and secure the payment on any amount of property he may name. I have property to the amount of between four and five hundred thousand dollars, but no sales can be made to advantage now and I had rather pay that interest than sell property at a reduced price, which is advancing so rapidly in value. * * *

(20.) To Hon. J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, Jan. 26, 1838.— * * * I send you a letter from Jonathan F. Stratton, postmaster at Richmond, Allegan county, Mich., requesting your permission for himself and several families with him to pass through the Indian country on the Missouri and Platte rivers for the purpose of forming an agricultural settlement west of the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Stratton is a man of strict integrity, highly respectable character and customs, and on every account well qualified for the enterprise he contemplates as any man I know, a land surveyor by profession. * * *

(21.) To C. A. Harris, commissioner of Indian affairs, Jan. 26, 1838.—Enclosed herewith I send you the account of B. W. and Moses Finch, amounting to $500, for ferrying the Pottawattomie Indians, on the Carey mission reserve, in Michigan, across the St. Joseph river at Niles, in said State, from the fall of 1830 to the spring of 1832, being one year and a half, under a verbal contract with the subagent for said Indians, Col. James Stewart. The existence of said contract is proven by the accompanying affidavits of E. Winslow, Jacob Beeson, H. Griswold, and O. P. Lacey. The performance of the service charged is proved by the same persons and by T. B. Willard and Marcellus Finch. The value of the services, by T. B. Willard and Moses Finch, Jr., as well as Marcellus Finch. See accompanying brief. * * *

(22.) To Maj. S. H. Webb, Jan. 27, 1838.— * * * You can hardly imagine how perseveringly applications for appointment under the new organization (of the war department) are urged here, and you must not be disappointed if you do not get the station you want. The President has just given me one important appointment, that of surveyor general of Wisconsin and Iowa, for my friend, Albert G. Ellis, of Green Bay, and he may think that is enough for me to ask at present.

(23.) To Gen. Parker, Jan. 27, 1838.— * * * I have no doubt of the truth of the statement that the public deposits have injured every institution that has had anything to do with them, and such will always be the effect, either with national or State institutions whenever the deposits accumulate in large amounts. I expect a general crash among the banks, which will destroy at least one-fourth of them, within the next ten months, and I only wish I had the money which I invested for you in lands back again in your own hands with interest. I should then feel comparatively easy. * * * All the warlike preparations for the invasion of Canada, in Michigan, have been suspended and all is quiet there at present. * * *

(24.) To J. S. Rock, Springfield, Ill., Jan. 28, 1838.—Your interesting letter of the 15th inst., relative to the country between the Great Lakes and Mississippi river, is just received, and I thank you for the information and suggestions contained in it. I am personally acquainted with the character of a considerable portion of the country east of the Mississippi river, and have derived from various sources much information about the remainder, all corresponding with your statements. I agree with you also in the opinion you express and knowing the importance to Michigan of adopting a correct policy on the part of the government in relation to this country, I shall, at all times, endeavor to carry out the views you express. Mr. Crary, the representative from Michigan, to whom I read your letter, informs me that the committee on Indian affairs in the house of representatives now have the subject of fixing the boundary between the whites and Indian tribes under consideration, and they contemplate introducing such measures as will lead to the removal of the tribes you mention west and southwest of that boundary. He is himself on the committee and will also carry out the views you express.

(25.) To Eleazer H. Keeler, St. Joseph, Mich., Feb. 1, 1838.—Advising him that his recommendations by Gov. Mason and thirteen others, also Hon. S. Blanchard and Col. Mack for the appointment as collector at St. Joseph whenever that place shall be made a port of entry, had been received and forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury. No bill had been introduced in the Senate for the establishment of the port, but Mr. Crary had one in the house and efforts will be made to get it through, but the success of the effort is doubtful.

(26.) To Gen. Burdick, Detroit, Feb. 2, 1838.— * * * I see you have trouble about the location of some of our works of internal improvement. I hope they will not be stopped in consequence. When you have time I should like to hear what will probably be done next season on the northern railroad. We want very much some way of getting out east from Grand river, and I hope the first portion of that road put under contract will be that through the timbered lands from Lyons east about 35 miles. At the same time I suppose it will be necessary to commence the road at the east end and work on west. * * *

(27.) From John Norvell, Lucius Lyon and Isaac E. Crary, to the President of the United States, Feb. 5, 1838.—Presenting a joint resolution of the legislature of Michigan, requesting that at least two regiments of United States troops may be ordered for the protection of the frontier of that State and suggesting the propriety of establishing a permanent garrison at or near Detroit, if practicable.

(28.) To S. R. Hobbie, 1st Assistant Postmaster General, Feb. 5, 1838.—Enclosing certificate of the postmaster of the Kent office, in Kent county, Mich., that John Almy had carried the mail between that place and Bronson, or as it is now called, Kalamazoo, up to the 1st of January.

(29.) To Charles C. Trowbridge, Detroit, Feb. 8, 1838.— * * * Our friend, James Larned, will forward you for your decision thereon, a memorandum of the terms of a wager made between us on the 12th of May, 1836, relative to the price of city property in Detroit during the 18 months next succeeding that date. If the prices of real estate have been lower at any time during that 18 months than they were on the 12th of May aforesaid, I have to furnish him a suit of clothes; if not, he has to provide a suit for me. * * * I admit that sales are more difficult now than they were then, but whenever sales have been made during the last year, I believe they have been made at rather advanced than reduced prices. At least the average will show this result.

(30.) To Allen Hutchins, Esq., now at Detroit, Feb. 7, 1838.—A letter has been received here today by one of our State delegation in Congress informing us that evidence was forwarded by the same mail which brought that letter, to the Secretary of the Treasury, proving you to be a defaulter to the government to the amount of nine thousand dollars, and we have agreed that we will go tomorrow to the department to see all the papers in relation to the matter. I think there must be some mistake in this statement. I do not believe it, and shall not believe it till I hear from you. Pray write instantly on the receipt of this and explain everything. If you do not, your character must suffer, of course. I repeat, I do not believe it, but if it should be true, I hope you will at least save me from harm as one of your bondsmen. I shall wait with great impatience to hear from you.

(31.) To the same, Feb. 9, 1838.—Mr. Norvell and myself both examined, yesterday, the statements relative to your defalcation filed in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, though we did not go together and at the same time. Mr. Norvell and Mr. Crary also received letters from various persons in Michigan stating that you were a defaulter, and one of the writers, a highly respectable gentleman, applied for your place. It is proper, perhaps, that I should also state that the Secretary of the Treasury in handing the communication against you to me and requesting that I consider it confidential, remarked that he thought he should have to remove both you and Mr. Brown. I told him I did not believe a word of the statement and should not consent to any movement against you till you had had a fair chance to be heard in your own defense. That you may have that chance I now forward you the following abstract of the statement on file, without naming the person who made it.

1st. It appears, or at least I should infer, from that statement that Chas. W. Whipple had paid your office a visit within the last month or less for the purpose of ascertaining whether you were a defaulter or not.

2d. That when he left there you accompanied him as far as Kalamazoo, under pretense of finding someone there whose testimony in your favor was important; that when you reached there the person was gone and you returned to Ionia, leaving Whipple to go on his way home to Detroit, you having previous to leaving Ionia shown him your bank book or account with the Bank of Michigan, by which it appeared there was a balance due you from the bank of about $9,000, or sufficient to cover the deficiency which Whipple found to exist in counting the money in your vault.

3d. On your return to Ionia you sent one of your clerks (young Whipple) up to Looking Glass river and while he was gone you got the key of the vault from the other clerk (Smith) and took therefrom upwards of $8,000 in gold, giving Smith a memorandum of the amount taken. This Whipple knew nothing about till a draft of the government for $43,000 was presented for payment, and there not being enough money to meet it, you remarked that there ought to have been eight or nine thousand dollars more in the vault, and you then, to pay the draft, drew for $6,000 on the Bank of Michigan and for $2,000 or thereabouts more on the F. & M. Bank bank in Detroit.

4th. The gold which you had taken from the vault, you took with you to Detroit and there pretended to Whipple that it was the money due you from the Bank of Michigan, when in fact you had no money due you from that bank, the money alluded to being a part of the identical money which Whipple had previously counted at Ionia, when he discovered the deficiency in your vaults.

The above is the substance of the statement. You will please say nothing about it to aryone or even let it be known that you have been informed of it. It is relied

upon most fully to prove your defalcation, but to my mind it carries upon the face of it strong presumptive evidence that you are not a defaulter. At least the government does not sustain any loss, provided your drafts on the bank are paid so as to cancel the $43,000 draft of the government. And if the government drafts are paid on presentation when drawn for the full amount and perhaps for more than the full amount due from you to the government, I don't know who has a right to say you are a defaulter. But you must write me all about this matter and take care to furnish the department with full proof that you are able to account for all the money in your hands. In the meantime, I shall take care to guard your character and interests here and elsewhere if occasion requires.

(32.) To Wm. A. Richmond, Grand Rapids, March 6, 1838.— * * * I wrote you yesterday that you would probably be nominated as receiver of the public money for the Grand River land district. I have now the pleasure to inform you that you have been nominated for that office and that your nomination has this day been confirmed by the senate. The nomination of Hon. John Clark of our State Senate for register in place of Gen. Brown was also confirmed at the same time. * * * The bill creating a new land district out of the eastern part of the Grand River district and removing the Ionia office to Grand Rapids, has this day passed the senate. It will probably pass the house late in the session. * * * Norvell has made a speech today on the sub-treasury bill. (Similar letter to Clark.)

(33.) To Sheldon McKnight, March 9, 1838.—You are aware that Allen Hutchins has been removed from the office of receiver of public money at Ionia, Michigan, notwithstanding my request made of the Secretary of the Treasury that his case might not be acted upon until I could hear from him, and you are also aware that Major Calvin Britain and myself are his sureties. The amount of government money in his hands on the 1st day of February was about $26,000. How much he is able to account for I do not know. I am informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that a draft drawn on him by the department for $10,000 was protested for non-payment on the 10th day of December last and on the 11th, the very next day after, he reported $15,000 in his hands subject to the draft of the treasury department. This draft, which was in favor of Maj. R. A. Forsyth, was kept a long time to allow him to raise the money to meet it, but having failed to do so, it was returned to the proper office here a few days ago and Mr. Hutchins was thereupon immediately removed. Nothing could save him any longer, and what I want you to do now is to see him as soon as you can and have him turn over to his successor all the money he has or can get and then to convey all his property to you or to Maj. Britain and myself, or to me alone, in trust, for the purpose of securing us and the government against loss or damage. I feel confident he will do so. I have been his friend and stood by him at all times and on all occasions, and I am sure he is honorable enough to secure me now against loss in consequence of such friendship. * * * It will probably be best that you should be authorized by the dictrict attorney to proceed immediatly to Ionia and take possession of the money and books and papers of his office for the purpose of handing them over to his successor as soon as he is qualified to receive them. The money can safely be deposited in the Grand River bank at Kent where the land office is hereafter to be kept. * * *

(34.) To Col. D. Goodwin, Detroit, March 9, 1838.—Suggesting the appointment of Sheldon McKnight to take possession of the land office at Ionia should he not care to personally act in the matter.

(35.) To Edward Lyon, Lyons, Mich., March 10, 1838.— * * * Gen. Brown was removed in consequence of the report of Maj. Charles W. Whipple, who made some investigations into the affairs of his office last summer, and Mr. Hutchins was removed because he appears to be a defaulter to a considerable amount. I have the misfortune to be one of his sureties and Maj. Calvin Britain of St. Joseph is the other. We shall, I fear, loose some ten or fifteen thousand dollars, perhaps more. But that is enough to nearly or quite ruin me as the times are at present. * * *

(36.) To the same, April 12, 1838.— * * * Hutchins was seen in New York city about four or five weeks since, but when he left there is unknown. He has probably gone to Texas, leaving Maj. Britain and myself to pay about $15,000, which he owes the government. His property at Adrian was conveyed to his wife before marriage, but it is probable that that conveyance as well as the one to his child of property in Ionia county can be set aside by the United States, which by law in such cases is a preferred creditor. I hope you will have all his property levied on by the deputy marshal, whether in houses and lands in the village and county of Ionia, or in elegant furniture at the Rapids of Grand River, where I understand he had a costly set of mahogany, etc., prepared. * * * I wish you would inform me if Mr. Robinson has received a contract sent to him by me three or four months ago for carrying the mails from Howell to Grand Rapids by way of the mouth of the Looking Glass and Lyons. Also inform me whether the mail is now or has been this winter carried on that route.

(37.) To His Excellency, S. T. Mason, September 9, 1838.—Your favor enclosing a map of Lower Saginaw was received a few days since and the reason you give why that place should be preferred over every other in that vicinity for a port of entry are certainly entitled to great weight. I am interested in Saginaw City, which I believe is much the largest town on the river, and I have no doubt the people generally in the neighborhood will expect the port of entry there, but if there is likely to be much business done below, so high a location would in many cases be inconvenient. * * *

(38.) To L. Stow, Concord, Jackson county, Feb. 10, 1838.—Acknowledging receipt of petition for a postal route from Tecumseh to Marshall.

(39.) To Albert Pardy, Feb. 16, 1838.—Acknowledging receipt of petition for the establishment of a new postoffice in the town of Salem, Washtenaw county, to be known as "Peeble's Corners."

(40.) To Postmaster General Amos Kendall, Feb. 16, 1838.—Enclosing petition for the establishment of a new postoffice to be called Walker, in the town of Walker, Kent county, to be supplied by a special mail route from the postoffice of Kent on the opposite side of Grand river. The Grand river is very often difficult to cross and even when it can be crossed without difficulty the ferriage is too much of a tax on the persons going to the office for letters.

(41.) To the President, Martin Van Buren (no date).—Warmly endorsing Col. Andrew Mack, as collector of customs for the port of Detroit, and transmitting recommendations in his favor. Col. Mack was appointed to the office he now holds by President Jackson about the year —— and has on all occasions and at all times, as far as I know or have heard, proved himself a vigilant, correct and faithful officer, so much so that against his official character and conduct I have never heard a word of disapprobation from any quarter whatever. In politics he has

been at all times a warm and zealous friend to the administration of the general government and was one of the delegates from Michigan who attended the Baltimore convention. In his private character he is generous, hospitable, kind and courteous to all, rigidly just in all his dealings and enjoys the confidence, respect and esteem of his fellow citizens. I understand there are other candidates for the place he occupies, who are respectable and worthy men, friends whom I should be glad to serve, but I feel bound to say that in my opinion neither the interest of the public nor the interest of the Democratic party can be better promoted than by reappointing him.

(42.) To A. G. Ellis, Green Bay, Wis., Feb. 20, 1838.— * * * Michigan has much more cause to complain of being robbed than has Wisconsin. She has appropriations for only two lighthouses on Lake Michigan, while Wisconsin has five, viz.: at Milwaukee, Manitowoc, Chipewagon, Red River and $5,000 for one at the entrance of Green Bay, which, as there is one already built there, Lieut. Pendegrass recommends should be expended in erecting one at some point near the mouth of Fox river, at the head of the bay. I hope you will set public opinion in Wisconsin right in this matter. Truman H. Lyon, a cousin of mine and a man of highly respectable character, excellent good sense and practical, thorough business habits, which qualify him well for the station, has been appointed superintendent of the lighthouses on Lake Michigan, and will, I know, push forward the building of the new lighthouses as rapidly as practicble. He has no inducement to delay, for his only compensation is his actual traveling expenses and two and half per cent on the disbursements he may make in payment for the buildings when completed. His address is Lyons, Ionia county, Mich. When the bill creating a surveyor general's office in Wisconsin shall pass, as it will do at the close of the session, I shall try to have you appointed to that office. As to the boundary survey, I presume the surveyor general at Cincinnati will select for that service some one who is neither a resident of Wisconsin or Michigan and therefore more likely to be impartial.

(43.) To Garry Spencer and Martin Story, Detroit, Feb. 21, 1838.— * * * I assure you I shall in all things, when I am called upon to act here, be governed, and have been heretofore, by the wishes of a majority of the Democratic party of Michigan, whenever I have the means of knowing what those wishes are. Personal friendships and personal considerations must always yield to the public good whenever they may come in conflict with it, and if a majority of the party desire the appointment of another person in place of Col. Mack, I shall most certainly interpose no obstacle to prevent their wishes being carried into effect.

(44.) To Col. D. Goodwin, Detroit, Feb. 25, 1838.— * * * There is not the slightest truth to any such report (that he is about to be married) and there never has been and probably never will be, though of that I may think better hereafter. I like the society of intelligent and interesting ladies, but I can't say that I particularly admire those who fancy that every man who looks at or speaks to them civilly half a dozen times wishes to marry them, and there are a great many such, who give rise to all sorts of ridiculous reports and surmises about every gentleman who happens to be thrown into their company. * * * Yesterday I called on Mr. Gale, agreeable to your request, to ascertain the name of the author of the letters in the Intelligencer to which you have furnished a reply, which I have not yet seen. I gave Mr. Gale your letter and after reading it he said he would give me the name of the writer but he must request that it should not be made public. He did so and I saw a part of one of the letters so that I should be able to identify

the hand writing. The writer's name is James F. Joy. I understand he has lately gone to Detroit from Troy, N. Y., and McKnight informs me he is a partner of A. S. Porter. This information you will please consider as confidential, agreeable to Mr. Gale's request. As soon as I get your communication I shall send it to the Intelligencer for publication. * * * Mr. Cilley of Maine was killed yesterday in a duel with Mr. Graves of Kentucky. Both parties were members of the house of representatives and the affair has produced much excitement and indignation here, for it is generally looked upon as an unprovoked and cold-hearted murder on the part of Graves, aided and abetted as he was by Mr. Wise of Virginia, Manifee of Kentucky and James Watson Webb and Matthew L. Davis of New York. * * *

(45.) To Amos Kendall, Postmaster General, Feb. 26.—Transmitting a remonstrance signed by 130 Democratic citizens of Monroe against the removal of James Q. Adams as postmaster; also resolutions adopted by a public meeting to the same effect.

(46.) To Gales and Seaton, Feb. 27, 1838.—I enclose you a communication signed "Iastitia," cut from the Detroit Free Press of the 13th inst., which I desire you to publish here as a refutation of the calumny contained in the letters of your anonymous correspondent at Detroit intended to affect injuriously the character of the Governor, district judge of the U. S., district attorney of the U. S. and the marshal of the U. S. for the State of Michigan, on account of the alleged misconduct of those officials in the border excitement lately commenced and still existing in that quarter. The writer of the communication is well known to me and his high character and ample means of correct information are unquestionable.

(47.) To James Q. Adams, Monroe, Feb. 27, 1838.— * * * You are probably under a slight misapprehension in regard to this proceeding (his removal from the Monroe postoffice). You were not removed from office. The income of the office being over $1,000 it became necessary that the appointment of postmaster should, according to law, be made by the President, by and with the consent of the senate, and the first that I knew about the matter was when the nomination of Godfrey came before the senate. You were not reappointed, but that is not quite the same as being removed. * * *

(48.) To the President, Feb. 27, 1838.—Transmitting a memorial signed by a majority of the members of the Michigan legislature asking for the reappointment of Col. Andrew Mack as collector of the port at Detroit.

(49.) To Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury, Feb. 28, 1838.—Enclosing endorsements for the appointment of John F. Porter to be collector of the port of St. Joseph, should such a port of entry be established.

(50.) To Col. Andrew Mack, Detroit, March 5, 1838.—Advising him that John McDonell had been appointed collector of the port at Detroit; a majority of the Michigan delegation favored that appointment and the President made it accordingly.

(51.) To Horace H. Comstock, now at Detroit, March 4, 1838.— * * * I perceive from some expressions in your letter that you are under the impression that if the independent treasury bill should pass and become law, the value of property, and real estate in particular, will be very much reduced in consequence. You are not singular in this respect; I was at first under this same impression myself and I believe seven-tenths of the people of the country are at this moment under

the same impression. It is the interest of the banks and the interest of the whole Whig party (I mean their interest as bankers and politicians), that gave birth to and continues this delusion. The impression is as false and groundless as any that ever obtained among a rational and intelligent people, as I could prove, if I had time, beyond the possibility of doubt or contradiction, and on more mature reflection I have very little doubt you will come to the same conclusion. My reason for this would occupy more space than I can spare within the limits prescribed to myself in this letter, but I will state what time will show to be true, viz.: that if the independent treasury bill should pass and become a law, the value of real estate will never be less under the operations of that law than it is now, or will be before the law goes into effect; so, if real estate is depressed in value, the cause of that depression must be sought for elsewhere than in the course pursued by the administration. The real cause is the revulsion that has taken place in all branches of business, which is caused by a loss of confidence in the ability of banks and individuals to meet their engagements. The cause of this loss of confidence was the excessive issues and loans of the banks and the cause of these excessive issues and loans of the banks was, chiefly, the public money which they had to loan out and trade upon. Knowing all this, as we do now by bitter experience, shall we again yield to the clamor of banks and give them the public money to trade upon and produce another revulsion, as they certainly would, or shall we endeavor to keep it for the purposes for which it was collected from the people, and by withholding it from the banks, withhold at the same time all the stimulants which tend to interrupt the steady, uniform and permanent prosperity of the country? The answer must be in favor of the course recommended by the President, and the great body of the people of this country, though they may for a time be blinded and confused by the misrepresentations of interested politicians and bankers, will as certainly sustain this course as truth will prevail over error. What is past we cannot help, and we must bear the evils brought upon us by the banks as well as we can, but we should by all the means in our power guard against similar evils in future. I repeat my entire conviction that the course recommended by the President will not have the effect to reduce the value of real estate, of which you and I own so much, but if it would, I hope our patriotism does not lie wholly in our pockets. I hope we should not denounce the President's recommendations as an "experiment" and "humbug" purely on that account, provided its tendency should be to promote the public good. It would not be very creditable to ourselves to do so; at least we ought to wait till ample experience shall show that such denunciations are not unfounded. I have not time to pursue this subject further, but may resume my remarks hereafter. The fate of the treasury bill is doubtful, but I think it will pass both houses and become a law. We shall then see whether it is productive of all the evil expected from it or not. * * * * * * * * * *

(52.) To Olmstead Hough, Detroit, March 5, 1838.—Advising him of his appointment as register of the land office at Detroit. You were recommended by all the delegation from our State, and were especially the first choice of myself. * * * You will find Detroit a pleasant residence and you will moreover be able to aid the Democrats of Wayne county and lead them on to victory in the contest next fall, which will probably be the most severe and critical that we shall have for many years.

(53.) To Col. A. C. Pepper, Logansport, Ind., March 11, 1838.—Recommending Lorin Marsh of Coldwater and Benjamin Sherman of Nottoway, St. Joseph county, as conducting and enrolling agents in the emigration of the Indians from Michigan,

especially the former who can do more with the Indians on the reserves south of Grand River than any other man.

(54.) To Charles Lensley, Middleburg, Vt., March 27, 1838.— * * * As yet all that has been done on the railroad from New Buffalo to Monroe is to put under contract the grubbing of about thirty miles of the eastern end of the road nearest Monroe. The work will not be finished short of five years, but whenever it may be finished, New Buffalo will doubtless become a place of considerable business and a great deal of travel will pass through it between the east and the west. I should think it ought within ten years contain four or five thousand inhabitants.

(55.) To Richard J. Huyck, Little Prairie Ronde, March 8, 1838.—Advising him the postoffice at Volinia, Cass county, had been discontinued because it was not on the road travelled by the mail carrier.

(56.) To Isaac Newton Higbee, April 12, 1838.— * * * I am truly glad to hear that you have secured your contract and instructions for surveying, and that Mr. Video has a district to survey adjoining you, so that you can go out together and assist each other. I find your districts are both bounded on the north by the 2d correction line, and by the surveyor's notes taken on that line, I see you will both have some pretty bad and some tolerable good surveying in your districts, though the bad will greatly predominate. You want patience, industry, and perseverance to go through with your contract, and by the time you get half done I presume you will be compelled to stop work on account of the mosquitoes, and come in until fall, when you will be able to finish the whole. Should any considerable portion of your district prove to be pine lands, without undergrowth, you may, perhaps, be able to continue work notwithstanding the mosquitoes, but if they are very annoying I would rather wait till they will be gone in the fall. You might then be able to finish your work before winter would set in. You must consider, however, that you will not be able to make any money of consequence unless you push ahead as fast as possible. You must be out as soon as you can see daylight in the morning and go as long as you can see day light at night. There is nothing like energy and industry to help along in such business. The most rapid progress I ever made in surveying was in the winter, west and northwest of Fort Gratiot, in one of the worst timbered swampy countries I ever saw. I subdivided those ten townships in twelve weeks, including the time spent in going out and returning to Detroit, averaging for the whole time a fraction over eight miles per day, including Sundays, which we did not stop to keep. But I never worked so hard in my life, and believe I never shall again. * * * * * * * *

(57.) To Mark Norris, Ypsilanti, Mich., April 27, 1838.—Advising him that his invention of a pile driver for making railroads is very similar to an invention claimed by two different persons.

(58.) To 1st Asst. P. M. Gen. Hobbie, April 25, 1838.—Enclosing petition of Postmaster Z. P. Mason, of Niles, asking for a semi-weekly mail from Niles to Bronson. I know that much inconvenience and delay is experienced in many parts of Michigan on account of the mails being too heavy to be carried on horseback once a week, in consequence of which a portion of it is generally left behind, when it is very full or the roads are bad. * * * * * * *

(59.) To William Woodbridge, Detroit, April 25, 1838.— * * * I had previously received a copy of the joint resolution, relative to making a tow path along the cut of the River Rouge, from its mouth to the arsenal (?) and shall if possible

endeavor to procure an appropriation for that purpose. The reasons you urge in its favor are such as ought to secure its favorable consideration in Congress, and your views of the importance of improving the channel of Detroit river, on the American side of the island of Bois Blanc, entirely correspond with my own opinion on the subject, and I hope something will be done in the matter by the general government. The present, however, is a very unfavorable time to get appropriations for any purpose. The state of the treasury is such that there is not the slightest prospect that any new work will be begun or provided for this year, and it is even doubtful whether appropriations will be made to carry on the works, harbors, etc., already begun. In the early part of the session I introduced a bill granting to Michigan 5 per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of the public lands within her borders from the 1st of July, 1834, to the 1st of July, 1836, for the purpose of completing the roads already begun by the United States in our State. The bill was reported without amendment and, as we had had no appropriation as a territory during that time, while we were applying for admission into the union, I thought our claim irresistible. It was voted down, however, after a debate of about two hours, on the ground that there was no money in the treasury. Several senators who voted against it declared they would vote for it next year, as soon as the money could be spared. I thank you for your able report on the subject of the public lands of the United States lying within the several states. It was received from Judge McDonell and read with great pleasure and has, I believe, entirely convinced my colleague, Mr. Norvell, that the waste and uncultivated public lands belong to the states. As to myself, I was convinced of the correctness of that doctrine several years ago by reading Governor Edward's message to the legislature of Illinois on the subject, and it has always seemed to me that the course of the general government in exacting of us a relinquishment of our claim to these lands as the price of admission into the union was a most arbitrary and unjustifiable measure.

(60.) To Col. Andrew McKinstry, Schoolcraft, Mich.— * * * I see you have much trouble with the banks and more with the hard times in Michigan. Keep up your courage. A revolution in the money market has commenced in earnest in New York, and it cannot be many months before its effects will be felt in our State. More than four millions of dollars came into New York from England last week, and a great deal more is coming. We shall have money as plenty and prices as high as ever a year from this time.

(61.) To Hon. J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, various dates, recommending George C. Watson of Detroit for the appointment of 2d lieutenant in the army of the United States; Dr. Zina Pitcher, late of the United States army, now of Detroit, as one of the board of visitors of the United States Military Academy, and John M. Berrien to be captain in the corps of topographical engineers.

(62.) To Wm. A. Richmond, Grand Rapids, Mich., April 26, 1838.— * * * Your remarks relative to the condition of the Democratic party in our own State corresponds with my own opinions and observations on the subject. The revolution in politics and money matters so gloriously begun in New York, however, will, I think, save us from defeat as a party, or if not, will enable us to triumph again in a year or two, notwithstanding our present disadvantages and trouble. I am more troubled now in pecuniary matters than in politics, and I find my interests suffering so much from lack of attention at Cassville and on the Grand river that I am thinking seriously of giving up my seat in the Senate in order to be able to give my entire time to arranging my business affairs. * * * New York city

and state is as sure to give a majority for the administration next fall as time keeps on his course. Our party are in high spirits and the Whigs look blue and frightened. As to money matters we shall have easy times again in about a year,—not sooner. But within three years we shall see as great prosperity as ever, perhaps greater. * * *

(63.) To Gen. D. Parker, Philadelphia (date and first part of letter lost.)— * * * * There is considerable more than one-half the tract that will furnish at least 20,000 feet of pine to the acre and that of the best kind, so that the profits from the timber alone will be not less than $80 per acre, besides the value of the land for farming purposes afterward. There are one or two small streams running through the tract on which mills might be erected, with water enough to keep them running eight months in the year; but lumbermen now generally prefer steam to water power on account of its greater certainty, and in several places in Michigan they have lately erected steam saw mills where water power could have been had at less expense. The only objection to water is the floods and freshets, to which the streams were liable from which the water would have been taken. The steam power, when once provided, costs very little to keep up, for the slabs from the logs are nearly or quite sufficient fuel. The cost of a steam mill with two saws, when ready to use, would be, I suppose, about six or seven thousand dollars. It would saw about 8,000 feet every day, and there is pine enough in your tract, within three miles of where it would be erected, to keep it running fifteen years. But the profit to be made on the lumber, great as it is, is not the only reason why you should have a steam saw mill erected on the bank of Lake Huron at Port Sanilac. That place is now the permanent seat of justice for the county of Sanilac, and nothing but an act of the legislature of Michigan can remove it to any other spot. If anything is done there it will be a place of considerable importance and the village plat will be very valuable. A steam saw mill would be the most profitable improvement that could be made, and would add more to the value of the town property than any other, because it is the most needed. It is in fact almost indispensable. Without it and without any other improvements at the county seat for the accommodation of the people which are now beginning to settle with considerable rapidity, it is not improbable that some other town may be built upon the border of the lake to rival Port Sanilac; but if the improvement which I suggest be made there is no town from the foot of Lake Huron around to Saginaw, a distance of 130 miles, that can compete with it.

SECTION IV.

(1.) To Robert Joshnson, 2d Assistant Postmaster General, Dec. 23, 1838.— Enclosing petition of C. H. Thompson and 45 others asking for the establishment of a new postoffice in Lapeer county, to be known as Atlas, with John S. Goodrich as postmaster.

2.) To Arthur Bronson, New York, Dec. 26, 1838.—In reply to your letter making inquiry about Gen. Burdick, I have to state that I have had pretty extensive dealings with him and have always found him as strictly fair, upright and honorable, as any man could be; and such has invariably been his conduct in all his dealings with others, so far as I have any knowledge. I heard vague rumors and insinuations against him before he left Vermont, but my inquiries and my own knowledge of him since he has been in Michigan has satisfied me that they were unfounded.

(3.) To James Buchanan, U. S. Senate, Dec. 27, 1838.—Permit me to call your attention to the suggestions contained in the enclosed letter from our friend, Judge Wilkins, of Michigan. If you think the public good would be promoted by having your commitee authorized to send for persons and papers to investigate the character of the late disturbance on the Detroit frontier, I have no doubt Judge Wilkins, and two or three others, named by him, can give every information that may be desired; and I should be very glad to have him called here.

4.) To T. C. Sheldon, Detroit (private), Dec. 28, 1838.—There is a prospect that you will soon be marshal of the State of Michigan in place of Ten Eyck, whose removal has been strongly recommended on account of his sluggishness in the late patriot movement at Detroit and the alleged suspicion that he was secretly in confidential communication with some of the leaders of the late disturbance and gave them information of the intended action of the civil authorities against them, so as to enable them to shape their plans accordingly. I will not name the person who made the communication to the President, but it was one in whom he has the fullest confidence and on whose information he is disposed to act without further ceremony. He told me he would have to remove Ten Eyck, and requested me to see the Secretary of State on the subject, which I have done this morning; and have told him that if a removal was to be made, the President could not make a better appointment than T. C. S. * * * Crary seems to be satisfied with the proposed change. * * * Norvell spent his Christmas at Mrs. Mason's near Leesburg, Va., and has not yet returned. When he does return the president will probably talk with him and Crary on the subject. * * * * *

(5.) To John McDonell, Collector, Detroit, Dec. 29, 1838.— * * * In relation to your suggestion about being summoned to come on here, I have already written a letter to Mr. Buchanan, of the Senate, chairman of the committee on foreign relations, recommending it, and enclosing a letter from Judge Wilkins stating the reasons for such a course. * * * You have done your duty fearlessly and nobly during the late disturbance at Detroit, and it may be gratifying to you to know that your services and the services of those who actively and zealously co-operated with you on this occasion, are highly appreciated by the President. I am pleased to hear that you think my prospects good for re-election to the Senate. Success now would be highly gratifying, though I am by no means certain that, personally, I should wish to remain here to the close of another term. Any aid you can render me in this matter will lay me under obligations that will not be forgotten whenever I find an opportunity to serve you.

(6.) To Col. A. Edwards, Kalamazoo, Dec. 29, 1838.— * * * Some wicked and slanderous report about Gen. Cass being a defaulter to a large amount to the government have been in circulation here for several days, but the Globe of this morning nails them all to the counter.

(7.) To O. Wilder, Singapore, Allegan county, Dec. 29, 1838.— * * * I regret to have to inform you that there appears to be a growing opposition in Congress to all harbor improvements, and I greatly fear that we shall never have another such work commenced by the general government, the great land owner of our country. We shall have to tax the public lands and sell them to raise money ourselves to make these improvements. What will our people say to such a movement, if we can get nothing in any other way?

(8.) To Kintzing Pritchette, Detroit, Dec. 29, 1838.—The Secretary of State says the only consulates that afford even a scanty living, with the exception of two or three to which salaries are attached in Africa, are those of Liverpool, Havana and Havre. The only vacancies at present are two on the south side of the island of Cuba, which are worth next to nothing; and, of course, you do not want either of them. He expressed a strong and apparently sincere desire to serve me in the matter. Said there would probably be vacancies occurring next spring or summer in some of the offices of Charge d' Affaires in South America or elsewhere, and that in that event he would remember you. * * * *

(9.) To E. and S. Higley, Jackson, Jan. 2, 1839.— * * * I have to inform you that no laws have ever been passed by Congress in relation to the "Carver tract," so-called, in the territory of Wisconsin, nor has Congress ever recognized the title of Carver or that of his heirs or assigns. On the contrary the subject has been brought twice before Congress and on both occasions reports were made and adopted decidedly adverse to the claimants. * * * *

(10.) To T. C. Sheldon, Detroit, Jan. 3, 1839.—The day after I wrote you Mr. Norvell returned from Virginia, and having learned that the president thought of making a change in the appointment of Marshal for the State of Michigan, he sent in his remonstrance against it and enclosed to the president a letter which he had just received from Judge Wilkins, speaking in high terms of Ten Eyck's conduct on the occasion of the late disturbances at Detroit. The consequence is that nothing has yet been done and nothing is likely to be done till Ten Eyck shall have been informed of the charges against him and given an opportunity to defend himself. * * * * * *

(11.) To Jas. Whitcomb, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Jan. 5, 1839.—I enclose several papers belonging to Joseph Campau of Detroit, showing him to be the assignee of the heirs of "Tawcumegequa," otherwise called Angelique Coutant, a half breed Indian woman who received by the treaty of Saginaw of the 24th of September, 1819, a grant of a section of land lying at the grand traverse or crossing of Flint river. If there is no obstacle in the way, I have to request that a patent may be issued for this land to the said Joseph Campau.

(12.) To E. Ransom, Kalamazoo, Jan. 6, 1839.— * * * In relation to the election of a United States senator, I shall be much gratified should the result be as you predict. I fear, however, that my chance for re-election is not very good. I see in the Niles Intelligencer of the 26th ult., just received, there is an attack on me, which, though entirely unfounded, and unjust, would seem to indicate that either Bradford or Fitzgerald would be the candidate of that section. Other candidates, I understand, are out in different parts of the State, and it seems to me highly probable that some of them who have their personal friends at work for them will be able to get a greater number of votes than I can, for I have made no movement in the matter at all. Whatever the result may be, I shall be satisfied, provided a good Democrat be elected.

(13.) To Col. Thomas Fitzgerald, Jan. 6, 1839.—In reply to your letter requesting my "views concerning the claims of those persons on the Indian reservations in the western part of Michigan, and especially on the reservation near Niles, who would have been entitled to the benefit of the late pre-emption law, had not the pre-emption right been given to the state which had located the lands, while they were actual residents thereon." I think, and have always entertained the

opinion, that the state, having the right to locate any unappropriated lands within its border, for the benefit of the university and for state purposes, ought never to have selected lands which were occupied in good faith by actual settlers for the purpose of cultivation and improvement and not for speculation. It was against the principle upon which the pre-emption law was founded; the democratic principle which considers the cultivator of the soil as free to raise his bread on the vast domain of the general government as the fisherman is to draw his subsistence from the ocean, and which would secure to each the just reward and benefit of his own labor. Nevertheless, as the State of Michigan had, by its properly constituted authorities, made such selections of lands, when the last pre-emption law was under consideration in Congress, I, as one of its senators, elected by the legislature and not by the people of the State, felt bound to respect the action of such authority, and to do all in my power to protect those selections from all legal claims upon them until the Legislature of the State should otherwise direct. This I thought then, and think now, was my duty; but as soon as resolutions were passed by the Legislature authorizing the release of those lands, and the selection of others in lieu thereof, it was with great pleasure that I did all in my power to get a bill through Congress at the last session for that purpose. This bill has been, on my suggestion, again brought forward this year by my colleague, and will receive my most decided support, and I hope may be passed and become a law at the present session. It will then rest with the Governor to relinquish them or not as he may see fit, unless in the meantime the Legislature should act again on the subject.

(14.) To Col. A. Edwards, Kalamazoo, Jan. 9, 1839.—Yours of the 26th is just received. I feel under deep obligations to you for pursuing the course which you have pursued in relation to my re-election and hope I may at some time be able to render you a service in return. From all I can learn, however, I think my chances of success very doubtful, and I would not wish you to withdraw your claim on my account. If I should be defeated I shall return to private life without a murmur and with the best wishes for the success of my successor, especially if you should be the person. Schoolcraft is here and has got permission to visit London to publish a book which he has been writing, giving the mythology, tales and traditions of the Indians. He will sail from New York soon and be gone three months.

(15.) To Wm. A. Burt, Mt. Vernon, Macomb county, Jan. 12, 1839. I received a letter from Mr. Young of Philadelphia, some two weeks ago, stating that he had made what he believed to be valuable improvements in the construction of your variation compass; that he had sent you a full account thereof and wished to know of me if I had seen you, what you thought of his improvement and whether you wished any instruments made. I wrote him that I had heard you speak in high terms of the improvement which had been made, but could not tell whether you desired any instruments made or not. I have left your patent with the commissioner of patents to be recorded and shall get it in a few days.

(16.) To the same, Jan. 16, 1839.—I have had your patent for your instrument for determining the variation of the magnetic needle recorded in the office of the commissioner of patents in conformity to the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1837, and herewith enclose it to you by mail. * * * Mr. Calhoun made a very powerful speech today in favor of the cession of the public lands to the states in which they lie. I made a speech on the same subject yesterday, but it is too much work to write it out. I don't know that it will be published.

(17.) To John B. Murray, New York, Jan. 17, 1839.— * * * There is no such appointment as attache by virtue of which one can have anything to do with any of the American legations abroad, excepting the single appointment of a secretary of legation, which each minister has the privilege of making for himself. Mr. Stevenson appointed Theodore S. Fay his secretary of legation at London; Mr. Dallas appointed W. W. Chew his secretary of legation at St. Petersburg, and Gen. Cass appointed Chas. E. Anderson his secretary of legation at Paris. Each of these secretaries is paid by the United States $2,000 per annum, and this seems, beside the pay of the minister himself, all that is allowed by the government. Our ministers abroad sometimes invite young gentlemen who are their particular friends to reside in their families, and while they do so they of course enjoy all the exemptions from arrest and search, and other privileges enjoyed by the ambassador himself; but this is a private arrangement which the state department has nothing to do with.

(18.) To S. R. Hobbie, 1st assistant P. M. Gen., Jan. 17, 1839.—Transmitting account of John Almy for carrying the mails from Kalamazoo to Grand Rapids from Jan. 1 to July 1, 1838, six months for $367.50.

(19.) To Wm. Durell, Mt. Clemens, Jan. 18, 1839.—I received a letter signed by yourself and seven other settlers on the Swan river reserve, enclosing your petition to Congress praying for the right of pre-emption to the lands on which you say you have lived from four to ten years. I have taken a lively interest in the cause of the petitioners and have been very desirous to find some way to protect them from the loss of their improvements, but can see no way of doing so by any action of the government here. It is out of the power of Congress to grant them pre-emption because such grant would be a violation of the treaty with the Indians. The land must be sold according to the provision of the treaty. There is no way that I can see to prevent it. All that can be done in favor of the settlers will be by the settlers themselves and their friends endeavoring to prevent competition on the day of sale, so that each settler shall be allowed to purchase the land on which he lives at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre. This I think may be done, and so far as any efforts of mine can avail, they shall be exerted to effect it.

(20.) To Charles W. Whipple, Detroit, Jan. 18, 1839.—Soon after the receipt of your letter relative to the claims and situation of the settlers on Macomb's reservation, I received from them a petition to Congress praying to be allowed the right of pre-emption. This,however, Congress had not the power to grant, inasmuch as it would conflict with the provisions of the second article of the treaty of the 9th of May, 1836, by which said reservation was purchased, which says: "The lands shall be surveyed and offered for sale in the usual manner, at the land office in Detroit, as soon as practicable after the ratification of this treaty," and that the proceeds of said sale shall be paid to the Indians. I can see no way in which Congress or the President can interfere in favor of the settlers, however hard their case tmay be. The settlers and their friends must endeavor to prevent any bidding against them at the sale, so that each occupant may purchase the land he lives on. This is all that can be done in their favor, and this, I think, may be done by making the circumstances under which the settlement was made generally known at the sale. I am sure if you or some person well known were to get up and make an appeal to the people in behalf of the settlers, on such an occasion, no one would bid against them. * * * The session is wearing away rapidly and the probability that Congress will do anything of any importance is

very small indeed. The opposition seemed determined to thwart all the business they can. * * * * * *

(21.) To Miss Mary Tott, Jan. 19, 1839.— * * * What slaves we are here! And yet, how anxious most of us are to retain our places. My own term expires on the 3d of March next, and two years ago I did not believe anything could induce me to remain here beyond that time; but I have consented to become a candidate for re-election, and now feel almost as anxious for success as ever I did. My fate will be decided on the 8th of February. Let me have your good wishes.

(22.) To Dr. Z. Pitcher, Detroit, Jan. 19, 1839.— * * * The message of Gov. Mason has come to hand and been read by me since I commenced writing this letter. The view it presents is such as ought to make a Michiganian proud of the growth and greatness of the State. It is a document in every way creditable to the Governor as well as to the people governed.

(23.) To Judge Ross Wilkins, Detroit, Jan. 20, 1839.— * * * General Wall, chairman of the committee on the judiciary, informs me that the committee have agreed that when the bill comes up which they have reported for increasing the salaries of the district judges in several of the states they will move an amendment to it increasing your salary to $2,000. * * * In relation to your being summoned here to give information relative to the patriot movement on the Detroit frontier, Mr. Buchanan says he could not persuade the committee on foreign relations that there was any necessity for it or that any good would result from it. * * * The session of Congress is likely to be consumed in useless debate, so that little or no business will be done. The criminations and recriminations of parties as to which is most justly chargeable with a prodigal expenditure of the public money has been such that no appropriation for the completion of our roads begun by the United States nor for carrying on the construction of our harbors can reasonably be expected this year. All such appropriations will fail, I am convinced, as well as those for Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. We shall have to tax the public lands or sell them to raise the money for our purposes. Gov. Mason's message receives the unqualified praise here of every one who has read it, and people seem astonished at the growth and power of our young State.

(24.) To T. C. Sheldon, Detroit, Jan. 28, 1839.— * * * I shall go tomorrow to the Commissioner of the General Land Office and get permission for you to come on here, where it will afford me great pleasure to see you, whether I am re-elected or not. You will have seen before this reaches you how I have been abused and cried down by the Whig letter writers on account of an attack which I made in the debate on the graduation bill, on Senator Southard of New Jersey, and on the whole federal party. My remarks have not yet been published, but I will write them out, at least a short sketch of them, as soon as I can find leisure. You speak of a rumor that Mr. Norvell has written a letter to some one of his friends in favor of my re-election. This, I suspect, is a mistake, and that it is only intended to injure me by the person who put the report in circulation. Mr. Norvell knows that I neither solicit or desire his interference in my behalf, for no one knows better than I that he can do me no good. If he favors my re-election at all, which I very much doubt, it is only to benefit himself two years hence when his own term will expire. In relation to Ten Eyck, the President has, I understand, directed that he should be informed of the particular charges made against him, and be allowed an opportunity for explanation. If he does not make the explanation to the entire satisfaction of the President and prove his statements to be true by other evidence than his own, my belief is he will be removed. * * *

(25.) To Obed P. Lacey, Niles, Jan. 29, 1839.— * * * I noticed the article to which you allude in the Niles Intelligencer, but can hardly imagine it can do me any harm. Everybody knows that since I have been here I have procured appropriations for roads running through Berrien county and for the harbor at the mouth of the St. Joseph river exceeding $100,000, an amount nearly equal to the appropriations for all other portions of the State put together. If this is neglecting the interests of Berrien county I am certainly under a very great mistake, for I believe there is hardly a county in the United States that has within the same period received so large a portion of the public money. In addition to this I got a bill through the Senate last year and again this year removing the office of the Surveyor General from Cincinnati to St. Joseph, for the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, and another bill through the Senate last year and before it again this year, for completing all the roads begun by the United States in the State of Michigan, which, if it should pass, would give to Berrien county some twenty to fifty thousand dollars out of the public money. Yet in reference to the last bill, there seems to be an insinuation thrown out that I have urged its passage from a selfish motive, because, as is intimated, there is some military road running to Lyons, where I am interested on the Grand river. The extreme injustice of his insinuation must be apparent to the editor himself, when he is told the fact that there is no United States road of any description running to or near Lyons, and that had the bill referred to become a law it would have thrown much money into Berrien county to finish the roads running through that country, while it would have injured Lyons very materially by making a road which would cross Grand river several miles above that point. But charges of this sort are hardly worth answering. They are generally known to be false by the persons who make them, and are often acknowledged to be so as soon as they have effected the purpose for which they were intended. Whether the editor of the Intelligencer will effect his object or not will be known now in a few days. For myself I care little about it.

(26.) To Sheldon McKnight, Feb. 4, 1839.— * * * You seemed to be of the opinion, when you wrote, that I would be re-elected, and I hope that your opinion may prove to be well founded; but I confess I have come to a different conclusion, and I expect to hear in a few days of my defeat. If I am not defeated it will be owing to the exertions of yourself and T. C. Sheldon, and I trust I shall not forget the obligations I owe to you. The difficulty which arose on the election of Mr. Norvell has in its consequences placed me in a most critical position, and as disagreeable as critical. The success and predominance of our party in Michigan seems to require that our friends should act together; and yet the personal feelings of a portion of them. * * *

(27.) To Obed P. Lacey, Feb. 16, 1839.— * * * Everybody that I see is ridiculing the proceedings of our Legislature in the election of a senator. The members certainly ought to agree on some one without so much difficulty and delay.

(28.) To John B. Murray, Feb. 14, 1839.— * * * I shall be a free man after the 3d of March and have time then to attend not only to my private affairs but to the calls of my friends. The members of the Legislature from the western part of the State of Michigan are in favor of Judge Ransom for senator to succeed me. not because they disapprove anything I have done but because he lives among them and I do not. My friends in other parts of the State have, therefore, thought it best that I should not be a candidate for re-election unless it should be found impossible to agree upon him.

(29.) To Thomas C. Sheldon, Feb. 17, 1839.—Yours of the 8th is this moment received and contains the latest intelligence that has come to hand, excepting what is in the Detroit Post of the 9th. Judging from an article in that, in favor of the constitutionality of Mr. Wing's election, I should think the Democrats might all unite upon him. As for me, I regret that my friends did not at once, when they found Judge Ransom brought forward, withdraw my name, in the first caucus, and say that in no event would I be a candidate. You can readily imagine that my situation here is not so pleasant as to make it very desirable; differing, as I am frequently compelled to do, with my colleagues, and always being in a minority upon such occasions,—nor will Mr. Wing or Maj. Biddle find themselves in any better circumstances, if either of them should succeed, unless he deserts the friends who bring him forward and elect him. I have, it is true, less difficulty about appointments now than formerly, becaue Norvell and Crary are more conciliatory and this spirit on their part I have endeavored to meet in a proper manner, so that we may all get along here without quarreling and destroying each other's character and influence. But I should be blind not to see that neither of these gentlemen have any real friendship for me. Indeed, I seem to have very few friends anywhere, politically, that can be relied on; and for that reason, as well as because my private affairs require my whole attention, it is my determination, if by any possible chance I should be elected, to resign immediately and declare myself free and independent of all mankind—except perhaps yourself and three or four others. But I'll think of this latter matter more at my leisure. I am now just going to dine with Elbert, who is here from Philadelphia, without his new wife, and wants an appropriation for a harbor at Port Sheldon. * * *

(30.) To Henry R. Schoolcraft, Feb. 22, 1839.— * * * The news from Michigan is that on the 13th inst, the senate nominated Warner Wing for the United States Senate by a vote of 10 to 6. The house had previously, on the 10th inst., nominated John Biddle by a majority of one vote. What the result will be no one can tell, for Maj. Biddle is certainly not the choice of the Democratic party, and Mr. Wing is opposed by a protest from 15 members of that party who believe his election would be a violation of our State constitution, inasmuch as he is a member of the State Legislature. I am out of the question, and I am glad of it; for if elected I should be compelled to resign or suffer greatly from being unable to attend to my private affairs.

(31.) To Maj. S. H. Webb, Detroit, Feb. 24, 1839.— * * * As to myself, the result of the senatorial election so far as I am concerned, has not disappointed me, because I knew something of the men who figured in the matter, and I had reason to believe that I should be, as I have been, the victim of treachery and lies. I do not find fault with this, nor can I very much regret it. I shall be at home now and be able to attend to my false friends as well as open enemies. A straightforward, upright, independent course which I have always pursued and always mean to pursue, disdaining all combinations for the promotion of selfish designs, will soon put down all the vile slanders and detractions which the jealousy and ambition of others has at the present time brought to bear against me and will satisfy the great body of the people of the character and motives of my opponents. I have done my duty here and my whole duty, honestly and faithfully, so that in retiring from my public station I can look back without even a wish that I had acted differently in anything that I have done. If the Legislature or the people find fault it is because they are imposed upon by those who have selfish motives of their own. I want no office whatever. I do not even desire to hold the place I am now in, and should feel myself degraded by accepting an appointment to it in any way other

than by the choice of a decided and strong majority of the Legislature; and even with such choice, I should, after all that has occurred, "pause and ponder" long before accepting it.

(32.) To M. J. Bacon, New York, Feb. 25, 1839.— * * * Our party, I fear, is in a bad way in Michigan. The dissatisfaction which was deeply felt, but partially smothered at Crary's nomination last fall, has broken out with double violence in the Legislature at the senatorial election. Warner Wing's friends thought he had been treated very badly last summer and they were therefore determined to send him to the Senate as my successor. In this determination they have persevered till our party is so much divided that it is now doubtful whether a senator will be chosen at all this session. Had it not been for him there would have been no difficulty in agreeing on someone. * * *

(33.) To John S. Barry, March 4, 1839.—I have seen the Secretary of State several times during the past session on the subject of a consular appointment for you, but have been unable to get anything but the expression of kind feeling and good wishes in your behalf. * * * On the whole I have come to the conclusion that Michigan is not likely to get any appointment from the government beyond her own borders until she shall have population enough to make her vote of some importance.

(34.) To Benjamin Sherman, Ionia, March 6, 1839.— * * * In retiring from public life I have the satisfaction of knowing that I have done my duty faithfully and fearlessly on all occasions; and that I have done as much for my constituents as any other could have done under similar circumstances. If they think differently, I will not complain. I leave their services without regret and if I ever enter it again, may I be dismissed without cause, as I have been. * * *

(35.) To Samuel J. Bayard, Seneca Falls, March 8, 1839.— * * * The members of Congress have nearly all left the city and there is nothing new here save the removal of Dr. Jones, the postmaster here, which will take place soon, and it is said will be the beginning of a general turn out of all who have been long in offices which can be as well filled by others. * * *

(36.) To Charles C. Hascall, March 7, 1839.— * * * I trust that the session of the Legislature will not pass off without agreeing on some one to supply my place. The risk is too great to postpone an election till next year. I shall urge this point when I get to Detroit and I hope to be there before the Legislature shall adjourn.

(37.) To Israel V. Harris, Grand Rapids, March 8, 1839.—Advising him that if he desires a special post route from Grand Rapids to Muskegon, he can doubtless get it by applying to the Postmaster General, provided some one be found willing to carry it for the net proceeds of the Muskegon office.

(38.) To Capt. E. Backers, U. S. A., Florida, March 8, 1839.— * * * Norvell and Crary started for Michigan a day or two ago and I shall leave in two or three days. They have had a gay, lively winter in the society of Detroit—those who have been there. Yet Bishop McCoskry has made several additions to his church, and among them is the wife of my colleague, Mrs. Norvell. * * *

(39.) To James Whitcomb, Commissioner of the General Land Office, March 9, 1839.—Enclosing petition of Norman Little of Saginaw county asking that the Chippewa Indian reserve on the Shiawassee, Tittabawassee, Cass, Flint and Saginaw rivers, embracing about 100,000 acres be surveyed and brought into market.

(40.) To Robert Johnston, 2d Asst. P. M. Gen.—Enclosing letter of E. H. Masy, recommending that the name of the postoffice at the mouth of the Black River Lake, Ottawa county, be changed from Superior to Tuscarora.

(41.) To W. A. Richmond, March 10, 1839.—I am sorry to inform you that the bill to create an additional land office in Michigan and to remove the Ionia office to the Rapids of the Grand River, though it passed the Senate in the early part of the session has failed to pass the house of representatives or even to be acted upon in that body. All our other bills for the benefit of Michigan have also failed in the house after having passed the Senate, and among them are seven or eight which were got through the Senate by me. * * *

(42.) To Capt. E. S. Sibley, U. S. A., Savannah, Ga., March 10, 1839.— * * * The Legislature of Michigan have had so much difficulty in choosing a senator this winter that I would not hold the office if elected, and I have so informed some of the members who write me that they are now ready to give me their support. Who will be chosen I do not know. Warner Wing has been able so far to defeat a choice, but it is almost certain that he cannot succeed himself. * * * E. P. Deacon has returned from Paris lately and says he left Gen. Cass and his family all well. Miss Matilda is engaged to marry a young man of New York by the name of Ledyard who has been attached to the diplomatic family of the General for a year or two. Deacon says the Casses do not admit the engagement and he doubts whether it exists; but Ledyard himself, who is now here, told Lieutenant Godfrey no longer than three days ago that he was going out to Paris this spring to marry her. Lewis Cass, Jr., has been admitted to the bar of the Supreme court of Michigan and is also going out. The General's defalcation has turned out much to his advantage. It has entirely killed off all the rumors of his peculation in the Indian department, which a great many persons have been very industriously circulating recently and by inuendo for several years, much to his prejudice and disadvantage. Among the persons I could name some of our Michigan politicians who owe to him all the importance they ever had. * * *

(43.) To L. Slater, Richland, Kalamazoo county, March 14, 1839.—I have consulted the Commissioner ot Indian Affairs, T. Hadley Crawford, on the subject touched upon in your letters and am of the opinion that the Chippewas and Ottawas who made the treaty in 1836 for the sale of the country in the northern part of Michigan cannot be forced to remove west of the Mississippi unless they choose to go there. They will have to leave their reservations within the five years mentioned in the treaty but they may buy lands of the government as other people do and remain in the country, or they may go wherever they please. Should they conclude to buy lands and cultivate them in the State of Michigan, most of them settling near together, there would probably be no objections to furnishing them farming utensils, teams, etc., mentioned in the treaty; but if only a small portion of them remain it would be difficult to do so. On this point, however, as well as on their right to purchase and hold lands, the commissioner has formed no definite opinion. My own opinion is that they may purchase and hold them if they choose. As to paying for their improvements, under the stipulations of the treaty there was an appropriation made for that purpose in 1836 amounting to $20,000. Col. Henry Smith of Detroit has a portion of it now in his hands. In relation to the visit which you think of making the President with the chiefs, the commissioner deems it entirely unnecessary and will not pay any portion of the expenses if they come.

(44.) To Allen Hutchins, March 16, 1839.— * * * I now enclose you a copy furnished me by one of the clerks in the land office of the account of C. W. Whipple

for examining the Ionia land office as stated on the books of the department. It appears he was paid $200 for that service. I do not know who took the papers you allude to from the files of the land office and I have no means of furnishing you a copy of your statement made to me in regard to the affairs of the Ionia office nor of Mr. Guittean's letter to me on the same subject, for I can find neither of them among my papers. I have tried to get a copy of Mr. Whipple's report to send you but there were no extra copies printed. I thank you for the deed of the Ionia farm and hope now to make your property pay the government all you owe it.

(45.) To John H. Wheeler, March 21, 1839; from Detroit.— * * * I find the Democratic party here all by the ears in a quarrel about various local matters. No prospect of the election of a senator this session.

(46.) To S. Haight, Sergeant-at-Arms U. S. Senate, April 3, 1839; from Detroit.— * * * I reached here in seven days from Washington and lay by two days on the road, one at Beaver and one at Cleveland waiting for a boat. I find there is little hope that a senator will be elected at this session. Mr. Wing and a few friends of his are determined that he shall be the man chosen if there is any chosen at all, and the constitutional objections are such that nearly half the Democratic party cannot vote for him.

(47.) To James W. Tabor, April 4, 1839; from Detroit.—I enclose herewith a small package of the seed of the sugar beet which was raised the summer before last in Pennsylvania and I want you to plant it in rows about two and a half feet apart one way and ten or twelve inches apart the other as soon as you think the frost will not cut down the plants. You had better put two seeds in a place so that one of the plants can be pulled up if both should grow when large enough to be out of danger. The ground for beets ought to be plowed very deep and be thoroughly pulverized. That where potatoes have been grown the year previous is generally well fitted for the purpose and you had better plant your potato fields with a view to planting to beets the next year. They may be planted any time before the middle of June but it is better to plant them as soon as the frosty nights are over in the spring. I shall try to get seed enough to plant one hundred acres but think it doubtful if I can secure more than enough for ten acres. The seed cost $1.25 a pound and it will take about seven pounds to the acre. I also enclose two kinds of English beans received from the commissioner of patents and four seeds of a watermelon grown in Pennsylvania which you can plant in some place and see if they are any better than we have here. * * *

(48.) To Henry Hubbard, U. S. S., Charleston, N. C., April 14, 1839; from Detroit. — * * * The country is more disturbed here now than it was last year when you were here and nothing but two or three good crops of wheat can pay off our debts and restore prosperity to business. I congratulate you on the result of the election in your state and wish I could give you good news from Michigan; but our pretended Democrats here act so foolishly that I fear our party will be broken to pieces. No election for senator yet and it is probable that none will be made, though another attempt is to be made tomorrow.

(49.) To Edward Lyon, April 14, 1839; from Detroit.— * * * The Legislature is still in session and it is the best place for me to remain as I can see persons from different parts of the State with whom I have business. The Democratic members held a caucus last night at the capitol to nominate five directors of the State bank, at which Gen. B. F. H. Witherell of this city, Alpheus Felch of Monroe, John S.

Barry of Constantine, John Ball of Grand Rapids and Seneca Newberry of Auburn, this State, received the nominations. The Whigs also nominated four persons as their share of the directors, Robert Stuart of Detroit, Charles Noble, Monroe, Hezekiah G. Wells of Schoolcraft and Edward L. Fuller of Ann Arbor. The Democrats, however, only intend to give the Whigs three members of the board and have five themselves, so that there is a misunderstanding somewhere. The election is to take place tomorrow.

(50.) To David Coleman, 3d Asst. P. M. Gen., April 16, 1839; from Detroit.—Wm. R. Thompson, one of the contractors on the mail route from Detroit to Ann Arbor, in this State, has just informed me that his pay on this route was stopped on the 29th ult. because he failed to run a stage three times a week to the postoffice at Nankin, 22 miles west of this city, and to three other unimportant offices between that place and Ann Arbor, although those offices have all been regularly supplied with the mail belonging to them, which was carried on horseback, while the great western mail, belonging to said route, has been carried daily on the railroad from Detroit to Ypsilanti, which is in no place more than four miles from the road which runs by the way of those offices. This railroad has been constructed and put into operation since Mr. Thompson entered into his contract and I desire to assure you that the arrangement he has made for the transportation of the mail is infinitely more satisfactory and beneficial to the public than it would be if he were compelled to run a stage by those offices merely for the purpose of carrying the mail where there is no travel and consequently no necessity for such means of transportation.

(51.) To Allen Hutchins, Adrian, April 16, 1839; from Detroit.—I thank you for the kind feeling expressed in your letter of the 1st inst., and should have written you before had I intended to make an effort for a re-election. The course that I have pursued and intend to pursue is to keep entirely still on the subject and leave the Legislature to act as in their judgment the best interests of the State may require. I desire to hold no office that is not freely and voluntarily bestowed upon me and I would not if I could cheat the people out of their choice by any effort of my own. There is to be another effort this evening or tomorrow morning to elect a senator and Mr. Felch now seems to be the man likely to be taken up by those who cannot conscientiously vote for Mr. Wing; but I doubt very much whether any choice will be made at this session.

(52.) To Dr. T. Lawson, Surgeon General, April 16, 1839; from Detroit.—Recommending Dr. Abraham Sager for appointment to the medical board. Dr. Sager is a young man of fine, noble character and unusual scientific attainments. He has been three years in the service of this State in making a geological, topographical and scientific survey thereof. He has had charge of the botanical department one year and of the geological department two years and you may form some opinion of the manner in which he has performed his duties by looking at his reports of this year in the State documents which I send you.

(53.) To T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 24, 1839; from Detroit.—I accept the appointment of commissioner to apportion and distribute the money provided for the half breeds of the Chippewas by the treaty of 1837, and I beg leave to suggest the propriety of requesting Gov. Dodge to cause the half breeds on the Mississippi to be advised to meet me at La Pointe, on Lake Superior, as early as the 10th of July. I shall want to leave here on or about the 15th of June, as that will be the best time to go up the

lakes; and if I am to pay the money as well as apportion it, I hope to receive instructions as early as convenient. Most of the Indians and half breeds of Lake Superior meet at La Pointe about the last of June, so that by leaving here about the middle of the month I can investigate their claims before those from the west arrive.

(54.) To Nathan Rice, Washington, April 25, 1839; from Detroit.— * * * I mean to attend to my own business now, make money and then in three or four years live like a gentleman, unless, in the meantime, the people elect me to some rascally office, which folly I hope they will avoid.

(55.) To James W. Tabor, April 26, 1839; from Detroit.— * * * I shall go to Rochester tomorrow morning to bring on my harvesting and threshing machine which is there, so as to have it ready to do work on Prairie Ronde at the next harvest. I shall also try to get a drill harrow or two to plant the beet seed if you have the ground ready.

(56.) To Hiram Moore, May 4, 1839; from Buffalo.—I have been to Rochester to get my harvesting machine from Mr. Filer's where you left it two years ago and have this day shipped it on board brig Virginia, Capt. J. M. Douglass master, to St. Joseph. It consists of about 65 pieces of wood and board and two barrels containing the bars and bolts, belonging to them, so that the machine may be put together at St. Joseph and hauled to Prairie Ronde if you think it worth the expense and trouble of doing so. I leave it with you to decide that point. Nobody but you will be able to put it together and if it is to be prepared for use this season you will have to do it. Ira Lyon will go with his team to bring it to the Prairie as soon as you are ready, that is if you think it worth bringing. As to myself, I must say, I have very little expectation that it will ever be worked to any advantage anywhere, and I would be very glad to have my money back again for my share of the invention. Not that I do not believe that grain may be harvested and threshed by machinery cheaper than it ever has been done by hand, for I do believe it, and furthermore I think the principle of your machine is correct and that it will lead to important results; but a machine to be useful on a farm must be far lighter and more manageable than the one I have been removing. It is too heavy and unwieldy for the average field, be it large or small, to be ever introduced into general use—at least it so seems to me. You, however, can judge much better than I in regard to the matter and I therefore leave it for you to decide as to whether you will get the machine ready to use in the next harvest or not. I have forwarded the whole of it except the gathering cylinder and the cylinder with which to carry off the straw, both of which I left because they were very large and because I supposed you thought of little value or use. I however brought along the wheel and guide gear and teeth belonging to the former and the wheel and shaft and iron arms belonging to the latter, which may perhaps be used in the construction of something that will answer the purposes for which these cylinders were intended.

(57.) To Sherman McLean, May 26, 1839; from Lyons.— * * * I have been in Rochester and purchased a quantity of sugar beet seed from France. I am now engaged in planting it and intended to plant about 100 acres, but the spring continues so uncommonly dry that I fear all our crops will suffer and I shall, therefore, only risk the planting of about 20 or 25 acres this year. This, if it does well, will answer for this year and next year I can go on on a more extensive scale. I find it necessary to make the rows at least 24 inches apart, in order to use the cultivator to advantage, and I make rows two ways so as to make the cultivator do nearly all the work of weeding.

(58.) To John P. Richardson, Pontiac, May 30, 1839; from Kalamazoo.— * * * All is still and quiet in politics, except at Niles where I understood that J. W. Bacon (?) is making a move in favor of Bingham for Governor and Fitzgerald for Lieutenant Governor. What it will amount to I do not know.

(59.) To Daniel H. Childs, Northampton, and various others asking for information relative to making sugar from the beet.

(60.) To Rev. Wm. Taylor, June 1, 1839, at Schoolcraft.—I received a day or two since, on my arrival at Kalamazoo, your letter of the 4th ult. asking, in behalf of your congregation, a present of a site in this village on which to erect a house of public worship. In reply I have to state that I own but five or six lots in the village and I consider it my duty to dispose of them for the purpose of paying my just debts before I shall be at liberty to make presents of them or of a part of them to any society whatever, however agreeable it may be to me to do so. If, after my debts are paid, any of the lots should remain in my possession, I shall then feel at liberty to consider your proposition.

(61.) To His Excellency Stevens T. Mason, July 10, 1839; from Detroit.—Finding it impossible in the midst of my numerous other engagements to attend punctually the meetings of the Regents of the University, I beg leave to resign the appointment with which I have been honored, as a member of the board, in order that my place may be filled by some one better qualified than myself, who can give that attention to the interests of the institution which its importance demands.

(62.) To Epaphro. Ransom, July 13, 1839; from Detroit.— * * * I am to leave here soon for Lake Superior and will not return short of two months. By that time the candidates of the two political parties will have been nominated and the fall campaign begun. My name as well as yours has been mentioned for one of the offices to be filled, but I neither expect nor desire to take any part in the contest than to do my duty as a soldier in the Democratic party. I desire no office and have concluded that the best thing I can do for three or four years at least will be to look closely after my own affairs and pay my debts. I think from what I can hear that your conjectures are wrong in relation to the nomination of Biddle by the Whigs. They mean to have Jones if they can get the Patriots to go with them, and if they cannot get the Patriots, they still mean to have him and let the Patriots get up an independent ticket of their own.

(63.) To T. H. Lyon, October 6, 1839.—I arrived here (Detroit) two days ago from Lake Superior. * * * Our political prospects are bright and I hope you will do all in your power to get out a heavy vote throughout the Grand River Valley. They are the men for us and all others. I feel that I could work for them with all my heart.

(64.) Letters dated from Grand Rapids, Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, La Pointe and Detroit, in the back part of the book are so badly faded and decayed as not to be read. Some of them are on politics but mostly in regard to business matters, with a few in relation to his official duties as commissioner. The dates extend from June to October, 1839.

SECTION V.

(1.) To C. H. Carroll, Groveland, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1839, from Detroit.—I returned from La Pointe, in Lake Superior, a few days ago, and brought with me two half barrels of choice, well selected fish—one of siskiwit and the other of white fish,

both of which I directed John W. Strong yesterday to forward to you. With the white fish you are already acquainted. It is very delicious and excellent when fresh or salted, then boiled or broiled. The siskiwit is too fat to eat fresh and it requires so much salt to keep it in pickle that it is difficult to get it out sufficiently to make it good when broiled, but when freshened in water a day or two and broiled, it is very rich and fine, quite equal to pickled salmon. The fish that I send you are not the largest size, for it would be impossible to pack one of the largest in a half barrel and have it lie flat across the head of the cask, but they are probably quite as good as those that are larger. Please accept them as a specimen of the products of Michigan, for they were caught at Isle Royal in Lake Superior, within the limits of our State.

(2.) To Thomas T. Whittlesay, Danbury, Conn., Oct. 25, 1839, from Detroit.—* * * We have pretty nearly done complaining here. Our banks, all that remain of them, only three or four in number, are perfectly sound, because they have no paper in circulation, but we have very little money of any description among us. We have an immense crop of wheat, however, yet to be threshed out, and we have put in an immense number of acres into the ground this fall, so that we shall, I verily believe, within 18 months, be more out of debt and have more money in proportion to our population, than any people in the Union. * * *

(3.) To Elon Farnsworth, Detroit, Nov. 1, 1839, from Kalamazoo.—On my way out, and since I have been here, I have seen and conversed with a good many people about our political prospects at the coming election, and I must say that my confidence in a successful result is not half so strong now as when I saw you. Our party everywhere seems to be much less spirited and active than the Whig party and I greatly fear that many of our voters will not even go to the polls. The Norvell and Crary interest seems to me to be secretly opposed to you, especially in this county and in Calhoun, and in this county some of them, the Edwards family, it is said, will vote for Woodbridge. They have been the means of procuring nominations for the house of representatives here which are unpopular and will not be supported by our party with any zeal or cordiality; and the dissatisfaction felt on account of this proceeding will make the vote for you at least 100 less in this county than it would have been had all things gone right. In St. Joseph county, too, I understand there is some local dissatisfaction which will operate against us, but in the Grand river country you will run well. On the whole I think you will be elected, but not by a great majority. I shall remain here until after election and do all I can, for our friends Ransom, Goodrich, etc., appear to me to be rather too easy for a crisis like the present.

(4.) To Elon Farnsworth, Nov. 8, 1839, from Kalamazoo.—On my return from Prairie Ronde where I went to attend the election, I found the enclosed letter from Sidney Smith, stating that you got 44 votes in the township of Ada where your opponent received but one, and that your majority in Kent county is 60. This is the only good piece of news that I have to communicate. You have heard before this from St. Joseph and the counties on the southern road, and you have heard all that you wish to hear from Washtenaw, Jackson and Calhoun. You will perhaps see in the result of the election in those counties something to confirm the suggestion which I made in a former letter about a secret opposition to you. I have something to tell you about some of our friends in this county when we meet. I am now satisfied that you might have got a majority here had they done as they ought. I have changed my opinion somewhat since I wrote you before about the popularity of the candidates for representatives. With reasonable exertions in their favor they would

have been elected. In the two townships on Prairie Ronde the Democrats have gained about 90 votes since last year.

(5.) To Sidney Smith, Ada, Nov. 9, 1839.—We have bad news relative to the election from most of the counties yet heard from, and there is but little doubt that Woodbridge and Gordon are elected. Washtenaw county has given about 585 Whig majority, Jackson 440, Kalamazoo 230, Allegan 14 and Berrien a small majority for the Whig candidate for Governor, but not for Lieutenant Governor; while the only counties yet heard from which have given Democratic majorities are Wayne reported at 90, and St. Joseph at 150. Calhoun gave Farnsworth a majority of 25, but also gave Gordon a majority of 60 and elected both the Whig candidates for the house of representatives. Our only hope now rests on Oakland, Monroe and Lenawee, but they will probably not give us more than 600 majority. We have not yet heard from them. The Democrats have gained this year about 90 votes over their relative strength than last year in the two townships on Prairie Ronde, and if such men as Burdick and Charles E. Stuart had done their duty in the middle and north part of the county, we should have had a Democratic instead of a Whig majority here this year.

(6.) To Robert Stuart, Nov. 17, 1839, from Kalamazoo.— * * * After the half-breed claims and the claims for debt were all decided, the money paid on the former and the certificates for the latter all delivered and receipted for, seeing the claimants disposing of their funds to Mr. Crooks for what I considered a very inadequate compensation, I offered publicly to give any claimant ten per cent annual interest on all the money he would place in my hands, and to give him good security, if required, for the payment of principal and interest at the time that might be agreed upon. The result was that some few of the most intelligent claimants, who had not disposed of their funds, offered them to me on the terms proposed; and some of them wished to make their certificates payable directly to my order, but on my declining to receive them they drew them payable to the order of others and authorized me to call on them for the money whenever it should be received from the United States.

The estate of Michel Cadotte claimed $18,696.50, of which there was found due, after making all deductions that could be made, the sum of $4,391.22, the pro rata allowance on which was $2,026.62, the amount of one of the drafts made payable to your order. The estate of T. A. Warren claimed $5,700, of which there was found due the sum of $1,116.25, the pro rata allowance on which amounted to $518.19. The whole of Mr. Cadotte's claims were based on original books of accounts which appeared to have been more correctly kept and more carefully preserved than any that were presented for examination. I make this full statement because, after what is alleged to have taken place at Prairie du Chien last year it is possible that you may suppose the claims were not examined and passed upon impartially; especially as the claim of the old American Fur Company, presented by you, was disallowed. The amount of that claim was $48,058, and the principal reasons why it was disallowed are the following:—

1. There were no books nor papers nor any evidence whatever brought forward to sustain it or any part of it.

2. It was stated to me by persons who had been in the habit of purchasing goods of the company, that during several years in which debts are there charged against the Indians, the American Fur Company did not carry on any trade whatever with the Indians, but sold all its goods to traders and held them responsible for payment; and that during other years only a portion was sold to the Indians by clerks

employed for that purpose as agents of the company, while the remainder was sold to traders to trade on their own account.

3. From the best information that could be obtained by me I was satisfied that the allowance of $28,000 to William A. Aitkin and of $25,000 to Lyman M. Warren by the 4th article of that treaty was understood and intended both by Gov. Dodge and the Indians to cover all claims of the American Fur Company against those Indians, of every character and description—those gentlemen being considered as agents or representatives of the company by both the contracting parties.

The claim of Mr. Duvannay, which you inquire about, was put in for $7,000, and sustained to the amount of $905, the pro rata allowance on which was $417.70. His half breed claims for five children at $258.40 each amounted to $1,292.70.

(7.) To Henry L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, Nov. 17, 1839, from Kalamazoo.—There is no longer any doubt of the success of Moore and Haskell's harvesting machine. Mr. Moore has had a machine in the field on Prairie Ronde in this county during the past summer which harvested and threshed 63 acres of wheat in very superior style and would have harvested 250 acres with the greatest ease, at the rate of 20 acres per day, had it not been for one or two trifling accidents, the cause of which may be very easily guarded against in the construction of machines hereafter. Twenty of the 63 acres were harvested on my farm and every expense attending it does not exceed one dollar per acre. A great number of farmers witnessed its operation. All are entirely satisfied with its complete success and many, in sowing their wheat this fall, are calculating largely on the benefit to be derived from it next year. I have, within the last three or four years, advanced to Mr. Moore between three and four thousand dollars to enable him to bring the machine as near perfection as possible, and am much gratified at the result of his labors. The following are some of the improvements made by him on said machine in the winter of 1836-7, and publicly tested in the neighborhood of Rochester, in the summer of 1837:—

1. A new principle, or mode, and fixture for throwing the machinery out of and into gear; which may be understandingly exhibited by plates or drafts.

2. A new method and fixture for starting and operating the sickle or cutter.

3. Revolving racks or endless aprons filled with teeth or spikes for bringing the grain to the cutter, and when cut, conveying the cut grain from the gathering cylinder to the thresher, when the gathering cylinder is used to aid in gathering and cutting.

4. The revolving wire or net work screen for separating the threshed wheat from the straw and carrying off the latter from the machine.

5. A fender or retainer to prevent the loss of such wheat or grain as may be thrown over forward of the machine by the gathering apparatus.

All these improvements may be as well represented by drawings as in any other way, and at the request of Mr. Moore I write to enquire whether they cannot be patented without furnishing a model of them? I also beg leave to enquire whether a model of the original machine, as it was patented, cannot be supplied at the expense of the department? If it can the improvements can be added to it with very little additional cost. * * * * * * * *

(8.) To Asher Robbins, U. S. Senator, Nov. 17, 1839, from Kalamazoo.— * * * I will endeavor to give you all the information I can in relation to our State University. My connection with the institution as a regent ceased last spring by my resigning my appointment, and I do not know what the board have done since. I have heard, however, that they appointed, about two months ago, Dr. Douglass Houghton, the present State geologist of this State, to be professor of chemistry and

natural history. This was done, I presume, principally to afford him facilities for putting up and preserving in the institution the specimens of rocks, minerals, birds, fish and animals which he has collected in his geological survey. The institution is not yet organized and I do not know when it will be. Times are so hard here that interest is not paid on the debts due the university fund for lands that were sold a year or two ago, and consequently the erection of the necessary buildings progresses slowly. The professors' houses are about half done, but the university building itself is not even begun yet, and I do not think from present appearances that the institution can go into operation for at least one or two years.

(9.) To John P. Richardson, Nov. 29, 1839.— * * * The cause of my desire to have my name withdrawn last summer as a candidate for the office of Governor were two, viz.: First, the situation of my private affairs was such as to require my whole time and attention for the next year or two in order to relieve me of embarrassments, and secondly, I saw or thought I saw that a good many professed Democrats and some of them professed friends of mine were ready to treat me again as they had done before in the attempt to elect a United States Senator; and I did not wish to place myself in the humiliating and mortifying condition of being a second time abandoned by my own party. I chose, rather, to place myself in such a position that the convention could nominate me if they chose to do so and thought such nomination necessary to success, and when if they did not choose to do so no one could say that I had failed in any selfish design of my own. I hope and believe that my real friends who understand my motives will not find fault with me for the course which I took in the matter. The Whigs, by the folly of our own party last winter, have now a chance to place one of their number in the Senate of the United States for six years. But for this result I am not sure that their ascendancy is very much to be regretted; for if it has the effect which I hope it will to purify and heal the diseases in our own ranks their triumph will be of short duration. Even at the next election we shall prostrate them if we go to work in the right spirit, and it is very important that we should do so, because in addition to the presidential election then to be decided, a legislature is to be elected which will have to elect a Senator in place of Mr. Norvell. I hope the Democrats of Oakland will nerve themselves for the contest. In this part of the State I mean to go through every county personally and rally our friends and I believe I can do so effectually, though everything will be kept quiet till the election approaches near. * * * I raised a pretty fair crop of beets this year, but having been absent from the State I have done nothing toward manufacturing sugar from them. I shall make further enquiries on the subject, between this and next spring, and if I think the business can be gone into to advantage, now that I know I can raise the beets, I shall try it.

(10.) A contract, dated Kalamazoo, Dec. 25, 1839:—I will assign my right to build a dam across Grand river to Mr. Ball and his assigns, and will deed to him sufficient land at some proper and convenient place on which to erect said dam and to construct a canal or race for it to a proper site for a flouring mill, and will deed to him at such site land sufficient for the erection of said mill, and also land equal to six village lots in the village of Lyons on which he may erect other buildings, and I will convey to him the right of using water to turn as many pairs of mill stones for flouring as he may wish to run, not exceeding six in number, on condition that he will construct a good, substantial and permanent dam across said river, high enough to have at least six feet fall of water at ordinary times, where the mill will be erected, and will construct a good canal or race from said mill and will erect said mill in a good, substantial, permanent and workmanlike manner and finish it

off complete so that it will do as good work as any flouring mill on Grand river. The mill to be painted so as to be a good looking building, and to be at least three stories high, and the dam and race to be so constructed that whenever I or my assigns may want to use the water power created thereby the whole water of the Grand river in an ordinary stage of the river may be used through said race if necessary without any expense on our part for excavating the race, raising said dam or keeping either of them in repair. The lock, also, mentioned in the law authorizing the erection of the dam, shall be constructed at the expense of said Ball or his assigns whenever it may be required by the public. And the dam, race and mill shall be so far completed that one good run of stone shall be in operation for grinding grain within one year and three run of stone shall be in operation within two years from this date.

(11.) To C. H. Carrol, dated Grand Rapids, Jan. 7, 1840.—We see pretty dull, hard times here, though as we have enough to eat and drink we are not quite as badly off as we have been here for the last two years. I had hopes that before this time the State would have tested the salt springs in this vicinity, and that the manufacture of salt would have been established so as to bring a little money into this part of the country, but the work has been entirely suspended for the last five or six months, and there is no probability that anything more will be done by the State in the matter. The consequence is that the sum of $10,000 or $12,000 which has been laid out at the springs will be lost and the question whether salt can be manufactured here or not will remain undecided unless private enterprise shall determine it. This question is so important to the people of Grand Rapids and of this section of the State that I am determined to have it solved. I believe that good salt water may be obtained by boring deep enough, at almost any point on Grand river, as well as at the salt springs; and if you will send on to me or to Judge Almy one-half the necessary money I will furnish the other half immediately and we will try the experiment and see if salt cannot be procured and manufactured at this place. * * * It will not cost over $4,000 or $5,000 to sink a well on the rapids to the depth of 700 feet. * * * * * * *

(12.) To Edward Lyon, dated Detroit, Jan. 24, 1840.—I arrived here the day before yesterday just in time to go to the house of A. S. Porter, Esq., and drink a glass of wine with him in company with the throng who went to congratulate him on his election that day as my successor in the Senate of the United States, to serve six years from the third of March last. He is a consistent Whig, and personally an honest, intelligent and clever man, though not much more of a speaker than I am myself. * * * Since I have been here I have met George Ketchum who has erected and finished off complete at Grandville a better mill than Mr. Ball will have at Owosso when his is finished and has now three run of stone and eight bolts in operation ready to do as good merchant work as can be done in the United States. Mr. Ketchum's mill is 40x50, the same size as Mr. Ball's. It is calculated to have in it five run of stone as soon as the two additional run are needed; and the whole dam, race, mill and all things complete cost about $12,000. * * * *

(13.) To Gen. John McNeil, dated Detroit, Jan. 24, 1840.—I consider the condition of Michigan as now better than it has been since the commencement of the career of speculation which brought so much disaster and ruin on the country, though others may entertain a different opinion. We have, it is true, less money in the State in proportion to the population than we have ever had, less even than we had a year ago; and those who are compelled to pay their debts now must suffer great

sacrifice, and many will be ruined entirely. Prices have fallen so much that it is impossible to tell the value of anything. The average price of wheat throughout the State may be perhaps 55 or 60 cents per bushel, and first rate fresh pork, in the hog, $3.50 to $4.00 per cwt. Last year and for several years past wheat has been from $1.00 to $1.50 per bushel and mess pork from $25 to $40 per barrel. Three years ago this State was paying to the state of Ohio $500,000 for flour and $400,000 a year for pork, and at the same time we were paying to the city of New York about $2,000,000 annually for dry goods and groceries, and to the states of Massachusetts and Vermont about $500,000 for boots and shoes, besides paying to New York about $250,000 annually for salt, making the whole amount of foreign debt contracted by our citizens about $3,650,000 annually. To meet the payment of this large amount of debt, we had no other resource than the money brought into this State by emigrants from other states, so that when emigration ceased, about the time of the suspension of the banks in 1837, the money then in the State was soon drained off and we were left exhausted. During the time when it was going, however, we made an effort to relieve ourselves, temporarily by a resort to banking; but this ended, as all attempts have done and will always do when banks are not founded on real capital, in leaving the people worse off than they were before. Finding at last that all speculation was at an end, the people of the State went to work and in two years succeeding the year 1837, instead of having to pay half a million of dollars to Ohio for flour, they had last year a surplus of a million and a half to sell themselves, and this year, at the same price, our surplus wheat and flour would bring us at least three millions of dollars and our surplus of pork would bring us half a million. Even at the present low prices the surplus which we have on hand of these two articles must bring us whenever sold at least a million and a half. In the meantime, our consumption of dry goods and groceries has decreased more than one-half, and we begin to manufacture leather, so that the amount we pay out for boots and shoes is not more than half as great as it was three years ago. On the whole, our condition now, if we were free from the old debt hanging over us, would be pretty good. This will be paid slowly, and in four or five years from this time we shall be nearly free from debt and have as ample resources as any people in the United States, in proportion to our population. All political economists agree that labor is the chief if not the only source of wealth, and the labor of the people of this State has within the last three years nearly doubled its actual wealth, though money, the common measure of wealth, has decreased in amount. We have now twice as many acres of improved land as we had then. We have twice as many rods of fence, twice as many flouring mills, three times as much wheat, and twice as many cattle, hogs, horses and sheep. All this is real, substantial capital, and will bring money into the country by and by if not at present. The value of land has been reduced very low, and it cannot, in fact, be sold at any price at present. In villages the fall in prices has been generally greater than in farming lands and even where sales have been made in good faith nobody thinks of making payment. My share of the sales made at Grand Rapids amount to something like $20,000, but I cannot get one dollar of it, though about half of it is ultimately secure. I have commenced an operation, however, which if successful, and I have little doubt it will be, will double the value of that property and make it salable. I am sinking a well for salt water directly on the rapids, and expect to get salt water sufficiently strong to make it profitable manufacturing salt there, by boring down about 500 feet into the rock. The experiment will have been tested in about six months from this time, and I shall be much disappointed if I have not the pleasure of announcing to you its complete success. * *

The Whigs have now everything their own way in this State, but I think we shall have a good chance to beat them next fall. They will probably put a stop to all internal improvements in the State, and they propose to take the unexpended balance of the internal improvement fund and loan it to the Bank of Michigan and the Farmer's and Mechanic's Bank to enable them to resume specie payment and to discount to such of the Whigs as most need aid. This is the substance of their proposition, though not the exact words of it. We now have no banks in our State but those two and their branches, and they have not redeemed their notes since last fall when the Bank of the United States suspended payment. The people of the State begin to think they can do as well without banks as with them and I believe it will be a long time before we have any more established.

You enquire about the health of Michigan. It has been good during the last summer and fall. Even the fever and ague has hardly made its appearance at all, though last year many were sick with it.

(14.) To Hon. R. D. Turner, chairman, etc., house of representatives, dated Detroit, Feb. 17, 1840.—In compliance with your request, I now give you briefly and in general terms such information in relation to the resources of Lake Superior and the importance of constructing a ship canal around the falls of the river St. Mary, near the outlet of that lake, as I was enabled to obtain last summer during a visit to the country and a residence of about six weeks at La Pointe.

La Pointe is situated on one of the Apostle Islands, about 20 miles west of the mouth of the Montreal river, on the south side of that lake, and being the headquarters of the American Fur Company and the location of an agency of the Chippewa Indians, it is annually resorted to in the summer by a large portion of the traders, half breeds and Indians of the whole Lake Superior region. It affords, therefore, greater facilities for procuring correct information in relation to the country than any other place in it, and I endeavored to avail myself of these facilities to extend my knowledge of it as far as the hurry of business during my stay there would permit.

Having, when in Congress, when the limits of Michigan were about to be unjustly curtailed on the south, first proposed and taken an active part in procuring the extension of our boundary to the northwest, so as to embrace a large tract of country on the south side of Lake Superior, a principal object of my enquiry was of course to ascertain the character and value of the country thus added to our State. The result of these enquiries were, I am happy to be able to say, was far more favorable than I had ever anticipated.

That portion of our State lying beyond the Straits of Michillimackinac and bounded on the north by Lake Superior, contains probably about 25,000 square miles, or about one-third more land than is contained in the states of New Hampshire and Vermont together; and it is capable of sustaining and will sustain at some future time, as great if not greater population to the square mile than either of those states. Its soil is good, better than that of New England states generally, and the country is well adapted to the production of wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, wool and flax; while the fisheries in the lakes on either side of it, and its rich mines of copper and iron ore will afford sources of profitable employment to thousands of persons who will need those products; so that the farmer there will always have the advantage of a good market at his own door. The land is well wooded with sugar tree, beech, ash, lynn and black cherry, and in some places forests of pine. The country is rolling and well watered. It contains but little swamp, and the proportion of waste land in it is probably less than in the lower peninsula, though the proportion of waste land here is much less than is

generally supposed. The climate of the country is said to be quite as mild as that of the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and the northern part of New York, the severity of the winter season being moderated by the water of Lakes Superior and Michigan, which are so deep that they never freeze except at and near the shore.

Montreal river, before mentioned, is the western boundary of the country above described. It divided Michigan from the territory of Wisconsin; and according to Farmer's map of Michigan and Wisconsin, has its source in "Lac Vieux Desert." This representation on the map, however, I believe to be erroneous, for I learn from persons well acquainted with the country that "Lac Vieux Desert" empties itself into and forms the head of the Wisconsin river, and that Montreal river, at the point of its nearest approach to that lake, is at least 70 or 80 miles distant from it. It is, therefore, probable that a question of some importance may hereafter arise between Michigan and Wisconsin in relation to this boundary, and I mention this subject here that the Legislature may be apprised of it.

The country bordering immediately on Lake Superior in the territory of Wisconsin is said to be not as good as that east of the Montreal river, in the State of Michigan; but there is a large extent of fine country south of it in that territory, the commerce of which, or at least a good portion of it, must always be carried on through that lake, and add greatly to the importance of the construction of the contemplated canal.

That work, however, would be sufficiently important to justify its construction even at ten times its probable cost, if it were only for the purpose of opening the way to the fisheries of Lake Superior, before referred to.

These fisheries are now occupied solely by the American Fur Company; but they are growing rapidly into importance, and will soon, if the canal should be constructed, become a source of great wealth to the whole lake country. I have no means of knowing the number of barrels that were taken last year, but I believe it is but three years since the fishing business was first commenced in that lake, and it is well known that there is now in this city thousands of barrels of very excellent fish that were caught there, and that are sold for $9 and $10 a barrel, though their actual cost at this place would probably not exceed half that price.

In addition to this it is now pretty well ascertained as before suggested, that the upper portion of Michigan abounds in mineral wealth. It has, for a long time, been reported that mines of copper ore were to be found on the south side of Lake Superior that could be worked to great advantage, and the truth of this report has lately been confirmed by a gentleman who visited this country last summer and made examinations with a view, as he informed me, to commence mining operations there in company with some gentlemen in London.

The proposed canal around the falls of the River St. Mary, though only about a mile in length is, therefore, a work of great importance to the states of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and the territory of Wisconsin; and in the event of a war with England or with the Indian tribes of the northwest, would be of great service to the whole United States on account of the facilities it could afford for the transportation of troops and military stores. It is in fact emphatically a national work, and ought to be and I trust will be constructed by the general government.

(15.) To John Norvell, dated March 1, 1840, Detroit.— * * * Nor do I know anything about the political movements going on, but that which I hear at the National hotel where I board; for I have been only once to the capital and my stay then was not longer than five minutes. I do not yet know more than

one-third of the members when I see them, nor do I care to know them—the Whig portion of them—further than to know that they are using themselves up, as they certainly are, as fast as we could wish. We shall be likely to carry the State next fall by a handsome majority. If anything prevents it, it will be, strange as it may appear, the enthusiasm which the Whigs are trying to create in favor of their military chieftain. They are making great use of Col. Johnson's statement that he, Gen. Harrison, was in more battles during the war than any other general, and that he had never lost a battle, etc., and they are succeeding in this statement greatly beyond my expectations. The Vice President was altogether too benevolent and kind hearted when he uttered that sentiment, for I am sure he can have very little respect for General Harrison's military talents, whatever he may think of him as a man. You will, of course, let the Vice President know that we remembered him in our speeches and resolutions here on the 22d ult., as the real hero of the Thames, and that there is much good feeling existing toward him here in the Democratic party.

(16.) To M. Van Buren, President of the United States, dated Detroit, March 2, 1840.—The charter election for this city took place today. The votes are just counted and Dr. Zina Pitcher, the Whig candidate for mayor, has seven majority over Reynolds Gillett, the Democratic candidate; but we have carried four of the six wards into which the city is divided, and the new board of aldermen will therefore be composed of seven Democrats and five Whigs! Last spring the Whigs carried the city by a majority of 600!!!

(17.) To George Templeman, Washington, dated Detroit, March 8, 1840.—Will you do me the favor, immediately on the receipt of this, to box up carefully the full length portrait of Lafayette, which I bought of you, and forward it to me, directed to the care of O. Newberry of this place, by the first safe conveyance to New York, and advise me by letter when it is sent and to whom it is shipped in New York. * * *

(18.) To H. L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, dated Detroit, March 19, 1840.—Enclosing for record an assignment from Hiram Moore conveying to Rix Robinson and Lucius Lyon 4½-16th each in all the improvements that may be made by Moore on Moore & Hascall's harvesting machine. You ask me to inform you how the beet sugar business succeeds in Michigan. I have to say that the only attempt to make sugar from the beet which has yet been made in this State, so far as I have any knowledge, is at White Pigeon Prairie, St. Joseph county, where a house and fixtures for the purpose have been erected. I do not know much about their operations, having never seen them, but I hear that they have made a large quantity of molasses, but have hitherto been unable to get from it much, if any, crystalized sugar. They were proceeding on the old French method of rasping the beet, as practiced by Count Chaptal and other French manufacturers 16 years ago. I never believed that method could be made profitable in this country and have, therefore, paid little attention to the White Pigeon works. I understand, however, that the company have lately employed John S. Barry, of Constantine, St. Joseph county, to go to France and Germany to procure information on the subject and bring out workmen who are practically acquainted with the best methods of manufacturing sugar, as practiced there at the present time. * * * I am fully satisfied that the beet will grow well on the soil of this State, for I raised last summer a crop of about 30 acres on my farm at Lyons, and though they were very much injured by the worms and grasshoppers when small, I still got about ten tons to the acre at about the same expense that as many acres of potatoes would have cost me.

(20.) To Sidney Smith, dated Zanesville, O., April 3, 1840.—I have just returned from an excursion to Duncans Falls and Taylorsville, near the mouth of Salt Creek, nine miles below this, and have seen about ten salt furnaces in operation and conversed with James Taylor who owns several salt works and sunk the second salt well ever sunk on the Muskingum river, about 15 or 20 years ago. The first was sunk by Mr. Ayres, eight miles below this place on the west side of the river, and his son, Moses Ayres, of Duncans Falls, in this, Muskingum county, now owns it and several others besides, and is quite extensively engaged in the manufacture of salt, which costs at the works, under the most economical management, about 13 cents a bushel of 50 pounds, exclusive of any allowance for the rent or use of the works. It takes 75 gallons to make a bushel of salt of the water of the strongest wells and at some of the wells it takes near a 100 gallons. The fuel used is principally coal. Wood, however, is still a good deal used in the neighborhood of McConnelsville, about 27 miles below this and costs at the works 87 cents a cord. The wells on the river are from 600 to 900 feet in depth and those that I have seen only afford water enough for the manufacture of from 20 to 40 bushels per day. The cost of sinking wells here now where labor is cheap and where the salt borers have the advantage of all the improvements that long experience in the business has suggested, Mr. Taylor says, does not much exceed $1.50 a foot. The well that I am sinking at Grand Rapids will cost me at least $5 a foot unless Mr. Hulbert gets along faster than he has done so far. I am not at all disheartened, however, and I am more and more convinced that I shall succeed. * *

(21.) To T. H. Lyon, dated Astor House, New York, April 16, 1840.—I am gratified to learn that the Democratic cause prospers in the town of Maple. I have but little doubt, from what I could learn before I left Detroit, that we shall be able to run the British Whigs very hard next fall throughout the State of Michigan, and I rather think we can beat them. They are making a great hurrah for Harrison, but it will not amount to much. The only state elections that have taken place since his nomination are those of New Hampshire, where we gained about 2,000 on our former majority, and Connecticut, where we lost about 600. At the election in this city day before yesterday, the result was just about the same as at the election last fall, but the gain over our majority a year ago is 559. The Whigs are wonderfully chopfallen and disappointed. They calculated to a certainty that they would carry the city by a handsome majority. They console themselves, however, by saying they are sure of the State next fall, but I am rather inclined to think they are in danger of being disappointed again. Van Buren's chance here, from present appearances, is quite as good as Harrison's, and the same may be said of Virginia. In Pennsylvania and Ohio it is much better. * * * * *

(22.) To T. H. Lyon, dated Shelburn, Vt., April 22, 1840.—I arrived here at father's yesterday morning, and last night attended the wedding of brother George H. Lyon, who was married at about 9 o'clock in the evening to Miss Phœbe Russell, daughter of Elisha Russell, who is a pretty large farmer for this country, and lives about a mile and a half southeast of here. The young couple were married by the Rev. Mr. Prindle, a Methodist clergyman, and nearly all our connections and the connections of the Russell family were there. The party broke up about 10:30 o'clock. She is a pretty girl about 16 years old and will make George a good wife. Sister Lucretia is preparing to go with me to Michigan. * * *

(23.) To T. H. Lyon, dated South Hadley, Mass., April 28.—Yesterday morning I saw David L. Childs and had a long conversation with him about the manufacture of sugar from the beet in this country. He has lately written a book on the

subject and expresses the strongest confidence that the cultivation of the beet for making sugar will be more profitable than any other branch of farming. He will be prepared on the 1st of September next to take scholars and instruct them in the art of making sugar from the beet by a practical acquaintance with the manufacture for three or four months. His charge for instructing each scholar will be $100. In this way he will disseminate practical knowledge which may be of vast importance to the country. * * * The consumption of cane sugar is at least 12 pounds for each person, and estimating the population of Michigan at 215,000, the consumption of cane sugar in our State would be 2,580,000 pounds annually. The entries at the custom house show that we import about ten times as much brown sugar as we do of white, and that the cost of the brown is about six times that of the white that is consumed, though the cost of the brown per pound is only two-thirds that of the white. Assuming that our brown cane sugar cost in Michigan 10 cents per pound, our 2,580,000 pounds would cost $258,000, if it were all brown. Add, for additional cost of manufacture, $25,800, and it makes the cost of the sugar annually imported and sold in our State, $283,800, all of which money, according to Mr. Child's book, we can keep among ourselves by manufacturing sugar from the beet, which he says may be done at an expense not exceeding 5 cents per pound, or about half what it now costs our merchants to bring it on. * * *

(24.) To Sidney Smith, dated Detroit, May 26, 1840.—I arrived here with my sister on the 21st inst. How long we shall remain here I do not know, but I expect to leave for Grand Rapids within a week from this time. Lucretia will go with me. I have made an arrangement with the executors of Isaac Bronson under which I have deeded them all my farms in Kalamazoo, Kent and Ionia, so that they now hold the title to all the unsold property in Ada. * * *

(25.) To Rev. Luman Foote, Tinmouth, Vt., dated Detroit, June 23, 1840.— * * * Our Bishop, McCoskry, is now absent at Philadelphia, so that I have no opportunity to consult him; but I learn that Episcopal clergymen are wanted at the following places in this State: At the village of Tecumseh, in Lenawee county, 55 miles southwest of Detroit; at the village of Marshall, the county seat of Calhoun county, 115 miles west of Detroit; and at the village of Kalamazoo, 150 miles west of Detroit. Each of these places contains from 1,000 to 1,500 inhabitants, and they are all growing larger every year, especially Kalamazoo, where there are about 35 or 40 houses erecting this year. It is a very pleasant place, and a Burlington man, Gen. Justus Burdick, is one of the proprietors. I sold out my interest to him about three years ago. The place that I now claim as my residence is Grand Rapids in Kent county, about 200 miles northwest from Detroit as the road runs. I am not there much yet but shall, probably, live there a considerable portion of each year hereafter. Nearly all my property (what I have left after losing a great deal by bad debts and by being bondsman and endorser for others), is situated there and I should like very much to have you located at Grand Rapids also. The place contains now about 1,000 inhabitants, but its situation and advantages are such that it must within ten years be the third if not the second town in the State in point of size and importance. We have at present an Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Hoyt, and we are erecting a small plain church for him; but I doubt whether he will remain with us more than a year or two. If he should not, it would be an excellent place for you—one where you would have a pleasant residence, with the prospect of being highly useful in building up the church. * * *

(26.) To George Templeman, Georgetown, D. C., dated Detroit, June 30, 1840.—When I was in Washington in April, your son informed me that you were having a box prepared to put up the portrait of Lafayette in and forward it to me. I have not yet, however, heard of its arrival and I now write to enquire whether you have forwarded it? and if so, when and how? If you have not forwarded it, I hope you will put it up carefully and forward it immediately to the care of Edward Lyon, National hotel, Detroit. * * *

(27.) To his sister, dated Detroit, July 5, 1840.—I rode from Lyons here in great pain and when I reached here showed my arm to Dr. Pitcher, who recommended me to apply to it wormwood and vinegar; which I did for nine or ten days, till the swelling and inflammation was so much reduced that I was enabled to ascertain that the upper or biggest bone of my arm was broken about half way between the elbow and wrist. I then had it set and put in splints, and it now begins to get better. * * *

(28.) To Silas Wright, U. S. Senate, dated Detroit, July 8.—Our political prospects here look fair, and I have strong hopes that we shall be able to regain our lost ground at the next election. Unless I am much mistaken, the drivers of the British Whig team will find that their shouting and noise "has waked up the wrong passenger." Their great hard cider convention, their boasting and ridiculous and insulting manners, have thoroughly aroused the Democrats, who though they do not say much, are determined to teach them a lesson which they will not soon forget. I have lately been through the State and can assure you that I never saw a better feeling exhibited than now exists among our friends in every part of it. The voters on both sides, at least on our side, will all be at the polls at the next election, and wherever that is the case there is nothing to fear.

(29.) To John Norvell, U. S. Senator, dated Detroit, July 12.—H. S. Handy has requested me to write to you and suggest the propriety of his appointment as a traveling agent of the postoffice department along on the frontier in the states of Ohio, New York, Vermont, etc., where he thinks he can be useful in prevailing on a certain class of voters to give up their prejudices against Mr. Van Buren on account of the course he has taken in sustaining our peaceful relation with Great Britain during the patriot movement during two or three years past. This is certainly desirable if it can be effected, and if anything can be done with propriety in accordance with his views, I have told the major I have no doubt you would cheerfully do it.

(30.) To Isaac E. Crary, dated July 16.—Enclosing a petition for the removal of Milton Peters as postmaster at Springfield, Oakland county, and the appointment of Cornelius Davis in his place. Peters had been too warmly engaged in the hard cider cause.

(31.) To Rev. Luman Foote, dated Detroit, Aug. 31, 1840.—In my letter of June 23, I mentioned the village of Kalamazoo as one of the places in this State where an Episcopal clergyman was wanted. On making inquiry I found that arrangements had been made with the Rev. Mr. Cole, formerly from Pennsylvania, to settle there. I heard him preach his first sermon there in July. Everybody was much pleased with him and his prospects of building up the church and of doing much good there were very flattering, but his health was bad and I learn that he died of dyspepsia a week or two since, so that his congregation are now left without a pastor. I went to see Bishop McCoskry to enquire what places he wanted to supply and who he had in view. He informs me that Kalamazoo, Marshall and

Homer are the places that he most desires to supply at present, and that the only person he has written to on the subject is a young clergyman in Philadelphia named Plaxton, whom he intends to have go to Marshall or Kalamazoo. On my mentioning your name he thanked me much for the information and desired me to ask you to correspond with him. * * *

(32.) To Geo. A. Robinson, dated Detroit, Sept. 12, 1840.—Explaining the principles of the salometer, and suggesting that one that would answer every purpose could be made by taking a piece of wood a foot in length, whittled to the thickness of a pipestem, weighting one end of it with lead until it sinks to the depth of within an inch of the top of the stick in pure water and marking the water level as 0; then sink it in a saturated solution of salt and mark the water level as 100; by graduating the intermediate space the stick would serve to indicate the strength of the brine that flows from the new well at Grand Rapids, at least approximately. The letter is accompanied by a diagram.

(33.) To T. H. Lyon, dated Detroit, Sept. 13, 1840.— * * * Jacob M. Howard was nominated for congress by the Whigs a day or two ago, in pursuance, I suppose, of the central policy which has concentrated all offices, all appointments, all patronage and all power here in the city of Detroit in the Presbyterian church and in the Bank of Michigan ever since that party got the ascendency.

(34.) To Geo. A. Robinson, dated Detroit, Sept. 18, 1840.—Urging that operations be pushed on the salt well at Grand Rapids, and telling of his success at making a salometer by the use of a straight piece of pine cut to the thickness of a pipestem, to the end of which he attached a phial loaded with shot sufficient to sink the upper end of the stick to the level of fresh water. The stick was 19 inches long and the saturated salt water raised it 16¼ inches. The space was divided into 100 divisions or degrees, and the salometer was finished; it worked very satisfactorily side by side with the regular instruments purchased for the purpose, in fact more so because the graduations were farther apart.

(35.) To Geo. Templeman, Georgetown, dated Detroit, Sept. 20, 1840.—On my return here lately, I received your favor of August 3, enclosing the bill of lading of my full length portrait of Gen. Lafayette, which has since arrived safe and in good condition. * * *

(36.) To President Martin Van Buren, dated Detroit, Oct. 6, 1840.—I enclose herewith a copy of the Free Press for this week containing an account of Col. Johnson's reception at this place, and having gone with him through this State from the time when he left Cleveland on Sunday, the 27th ult., till he entered the state of Ohio again at Toledo on the 1st inst., I can state from personal observations that he was everywhere received with the utmost enthusiasm, and that here and at Ann Arbor, Saline, Clinton, Tecumseh and Adrian, in the interior of the State, he saw and addressed, according to the most accurate estimate I could make, about 17,000 persons, most of them voters; and he addressed them everywhere with good effect, bearing strong and unequivocal testimony in every case to the purity and ability of the present administration, and calling on the voters not to desert it now when every honest man and every patriot should rally to its support. The hearty cheers for Van Buren and Johnson that everywhere rose from the people showed that the appeal was felt and that in this State at least that everything will be done that can be done to secure the success of our cause. We shall probably carry the State by a majority of from one to three hundred. I have information from every county that I think may be relied on.

(37.) To J. N. Higbee, Iowa Territory, dated Detroit, Oct. 11, 1840.— * * * When you have made it (money) I hope you will take care and see that it does not get into the hands of any other person, even the best friend you have on earth, without the very best security. Another thing I must caution you against and that is endorsing or becoming surety for others. Never do it in any case whatever, unless you have property put into your hands enough under any circumstances to indemnify you for any loss you may suffer. If I had observed this rule it would have saved me from ruin. * * *

(38.) To Sidney Smith, dated Detroit, Oct. 12, 1840.—The nomination of C. I. Walker for the legislature is the best that could have been made next to the renomination of D. V. Bell, and I hope it will receive the hearty support of our party. If it does and we can carry our district by 200 majority we shall be pretty sure to carry the State. I have information that I can rely on from every county and from what I know at present, I estimate majorities as follows:

For Van Buren: Monroe 150, Lenawee 50, Hillsdale 10, Branch 150, St. Joseph 140, Van Buren 40, Calhoun 120, Wayne 40, Macomb 80, Oakland 200, Livingston 110, Clinton 40, Ionia, Kent and Ottawa 150; total 1,280.

For Harrison: Washtenaw 400, Jackson 100, Kalamazoo 150, Cass 50, Allegan, Barry and Eaton 150, Shiawassee 80, St. Clair 100, Lapeer 80, Genesee, Saginaw and Berrien about even, say 50, Mackinaw and Chippewa even; total 1,160.

The foregoing is the most favorable estimate that I can possibly make for the Federalists, though they have the impudence to claim a majority of two or three thousand in the State. There is some dissatisfaction with our nominations for the legislature in this county and Monroe, so that there is a possibility that we may not have a majority in joint ballot in the legislature, though I think there is no reasonable ground to doubt it. The Whigs here are offering to bet on a thousand majority in the State for Harrison. J. M. Howard is to address the people at Grand Rapids on the 23d inst., and Alpheus Felch will be there on the 28th. * * *

(40.) To T. H. Lyon, dated Grand Rapids, Mich., Nov. 8, 1840.—The political news from your county is certainly worse than was expected and the news from Ottawa and this county is not much better. Walker is elected by only seven or eight majority. Van Buren's majority in Ottawa county is reported to be 6, in Kent county 2, in Calhoun 30 and in Van Buren 60. These are all the counties yet heard from where the Democrats have majorities. Harrison's majority is reported to be in Ionia county 47, in Clinton county something but not known, Shiawassee 156, Wayne something but not known, Washtenaw 450, Jackson 388, Lenawee 300, St. Joseph 140, Kalamazoo 195, Allegan 70 and Barry 30. The returns as far as heard from show an aggregate Whig gain over the Whig majorities of last year. The State has undoubtedly gone Whig. * * *

(41.) To Geo. A. Robinson, dated Detroit, Oct. 13, 1840.—Directing him to carefully keep a record of the borings, with samples of the material brought to the surface, thickness of the various stratas, etc., for the benefit of the State geologist.

(42.) To Geo. A. Robinson, dated Detroit, Dec. 11, 1840.—I put in proposals for sinking the salt well at the State works on Grand river, which proposals, Dr. Houghton informs me, were the lowest and the only regular and formal ones received by him from any reponsible person. The doctor, so far as he is concerned, feels bound to accept my bid, which was $19 per foot from the top of the cast iron tube on a level with the upper surface of the dock to the depth of 50 feet; for the

second 50 feet $17 per foot, for the third 50 feet $16 per foot, and the same price for all the rest. The Governor, however, whose approval is necessary under the law, seems to have some doubts about taking the responsibility of going on with the work until the legislature meet again and have an opportunity to express their views on the subject. I have concluded not to bid on the Midland county well. Ira T. Farrand, of Saginaw, is here for the purpose and will probably get the contract.

(43.) To Geo. A. Robinson, dated Detroit, Dec. 14, 1840.—Mr. Farrand has taken the contract to sink the salt well in Midland county and both contracts are now in the hands of lawyers to be prepared and ready for execution tomorrow, after which they will be laid before the Governor for his approval. The Governor will probably not act on them for some days, not until I shall have left for New York. on important business, and I shall request Dr. Houghton to forward the contract executed by me to you as soon as it is approved, that you may get Mr. Egerly to put the engine in order and make all necessary arrangements to go on with the State work. The building for which the timber is got out, framed and lying on the ground near the engine house, is intended to be erected directly over the gum within which the cast iron tube must be sunk and fastened firmly on the rock, and the doctor says there is a trembling shaft already got out and lying there made expressly to reach from the engine in the boring house to the swell in the boring house. * * * By the terms of the contract I am to have the use of all the buildings and all of the State property there of every description, among which is a considerable quantity of bedding, cooking utensils, furniture, blacksmith tools, iron, coal and wood, and upon the completion of the work I am to leave everything that shall not have been used up, making due allowance for wear and tear. * * * The tube, as before mentioned, is required to be sunk within the gum and the gum itself must be sunk down to and fastened tight upon the rock, which, the doctor says, is 3 feet 9 inches below where they left off. * * *

(44.) To S. M. McKnight, dated New York, Jan. 6, 1841.—After reading, hand the enclosed to Bagg; it is about as near the truth as any of the speculations in the newspapers, and I think a little nearer.

For the Free Press:—As General Harrison's selection of cabinet ministers and his course in relation to removals from office are subjects much talked of at present, I give you the results of my enquiries concerning them. That Mr. Webster is to be secretary of state and Mr. Crittenden attorney general is universally admitted, and that Mr. Ewing of Ohio is to be postmaster general if he will accept the office seems to be also admitted; and that he will accept if he has an opportunity I have no doubt. As the friends of Mr. Sargeant and of Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania cannot agree as to which of these gentlemen shall be secretary of treasury, John M. Clayton, of Delaware, will probably fill that office. John Bell, of Tennessee, will, I believe, be secretary of war, and Francis Granger, of this State secretary of navy, at least so I have been informed by an intimate friend of Mr. Granger's. Mr. Clay, I find, is almost universally regarded by the Whigs as their candidate for the succession and as the power behind the throne of the President elect, greater than the throne itself. It is possible that there may yet be trouble between Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster on this account. The latter has stated to a friend here that he should not go in the cabinet unless he could have his friends around him so as not to be left a mere cypher without other power than that of adding to the power of his rival. As to removals, the course to be pursued, is this: The President elect will select and appoint his cabinet and some of the

most important foreign ministers and then throw the responsibility of all other appointments upon the heads of the departments to which they belong, taking no further care or thought about the matter; so that all applications to him for office, he says, will be useless. This he stated to a leading wealthy Whig of this city who was not an office seeker but has lately been to pay him a visit. Mr. "Solitude" Ewing and the other partisan chiefs will thus be enabled to make a clean sweep of all who have been opposed to them, while the general will say "I make no removals on account of a difference of political opinion."

(45.) To Dr. Douglass Houghton, dated New York, Jan. 9, 1841.— * * * My men engaged in boring at Grand Rapids have found another stratum of salt rock. After striking the big spring at the depth of 265 feet the rock changed to a bluish sand-rock, of finer grain than that above the spring and more compact, so that the sand pump had to be used to bring up the sediment. This rock continued to the depth of 300 feet when the rock changed to clay slate impregnated with salt and intermixed with fine particles of sand, so that the rock appeared to be spongy or porous. This continued to the depth of 309 feet when a vein of very hard sharp gritted sand rock was passed through 6 inches in thickness and the clay rock entered again below, at which point a small spring of salt water came in as the men supposed. On the morning of the 26th ult. they were down at the depth of 310 feet. I shall now expect to get good salt water in a short time, and I think 300 feet will be as deep as it will be necessary to go at the State works to get all the water you want. The upper salt rock was struck, I think, at the depth of 81 feet and was 97 feet in thickness. The second or lower one was struck at the depth of 300 feet, so that the two salt deposits are separated by sand rock 122 feet in thickness.

On my way here I visited and inspected the salt well sunk by the state of New York last spring, summer and fall, at Montezuma, where salt water was obtained and is now being manufactured nearly or quite as strong as that obtained at Salina. The well is 266 feet deep, 200 of which is 8 inches in diameter and the remaining 66 feet 5 inches. The first 60 feet was clay and quicksand, the remainder was all clay rock and gypsum, very much like the salt rock at Grand Rapids. A cast iron tube 8 inches in diameter was sunk down on to the rock. For the first 30 feet the water in the earth was all salt, after which it was fresh to the depth of 200 feet. At the depth of 140 feet a spring of fresh water of considerable size was struck. At 200 feet a large spring of salt water measuring 40 degrees on the centigrade salometer was struck, and at 245 feet another large spring measuring 63 degrees was struck. The boring was discontinued at 266 feet, though from the fact that no sediment could be obtained by the sand pump below the last spring I have no doubt that they were striking small springs constantly and that a spring much larger than either of the others would have been found if the boring had been continued far enough. About 40 gallons of water per minute now discharges itself over the top of the tube in a beautiful clear sheet when the pump is not going. The pump, however, brings up more.

(46.) To Geo. A. Robinson, dated New York, Jan. 30, 1841.— * * * I am waiting here to have Thomas Davenport, the inventor of the application of electro magnetism to propel machinery, finish a magnet and wire rope 500 feet long for me, that I may take it with me to Michigan, so as to be able, by means of a magnet and galvanic battery connected together by the aforesaid wire rope, to take out any drill or any piece of iron or steel that we may drop into our salt well without difficulty or delay, provided the well be not more than 500 feet deep. The power of the magnet will be great enough to take up a drill bar and drill weighing

70 pounds and perhaps a great deal more. We have not yet tried its strength. I believe I am the first person that has ever suggested this application of the electro magnetic power. The whole apparatus will weigh over 100 pounds and will cost $150. * * *

(47.) To Sidney Smith, dated New York, Feb. 1, 1841.—I enclose two papers warranted to contain four seeds each of the "Billindean Cabbage," which is said to have grown 11 feet high and 57 feet in circumference. I obtained them together with the enclosed handbill from E. Pricever, No. 3 Broad street, where I saw the original certificate of John Carrol Brent, referred to in the handbill. The seeds are advertised as something extraordinary and I have paid sixpence a piece for 24 of them, though I think the chances are that about 3 to 1 that I have been humbugged, and that the seeds are only the seeds of the common cabbage. They may, however, be seeds of a new variety and on that account I bought them. Please have them planted and see what they come to. * * *

(48.) To Geo. A. Robinson, dated Detroit, March 17, 1841.—Regrets that operations on the salt well are still delayed by a drill dropping into the well and becoming jammed; the electro magnet has been received but is not available through the lack of about 1,000 feet of large copper wire; suggests a method for extracting the drill, by having four prongs of soft iron attached to the end of a pole, by jamming the prongs down hard they will bend under the obstruction, and then the pole can be pulled out. * * * "The Governor approved my contract for the State well yesterday and I have written to Anthony Marvin to come out and commence operations on it by the 4th of next month. * * * It is now half past seven in the evening and St. Patrick's Day in the morning is not yet over with the Irish, for a large party are now at a public dinner in the long dining room of the National and I can hear the band of music playing and occasionally during the intervals catch here and there a word or two that falls from their orators."

(49.) To Mrs. Mary W. Thompson, New York, dated Detroit, April 2, 1841.—* * * In relation to the services of Col. Thompson in laying off the military reservation on the Island of Mackinac and at Fort Gratiot, I know nothing personally but have always understood from common report that the selection or designation of the lands necessary and proper for the use of the garrisons at these places was made by him under the instructions from the war department when he was in command of these posts. The files of the war department will, I have no doubt, show that he performed that service. In relation to the military reservation on the Island of Bois Blanc, for the use of the garrison at Fort Mackinac, Col. Thompson went with me, after I had finished the survey of said island, in the year 1827, I think it was, and spent two or three days in making personal examinations of the island with a view to the selection of such portions thereof as might be necessary and best fitted for the use of said garrison as a military reservation. This was done by him, as I understood, under instructions from the war department, and he afterward informed me that he had selected and had recommended the reservation of some 20 or 30 sections according to the survey of said island for the purpose before mentioned. * * *

(50.) To Col. James L. Gillis, member of House of Representatives, Harrisburg, Pa., dated Detroit, April 12, 1841.—I remained in Pennsylvania so much longer than I anticipated that it was too late on my arrival here to expect to get a bill through the legislature incorporating yourself and such persons as might associate with you as a company with a capital of $100,000 and such further sum as might be necessary

for the purpose of constructing a ship canal around the falls of the river St. Mary, but I availed myself of the authority contained in your letter and sent a memorial to the legislature in your name for the accomplishment of that object. I also talked with Col. Jones and with many other members of both houses on the subject, and think there would have been very little difficulty in procuring a reasonable charter if I had been here at the time, and I believe a bill can be got through early next winter if you can satisfy some of the members that you really intend to go on with the work, and that you have the means to do so and to complete it within three or four years. The general opinion of the members seems to be that the work would be unprofitable and that if a charter should be granted it would not be made. I think myself that no profit can be derived from it for several years; but ultimately I have no doubt it would be one of the most profitable works that could be constructed. The State will not make it because we are embarrassed by the debt we have already contracted; and if it be made at all it must be by private enterprise.

(51.) To President John Tyler, dated Grand Rapids, April 28, 1841.—Will you allow me to presume so far on acquaintance formed with you in 1834-5, when I was delegate in Congress from this Territory, as to call your attention to chapter xvii. of "The Principles of Political Economy," by Henry Vittrake, LL. D., one of the professors in the Pennsylvania University, published in 1838. The chapter is headed "The most desirable circulating medium for the United States," and I am induced to take the liberty I do because the work may not have fallen under your notice, and because the chapter referred to seems to me to contain suggestions worthy of consideration at the present time, especially the consideration of those who believe that Congress has no constitutional power to charter a national bank. I make this remark, however, with great deference to your better judgement, for, judging from your speeches and votes in Congress, I have long regarded your opinion on all the great questions now before the people as more sound and more in accordance with the true principles of political economy than those of any other prominent statesman in the country. If you now carry out those opinions in practice, as I hope and believe you will, you will receive a liberal, generous and cordial support from the intelligent and patriotic of all parties and from none more cordially than from myself.

(52.) To Asa Lyon, Vermont, dated Lyons, May 12, 1841.— * * * Truman H. Lyon removed last month to Grand Rapids where he now keeps the public house called the Exchange. There is not much travel and consequently not much for him to do there at present, but he hopes that business will revive by and by, especially if I should succeed in manufacturing salt profitably from the well that I have sunk here. My men began the well in January, 1840, and have now got down to the depth of 550 feet, or within 50 feet of the level of the ocean. They have been working night and day and have drilled the whole distance through lime rock, sandstone, plaster or gypsum and clay slate. They will probably go to the depth of 700 feet before they stop, though they have got salt water now stronger than I expected to obtain when I began, and so strong that if it should prove to be sufficiently abundant salt can be manufactured from it with a good profit. From present appearances it is probable that salt enough will be manufactured on the Grand river within five or six years, or as soon as the requisite number of wells can be sunk, to supply all the people living around Lake Michigan, whether in this State, Indiana, Illinois or the Territory of Wisconsin, say about 350,000 persons, who, if they consume an average of half a bushel each will require and in fact do now require 175,000 bushels annually. The cost of the manufacture, per bushel, from the water I now have will be about 14 cents, or a dollar a barrel when in the barrel, including 26 cents for cost

of barrel and 4 cents for packing and nails for the hoops; and the lowest price at which salt has ever been sold at any of the ports on Lake Michigan is $2.12½ per barrel. I can, therefore if I have water enough in my well, make about 15 barrels of salt a day at a profit of about 60 cents a barrel, after deducting transportation to any part of the lake. In addition to sinking the well on my own land, I have entered into a contract with the State to sink a well on the State lands four miles below Grand Rapids for the sum of $5,000. The well is to be sunk 300 feet deep, and 4 inches in diameter and the first 100 feet from the surface is to be rimmed out so as to be 4½ inches in diameter. I am preparing to begin this work next week and to complete it if possible by the beginning of next winter. The work will require about four persons to keep it in constant operation. * * *

(53.) To Isaac E. Crary, dated New York, Jan. 14, 1841.— * * * You will see by the accompanying map that the limits described in the mortgage embrace about 334 lots in said village of Grand Rapids, but from this number there must be deducted 95 lots that were sold within said limits during the years 1836-7-8 and up to the 26th June, 1839, which leaves 244 lots in said limits still unsold. To give some idea of the value of these lots, I will observe that the whole number of lots sold by Judge Carroll and myself in that part of the village north of Campau's plat during the time mentioned was 145, including the 95 above deducted, and the amount for which they were sold was $106,156.89, averaging about $782 per lot. Of this amount we have received $41,185.79, all of which has been reinvested in buildings and improvements on the lots unsold, and there still remains a balance due of $64,971. * * *

(54.) To Calvin Britain, dated Detroit, July 6, 1841.—A verdict has this day been rendered in the United States court at this place against you and myself as sureties of Allan Hutchins, deceased, late receiver of public moneys at the Ionia land office, for the sum of $13,056, together with the costs of suit. The amount claimed by the government was $17,379.30, and interest for three years, bringing it up to about $20,000. I succeeded in having all of Hutchins' suspended accounts allowed and deducted from the judgment so that we have come off quite as well as could be expected. * * *

(55.) To H. L. Ellsworth, commissioner of patents, dated Detroit, July 10, 1841. —Sending for record an assignment to himself of an undivided one-half interest in a certain "new and useful improvement in the instrument for determining the variation of the needle, the true meridian and the approximate time," invented by William A. Burt and patented February 25, 1836. The assignment is dated September 10, 1836.

(56.) Dated August 6, 1841.—Assignments and contracts, by which John Hascall of Kalamazoo county assigns and makes over to Lucius Lyon all the interest he holds in the Moore and Hascall patents for harvesting machines: The consideration is $100 cash, a note given by E. Ransom for $50, and Lyon's personal note for $150; also $5,000 from the profits from the sale and manufacture of the machines.

(57.) To Commissioner of Patents, dated Kalamazoo, August 7, 1841.—Enclosing the assignments of the Hascall patents for record. * * * We have had our harvesting machines in the fields during the past harvest and mine has harvested 150 acres without much delay for alterations, and I have no doubt the invention will ultimately prove one of the most important labor saving inventions ever brought into use; but the operation of cutting, threshing and cleaning the grain in the field, all at one time is so complex and the harvest season, which is the only season

for experiments, is so short that it will require some years yet to perfect it so as to make it profitable. The expense is so great that Hascall has broke down and I have been compelled to buy his interest. In the meantime six years of the patent have past and as there can be no profits arising from the invention for at least three or four years there is but small inducement to go on to perfect it unless the patent can be extended to the end of 21 years. * * * He asks to have the patent extended if possible.

(58.) To Arthur Bronson, dated Grand Rapids, Mich., Aug. 15, 1841.—Asking him to take an interest in the Hascall & Moore harvesting machine. * * * Two of the machines were operated during the last harvest and worked most admirably and are now in as good or better condition than before they were used. When the machines are driven with an ordinary degree of care nearly every grain of wheat is saved, while under the old method fully one-fifth was lost. Ira Lyon operated one of the machines and after paying all expenses cleared about $300, which is more than 50 per cent on the cost of the machine. In addition to saving one-fifth of the crop, he harvested and threshed at $3 an acre, while the usual cost was $5 an acre. The machines will work well on any ground that is free from large stones and stumps and may be operated by any man of ordinary common sense after two days' experience. * * * It will take money to manufacture and put the machines on the market. * * * Mr. Bronson replies declining to take an interest as his experience with patent rights had been unpleasant and unprofitable.

(59.) Manufacture of Salt.—For the Western Farmer; dated Detroit, Sept. 8, 1841.—My motto is "Labor to be useful," and I have the satisfaction of stating for the information of your readers that, acting in accordance with it, I expect as soon as a furnace can be erected and kettles procured for boiling to commence the first manufacture of salt in Michigan at the village of Grand Rapids in the county of Kent, and to continue it as a regular, permanent and profitable branch of the industries of the State. Having long entertained the opinion that salt water of good quality could be obtained in the valley of the Grand river by boring a sufficient depth into the rock, I entered into an arrangement in the latter part of the year 1839 with Ansel Hulburt and his two sons, Hijson and Henry, practical rock borers, to make the experiment. Our expectations of success were much strengthened by the opinion of the State geologist, and the result was a beautiful confirmation of his theory. After working night and day for about a year and a half, in which time a well averaging about three inches and a half in diameter was sunk on my land at Grand Rapids to the depth of 661 feet in the rock, we found, on putting down a copper tube 360 feet, that water more than one-third saturated with salt, would rise in and flow out of the top of the tube 20 feet above the surface of the ground at the rate of at least 6 gallons per minute, or say 10,000 gallons in 24 hours. The quantity of salt water produced may doubtless be greatly increased by taking off the pressure from the lower springs in the well by means of a lifting pump worked two or three hundred feet below the surface, while the connection between these springs and the weaker salt water of the upper springs is cut off at some proper point in the usual way by a leathern bag about three feet long, tied at the ends around on the outside of the tube and filled with tallow so as to fill the well up tight at that place. But we have salt water enough now to make 125 bushels of salt every 24 hours, and the salt from it is of the purest kind, and as white and beautiful as was ever seen. The water will rise in the tube as high as 50 feet above the surface and is about two-thirds as strong as the average of that which has been used at Salina, N. Y., for the last ten years. This difference, however, will be nearly bal-

anced by the difference in the price of wood at the two places, the price at Grand Rapids being only about one-fourth of the price paid at the New York works. The cheapness of fuel and exemption from specific taxes will, I believe, enable us to manufacture the article at such cost that we can compete successfully with the New York salt everywhere on Lake Michigan, and we intend to do so as soon as we can procure money or other means to sink a sufficient number of wells and erect works for that purpose. The average quantity of salt now produced annually in the State of New York is about 3,000,000 bushels; at Kanawha, Va., about 2,000,000; on the Muskingum river, Ohio, about 1,500,000, and on the Alleghaney and its tributaries in Pennsylvania about 500,000 bushels. The average strength of the water used in the three last mentioned states is not quite as great as that of the water now running from our well at Grand Rapids. I have visited all these works within a few years and I see no reason why we may not in a short time make as much salt annually on Grand river, in this State, as is now made on the Muskingum. The quantity of salt annually consumed by the people of Michigan is probably not less than 45,000 barrels, and if it were fed to horses, cattle, sheep and swine as much as it ought to be to keep them healthy, the consumption would be nearly double this amount. These 45,000 barrels of salt all have to be paid for with our money and cost the people of the State, including transportation, at least $1.75 per barrel, or $78,750. This heavy annual drain of our cash resources will now, I hope, soon be stopped by home production.

(60.) To C. H. Taylor, dated Detroit, Sept. 8, 1841.—You will recollect that I expressed to yourself and Mr. Walker, the opinion that the board of internal improvement did not intend to give the Grand river country the benefit of the appropriation of $25,000 for a canal around the rapids, and that their real object in all their movements was to throw the responsibility and odium of procrastinating and defeating the work on the shoulders of others. This is now placed beyond all doubt as you will see by the communication of William Foster in the Free Press of today. Mr. Foster has omitted to state one of the objections and the most important one made by the acting commissioner to going on with the work, which was the lack of funds. The commissioner evidently supposed the objection raised on account of the contract made by Judge Almy and myself with Granger & Ball would be fatal to the work and justify them in refusing to proceed with it, but when Mr. Foster returned and informed them, much to their surprise, and probably much to their annoyance, that he had made arrangements so as to completely obviate that difficulty, they found it necessary to start another and one that had never been mentioned before—the want of funds. The acting commissioner said it was impossible to do anything in the matter unless the contractor would take the warrants of the treasurer in payment, for they had no money applicable to that purpose. "Very well," said Mr. Foster, "I will take the warrants of the treasurer at my own risk." The judge then finding all his objections completely obviated was silenced and could say no more, excepting a suggestion that the work might possibly amount to more than the appropriation. This objection being disposed of by Mr. Foster offering to cut down his prices so as, in any event to come within the means at the disposal of the board, Mr. Germain had to come to the relief of his colleague and to state positively that he could never agree to pay anything for the right of way and for the work that we proposed to surrender. "Very well," said Mr. Foster, "I will pay for it. Take the amount out of my pay. I shall not be able to make a single dollar on my contract, but I want to commence business at Grand Rapids with a view to fix my residence there, and I am determined to go on with the work now, even though I may lose money by so doing." The commissioners then, after

consulting together, told Mr. Foster that they had determined not to let the contract for the work unless the State could have the water power in addition to all that had been offered them. This modest requisition has not been mentioned to me, and I presume it will not be by them; but I understand it is now the only thing they want to enable them to decide on letting the contract. Please mention this to Squire Almy and tell him if he will agree to it I will then decide what I will do.

(61.) To T. H. Lyon, dated Detroit, Sept. 9, 1841.— * * * Rix Robinson says that plenty of wood can be got, delivered on the ground at the works for 50 cents per cord, that he can hire any quantity out on the banks of the river above for 25 cents, and he thinks it cannot cost more than a shilling a cord to bring it down in scows as soon as boats can enter our canal, which I hope may be soon. * * *

(62.) To Ansel Hulburt, dated Detroit, Sept. 12, 1841.—I shall leave here in two or three days for Syracuse, N. Y., in hopes to prevail on some of the salt manufacturers at that place, Salina, or Liverpool to transfer their kettles and capital to Grand Rapids. If I cannot do that on such terms as will be to our advantage I shall try to buy 68 of their kettles and bring them on with me. This number will be enough for two blocks of kettles and we shall certainly have enough water from our well now sunk to keep them all in operation. Each kettle of 100 gallons will evaporate 175 gallons in 24 hours at least, or say, in round numbers, the whole 68 will evaporate when set in two blocks, 12,000 gallons in 24 hours. At 6 gallons per minute our well will run without pumping 8,640 gallons in 24 hours, and by bagging tight and working the pump at the foot of the big tube 70 feet below the surface, I have no doubt the quantity of water will be more than doubled, because this would take off the pressure from the lower springs in the well and allow more strong salt water to run in. I wish you would immediately rim out the hole so as to put all the big tube down; then by making a slip joint, or in some other way, make the bag tight in the well at some place pretty low down and set the pump going at the foot of the big hole so as to see the result. * * *

(63.) To Matthew Birchard, Warren, O., dated Detroit, Sept. 15, 1841.—Asking legal opinion upon the validity of a pre-emption claim of Lovell Moore upon 160 acres of land at Grand Rapids upon which the missionary society had erected buildings. In 1838 certain lands were advertised to be sold, including this tract. Mr. Moore presented his proof for a part of this tract and tendered payment but it was rejected probably because the land was supposed to have been reserved for missionaries. Mr. Slater's claim under pre-emption laws must fail because his improvements were made before the Indian title was extinguished. Mr. Slater was a Baptist missionary and occupied for some years one or two log buildings erected on said land by Rev. Mr. McCoy, about 1828. When the Indians, among whom Mr. Slater was working, sold their lands by the treaty of 1836, Mr. Slater abandoned the premises, purchased lands for his society in the county of Barry, about 40 miles from there, and has since resided there. Mr. Moore took possession of the premises thus abandoned without opposition from any source and continued to occupy and improve the same until his pre-emption claim was rejected, intending all the time to purchase the land he lived on whenever it should be sold by the United States. The lands claimed by him are worth now at least $1,000. * * *

(64.) To Ansel Hulbert, dated Syracuse, N. Y.. Sept. 22, 1841.— * * * I found here that the salt makers all prefer a kettle of a new pattern just introduced into common use. They are in such demand that I cannot get one of them, and

have, therefore, purchased 20 tons of pig iron from St. Lawrence county, the strongest for casting known, and ten tons of Lackawana coal, and shall have them shipped today, to be left at Grandville for Mr. McCray so that we can have our kettles made at home under our own direction. We shall want about 10 or 15 tons of the Granger pig to mix with the St. Lawrence, and I shall get that on my way home. As it will be two or three months before we can get everything ready to begin boiling, I think you had better go to work immediately, get poles and joints made and sink our well deeper and go on until we get through the clay rock and come to another set of springs. By so doing I hope we shall get an abundant supply of strong salt water. Our water now is less than half as strong as the water at this place and is so weak that we cannot compete with the New York salt on Lake Michigan. The cost of making salt here now is less than 6 cents per bushel and by a late regulation of the board of canal commissioners, who has charge of the subject, there is a drawback of nearly or quite all the toll paid on the canal of this State. That drawback will soon be extended to all the salt shipped beyond Detroit, which will enable the manufacturer here to send their salt to Chicago and sell it for $1 per barrel, including all expenses. Salt is now selling on Lake Michigan at $1.62 and the manufacturers make handsome profits at that price, though they now pay full toll and full duties. You will see by this that our well is worth very little if we do not get stronger water. * * *

(65.) To S. McKnight, dated Syracuse, Sept. 22, 1841.—If you approve of President Tyler's noble and patriotic stand against a corrupt and corrupting National Bank of Discount, as I am sure you do, and it appears to me every honest unprejudiced man must, you now have a glorious opportunity to head and get the start of all the hungry blood hound barkites who have been howling so loudly for the office you hold, by coming out boldly but quietly in favor of his administration, which Dawson and the whole pack at his heels will undoubtedly condemn. If the ultra Whigs abuse him much more I should not be surprised to see him become in a short time one of the most popular men in the country among Democrats and with honest men of all parties. He has certainly on all the great leading questions that have arisen in this country been quite as consistent and firm as any prominent man in the United States, and yet, because he will not approve a corrupt, shaving, swindling concern like the one that Mr. Clay wanted to force upon the country, the stock-jobbers and gamblers and those in their interest call him a traitor. * *

(66.) To Theodore Romeyn, dated Detroit, Oct. 12, 1841.—Urging him to secure an amendment to the United States court rules to conform to the provisions of the appraisal laws of this State in relation to the sale of lands on execution and mortgage. Without such change himself and many others will suffer severely.

(67.) Contract with George French of Plainfield township for 400 cords of good wood, four feet in length, to be delivered at the salt works, at 87½ cents a cord; dated Grand Rapids, October 22, 1841.

(68.) To Rev. E. H. Pilcher, Lyons, dated Grand Rapids, Oct. 22, 1841.—Promising to convey to the church society a site for church and minister's residence free.

(69.) To Douglass Houghton, dated Grand Rapids, Nov. 3, 1841.—Reporting progress on the State salt well, estimating the cost of going to the depth of 700 feet at $6,000 additional and complaining that he cannot get from the State the money that is due him for work already done.

(70.) To Sidney Smith, dated Grand Rapids, Nov. 4, 1841.—Giving the election news, election of Gov. Barry by 1,200 if not more, etc. * * * There is probably not a Whig elected in the State.

(71.) Contract with Oscar Whitney of Plainfield for 200 cords of four foot wood delivered at the salt works, at 87½ cents a cord, dated Nov. 9.

(72.) Contract with Cornelius Slaght of Vergennes for 100 cords of wood at 87½ cents a cord, dated Nov. 18.

(73.) Contract with Isaac Tomlinson of Plainfield for 100 cords of wood at 87½ cents, dated Nov. 18.

(74.) To Miss Lucretia Lyon, dated Grand Rapids, Dec. 8, 1841.— * * * George A. Robinson was married on Wednesday evening, the 1st, at 7 o'clock p. m., to Miss Julia A. Withey, daughter of Gen. Solomon Withey, late sheriff of this county. They were married by the Rev. Mr. Ballard. Gen. Withey's family, Lucius Thayer and myself were the only persons present excepting Miss Sargeant and Mr. and Mrs. Ballard. * * *

(75.) Memoranda of the first salt well at Grand Rapids, for Judge Carroll, dated Dec. 15, 1841.—Said well is 661 feet deep from the surface of the lime rock forming the bottom of Grand river, and was begun in January, 1840, and finished in September, 1841, with the exception of rimming out or enlarging the well for the first 309 feet for the purpose of putting a pump into it, which is now going on. When this is done the first 309 feet will be 5 inches in diameter and the remaining 352 feet three inches in diameter, unless we should think it advisable to rim out and put the pump lower. The pump is a lifting pump with poppet valves and is intended to work inside of wooden tubes one of which, where the plunger works, to be lined with copper. When copper tubes were put down to the depth of 360 feet, the salt water which discharged itself over the top amounted to six gallons per minute or about 8,640 gallons in 24 hours. How much water of the same or greater strength may be obtained by means of the proposed pump is quite uncertain; but it is supposed from all appearances in sinking the well that it cannot be less than 20,000 gallons in 24 hours, and that every 100 gallons will make a bushel of salt. This, however, is believed to be nearly 50 per cent stronger than the water that flowed over the top of the tubes and may, therefore, possibly be too high an estimate. For our present purpose, however, let it be assumed that 100 gallons will make a bushel. The cost of manufacturing will be as follows:—

2 boilers for a block of 4 pans, at $1.50 per day each	$3 00
8 cords of wood, at $1.00	8 00
Superintendent, interest on capital and repairs, say	6 00
Expenses per day, exclusive of barrels, packing and nails	$17 00

We shall evaporate the salt water in cast iron pans 4 feet wide, nine inches deep and covering two flues 126 feet long each, so that the surface of the pans exposed to the fire and hot air of the flues will be about 1,260 square feet. The pans will boil at least to the distance of 100 feet from the front of the arches, so that 1,000 square feet may be kept at boiling heat. Now it is known from experience that 10 square feet of surface of a pan exposed to fire or hot air and heated barely hot enough to boil will evaporate fully one pound of water per minute; 1,000 square feet will, therefore, evaporate 100 pounds of water every minute, or 120,000 pounds in 20 hours, which, after making allowance for cleaning the pans and other delay.

may be taken as the average daily time of boiling. A gallon of pure water weighs about eight pounds, so that the above mentioned 120,000 pounds amounts to about 15,000 gallons, which at 100 gallons to the bushel would make 150 bushels of salt per day. This will be about the result of our operations if we succeed in obtaining sufficient salt water of the strength above mentioned. The cost of manufacturing the salt will then be 11⅓ cents per bushel, or about 57 cents per barrel. The barrel will cost 30 cents, packing and nails 3 cents, so that the whole cost of a barrel of salt when ready for market will be about 90 cents. To this something must be added for storage. At Salina, N. Y., the cost of manufacturing is 7 cents per bushel or 35 cents per barrel, cost of barrel 30 cents, packing and nails 3 cents, and duties paid the State 30 cents, making when ready for market 98 cents.

(76.) To Douglass Houghton, dated Grand Rapids, Dec. 22, 1841.—Work on the State salt well has reached the depth of 305 feet and there is a strong flow of salt water. * * * One of my men, at my request, took my rubber cloak and wrapped it around the top of the cast iron tube in such a manner as to discharge the water through the sleeve of the cloak into a large barrel. With considerable leakage and waste, the flow was so strong that the barrel was filled four times in one minute, or at the rate of 130 gallons per minute. * * * Judging from the taste 200 gallons of the water will yield a bushel of salt. Samples of the water are sent for analysis. This completes the contract with the State, and warrants for the amount due, in amounts of $50 are asked for. * * *

(77.) Lease from Lucius Lyon to Truman H. Lyon of the salt works and all appurtenances thereto, for the period of two years, Truman Lyon to operate the works and to pay to Lucius Lyon 80 per cent of all net profits; dated Dec. 27, 1841.

(78.) To William Woodbridge, U. S. Senate, dated Grand Rapids, Jan. 6, 1842.—I beg leave to ask your assistance in a matter of importance to me where you can render me very great service. The enclosed letter to C. B. Penrose, solicitor of the treasury, will show you what I refer to, and you will greatly oblige me by effecting the compromise therein proposed. (That he should be allowed to turn in the Hutchins property to apply on the defalcation judgment.) I have been struggling against increasing debt and embarrassment for the last five years, while my property has been growing every day less valuable, till at last it will not sell for enough to pay the mortgages with which it is encumbered. My Prairie Ronde farm, my farm of 1,000 acres at the mouth of the Thorn Apple river and my farm of 1,200 acres (the best and most beautiful farm in this State) at the confluence of the Grand and Maple rivers—all had to be given up last year, together with 25,000 acres of wild land, the best in the northwestern states, and all my property here has got to go soon unless I should meet with success in the salt manufacture sufficient to enable me to pay off the mortgages upon it, which I do not now expect. When that takes place, and I now hold it at the mercy of the mortgagees, my property will all be gone and I shall be left in consequence of the expansion and contraction of the currency just as poor as when I began the world 19 years ago, when you first saw me at Detroit. I am willing and anxious to do all I can to pay the United States, but when I have given up for that purpose all the property I have, either of my own or of Hutchins', I want a discharge, and I want it too without submitting to the humiliation of applying for the benefit of the bankrupt act.

NOTE.—This book contains several letters relating to transfers, mortgages, etc., covering real estate in Grand Rapids, Lyons, Ada, Kalamazoo and at other points, but these records will probably be found on file in the respective counties, and

therefore are not copied. There are also several letters giving additional details in regard to salt manufacturing, but the most important are given herein, covering the most important points.—L. G. S.

SECTION VI.

NOTE.—Unless otherwise specified the following letters are from Grand Rapids.

(1.) To Douglass Houghton, Jan. 12, 1842.—I was much gratified to receive your partial analysis of the three barrels of water taken at different times from our salt well at Grand Rapids. It appears that about 88 gallons of the water as it runs over the top of the copper tube last fall contained a bushel of salt. This is rather stronger than I had supposed from an experiment made about two months ago by evaporating six gallons of the water; though it is not as strong as I had previously supposed from what Judge Almy and the Hulberts said after making about half a bushel of salt. I have always believed that we could not obtain from our well salt water of the best quality and in the greatest quantity without rimming it out so as to put down a pump several hundred feet and I left directions to have this done during my absence last fall. People here pursuaded the workmen, however, that it would be unnecessary to do so and when I returned I found the work not even begun. It has been progressing slowly since and the well will probably be rimmed out within three weeks 5¼ inches in diameter to the depth of 309 ft. where there is a streak of hard sandstone about 6 inches thick in which by means of a bag on the outside of the tube we mean to separate entirely the waters of the spring above from those below. At this point I shall for the present place pump boxes within a wooden tube of 3⅛ inches bore screwed together in joints about 10 feet long each; the one in which the pump boxes are will be lined with copper to form a working chamber for the upper box about 3 inches in diameter. With a 3-foot stroke this pump working in a chamber 3 inches in diameter will raise one and one-tenth inches of water at each lift and at 30 lifts 32 gallons per minute if there should be water enough found below to supply it. I shall be able to evaporate at least 12 gallons of water per minute with the works now erecting. I have two flues which will each be covered with cast iron pans a distance of 126 feet back from the front. There will be two pans of each flue making four in all 4 feet wide and 9 inches deep with plank curbs of wood bolted on them all around, the curbs of the front pans to be higher than those of the back ones so as to draw the water off by cocks or siphons into the latter when necessary. Each pan is made up of pieces of cast iron 6 feet long which are to be bolted together. More than half the number are now cast and they are sound and strong. A man cannot break one of them with a common blacksmith's sledge. I have never seen cast iron pans used for making salt but I believe they will answer well and in some respects be better than rolled iron, while the expense of them will be somewhat less. My flues are longer by 30 feet than I have ever seen so that I think I shall have no difficulty in using up all the heat of a fire in evaporation, leaving only enough heat to go into the chimney to make a proper draft. If the pans can be made to boil through their whole length we can evaporate more than 12 gallons a minute. We shall probably be able to keep the works going about five-sixths of the time and if 80 or 90 gallons will produce a bushel we can average about 150 bushels of salt a day.

(2.) Feb. 3, 1842.—Contract to convey to the ministers, elders and deacons of the First Protestant Reformed Church of Grand Rapids the one undivided half part of lots numbered 194 and 195, fronting on Bridge and Ottawa streets, according to

the village plat of Kent or Grand Rapids for the especial purpose of erecting thereon a place of public worship for said society; the conveyance to be made upon the erection by said society within a year a building to be constructed of stone 38 feet wide and 50 feet deep and otherwise in proportion, and when the same shall have progressed so far as to be ready for the roof the said conveyance is to be executed and delivered.

(3.) To H. Stevenson, Washtenaw county, Feb. 4, 1842.—No plaster has yet been discovered in the vicinity of Lyons, but at this place and near it there are inexhaustible quarries of it from 5 to 15 feet in thickness and of the very purest quality. Granger and Ball, merchants of this place have now finished and in operation a very fine mill for grinding plaster at the quarry on Plaster Creek two miles south of here where they are ready to sell any quantity of ground plaster for $4.00 per ton in bulk without barrels.

(4.) To Rev. James Ballard, Charlemont, Mass., Feb. 21, 1842.—From Detroit. Our preparations for manufacturing salt at Grand Rapids in this State are now nearly completed, and we hope to make within the next year at least 30,000 and may go as high as 50,000 bushels at an expense not exceeding 18 cents a bushel. The price of this necessary article which has heretofore been very high in the Grand river valley will consequently fall and be nearly or quite as low as it is in New England. This with our inexhaustible quarries of gypsum, our fertile soil, beautiful springs, valuable pine timber, great water power and steamboat navigation above and below Grand Rapids, ought to be sufficient to insure to the Grand river company a rapid increase of population whenever the advantages become known to persons emigrating from the eastern states in search of a home in the west. Land can be bought there as cheaply as in Wisconsin or Iowa, and of a quality quite as good as in either of those territories; while it is much nearer the New York market and in the midst of settlements where mills are erected and schools and religious societies organized, which give to the emigrant many of the advantages enjoyed by older communities. The legislature has made an appropriation of $1,500 to carry on the improvements at the State salt springs, but there is no money in the treasury at present for that purpose and consequently the warrants of the Auditor General on the treasurer of the State cannot be paid, and there is so little money in this country that they cannot be sold except at a discount of some 30 per cent and they have been sold in one or two instances for 63 cents on the dollar. They bear 7 per cent interest per annum and provision will undoubtedly be made for their payment in a year or two.

(5.) At a meeting of the bridge committee appointed at a public meeting in Walker, February 23, 1842, held pursuant to public notice at the Grand River Exchange on Saturday, the 5th inst. Dan'l Ball was chosen chairman whereupon on motion of James Scribner it was resolved, That the secretary of this meeting advertise in the Grand Rapids Enquirer for proposals to be received until the first day of April prox. for building a bridge of timber and plank across Grand river on the Bridge street line at the Rapids or within half a mile of the same, either above or below; each proposal to state the place where said bridge shall be erected should the proposal be accepted and be accompanied with a plan of the work. The whole to be completed on or before the first day of September, 1842.

(6.) To Douglass Houghton, March 7, 1842.—I will continue the boring at the State salt well in Kent county and sink said well four inches in diameter from the depth of 400 feet to the depth of 700 feet, a distance of 300 feet beyond the depth already

estimated, for the following compensation, viz.: If payment be made on the completion of each 50 feet in Auditor General warrants on the Treasurer of this State for sums of $300 and over of the internal improvement fund, and will sink said well for $15 per foot, or for the sum of $4,500. If payment be made at the end of each 50 feet in Auditor General warrants on the internal improvement fund as aforesaid for such convenient amounts as I may desire, I will sink said 300 feet of said well for $14 per foot, or for the sum of $4,200. If payment be made in State script at the end of each 50 feet, I will sink said well said 300 feet for $12.50 per foot, or for the sum of $3,750. And if payment be made in specia or its equivalent at the end of each 50 feet I will sink said well said 300 feet for $10.50 per foot or for the sum of $3,150. Each party to have the option of stopping the work at any time and the well and everything belonging to it to be surrendered in good condition.

(7.) To Volney Chapin, Ann Arbor, March 7, 1842.—Ordering 300 feet of white wood tube boiled and seasoned well in pitch with good tight screw joints of iron once in 15 feet, and with a cast iron pump rim or working chamber, screwed firmly into the lower end long enough to work the plunger with a three-foot stroke; the wooden tube to be 4½ inches in diameter on the outside and 3 inches inside and the iron pump chamber 4 inches in diameter outside and two and fifteen-sixteenths of an inch inside, and to be nicely bored and furnished with copper boxes, the whole to form a lifting pump to raise salt water from the depth of 300 feet. The price to be 10 cents per foot for the wooden tube and 75 cents for each iron joint.

(8.) To Alpheus Felch, Auditor General, March 10, 1842.—Recommending the publication of the tax list for the counties of Ottawa, Kent, Ionia and Barry, in the Grand Rapids Enquirer, published by J. D. Morse and E. B. Burr, the latter lately of the Kalamazoo Gazette.

(9.) To Jacob M. Howard, April 4, 1842.—Recommending Henry R. Williams of Grand Rapids as Receiver of the Ionia land office in place of Cyrus Lovell.. Mr. Williams has for a year or more been connected in business with the House of Granger and Ball, who are doing more mercantile and milling business than all the rest of the people in this portion of the State. They have large establishments at Ionia and here and his business talent, strict honor and high respectability are well known to all our people.

(10.) Received, Grand Rapids, May 5, 1842, of Chas. Trowbridge, Esq., of Detroit, $2 for the first barrel of salt ever sold by me from the Grand Rapids Salt Works, being some of the first salt ever manufactured for sale in the State of Michigan.

LUCIUS LYON.

(11.) To E. McGavock, Virginia, May 29, 1842.—Your letter relative to certain lots in the village of Lyons in this State conveyed by me to Abbie J. Williamson, now your wife, is received. So great has been the depreciation in the value of all real estate in this country that these lots could not be sold now for one-half and perhaps not for one-third of the amount of money that I received for this, though at the time when I conveyed them I could have sold them for nearly if not quite double the amount that she paid me. As she trusted entirely to me to make a judicious investment and I have made one that has turned out so badly, I feel bound by every principle of justice and honor to refund the money received together with interest and I shall do so as soon as I am able. I cannot state now when that will be, for misfortune and exchange in money matters throughout the country have swept away all my property so that I have nothing left to help myself. I am not discouraged, however, and if I live you shall be paid.

(12.) Opinion of Judge Burchard (copy), Warren, Ohio, Sept. 22, 1841.—Your letter of the 15th inst. was duly received presenting the following case and requesting my opinion thereof, viz.: "In the amendment to the treaty of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, ratified May 27, 1836, among other things provided as follows, to-wit: the net proceeds of the sale of 160 acres of land upon the Grand river upon which the missionary society have erected their buildings shall be paid to said society in lieu of the value of the said improvements. It will be perceived that here is no reservation of land, but only the net proceeds of the same; also that it makes no provision how said land shall be sold, consequently it must be sold under pre-existing laws in the usual manner. Therefore the pre-emption law would apply unless some provision therein should prevent it. That it does not prevent it see pre-emption law approved June 22, 1838. In the year 1838 under the authority of the President certain lands on Grand river were advertised to be sold at the Ionia land office, among which was section 25, town 7 north, range 12 west, on which were situated the said mission buildings; and connected with the said advertisement was the usual notice to pre-emption claimants, agreeable to which L. Moore attended at said land office and presented his proof for said section 25 and made tender payment for the same; but for some cause, probably because the land was supposed to have been reserved for the missionary it was rejected and said section withheld from sale, and in this situation the subject remains. Mr. Slater's application under the pre-emption law must fail in consequence of his improvements being made before the Indian title was extinguished, and further because he did not reside even in the county in any part of the year 1838." This statement perhaps too meager to enable me to give you a definite opinion in the case, but assuming that it embraces all the material facts, I will first dispose of the claim of Mr. Slater to a part of section 25. I think it must fail for several reasons; first, he was not a settler at the date of the act of 1838 and for four months immediately preceding this date. He could not therefore have a shadow of title under that act. No prior law that I am aware of can help his claim. The acts of 1830 and 1834 by no means aid him, for when these laws were enacted the land in question was Indian land and still remained until the Indian title was extinguished by the treaty of May 27, 1836.

Lovell Moore's claim: I suppose that Mr. Moore, from his statement, presented the proof required by the act of 1838, that is proof that he resided on the land June 22, 1838, and for four months next preceding that he was an actual settler and the head of a family, etc., so as to leave no question relative to his claim upon which an objection may be based; but one arising from some supposed want of power to sell drawing out of a restrictive clause of the act. If this is so, it would seem to me to be difficult to present any valid legal obstacle to the claim. The circular of July 3, 1838, enumerates under eleven distinct heads all the lands which were supposed to be exempted from the operations of that act. There can be no pretence that this land falls within any of these exceptions unless it be the third or fourth. If it falls within the third, that is, reservation from sale by order of the President, this order itself must be shown and doubtless can be if it ever issued at either the district or general land office. I have no idea that such an order was ever given. The fourth exception, lands appropriated for any purpose whatsoever, is supposed to be the ones under which this claim was rejected at the Ionia office. This clause in the circular of July 3, 1838, and the explanation, of it were both drawn by me after mature reflection and consultation with the commissioner and Secretary of the Treasury. It was intended to embrace in clear and precise language all of the general classes of land which were by reason of that restric-

tion withheld from the operation of the act of 1838. I do not recollect that a case occurred requiring any extension or limitation of the words of the circular beyond their natural import, while I remained connected with the Treasury Department.

A close examination will show, as I think, that this land is not embraced by it. That section 25 has not been set apart for any purpose nor directed to be applied to any purpose in particular. The treaty does not grant the land or the use of it to any one, in fee or for a term of years. Nor does it in terms impose any restriction upon the sale whatever. In the body of the treaty it was stipulated that "The mission establishment upon the Grand river should be appraised and the value paid to the proper boards," but the amendment provided that the net proceeds of the sale of the 150 acres of land should be paid in lieu of the value of the improvement. Can it be said that this land is encumbered so as to prevent the act from operating upon it? Instead of a reservation from sale the treaty is an affirmation by the Senate of a right to sell and only amounts to an offer to give the missionaries all that the right of soil would bring when sold, rather than to run the risk of paying for the improvements at the appraisal of men. It should be observed that the treaty makes the land itself emphatically "public land" by the extinction of the Indian title. It does not stipulate for a sale in any particular manner. It does not limit the power of Congress in disposing of section 25. Indeed, the first article of the treaty is a deed of cession by which the Indian title became extinct. This article is absolute. 'The Indians seized the United States all the tract of country not hereinafter reserved." Section 25 was not so reserved in any article and the whole scope of the treaty shows that its sale was intended to be made under such laws as the government might provide. This made it public land, as I can see, in the sense in which those words are employed in the pre-emption act of 1838. This point established, and the right claim as a settler by Mr. Moore cannot well be questioned. It may perhaps be urged that the Senate in their amendment to the treaty contemplated the sale at auction. For argument sake this may be admitted, it may have been the fact, yet the treaty does not say so and their subsequent law, to-wit, the act of 1838 which is posterior to the treaty and consistent with all its language and therefore for this purpose its expositor, provides a pre-emption right to all or any public land including this tract, as well as any other. If then there might arise an equitable demand to have a public sale and the mission establishment should be considered equitably entitled to the difference between $1.25 per acre, the pre-emption price, and what the tract might bring at auction, the missionaries must seek this equity from Congress because it has not secured it by the treaty and act of 1838 or in any other manner. In reply to that part of your letter which requires my advice as to the course to be pursued to secure the title, I can only say on general terms that it would be the better course to present the case clearly to the Attorney General, who, if he should concur in the views I entertain, will advise the land department to commit the entry. Should his opinion be adverse it will possibly contain such reasons as will satisfy Mr. Moore of the invalidity of his claim. But if it should not, by keeping his tender good and attending at the sale and giving notice to the purchasers, he will be in a condition to file the bill in chancery asking the court to decree him the title. In the meantime, I would advise Mr. Moore to retain possession of the land and use and occupy it as his own. This will, according to our chancery rules, operate as constructive notice of his true claim and in any court will be noticed that he has a claim of some sort, and in my opinion will enable him to secure the title by a proceeding in chancery let it fall into whose hands it may on passing from the United States.

(13.) To Douglass Houghton, June 6, 1842.—The State salt well is now sunk to the depth of six hundred and twenty feet and the work is still going on night and day without intermission. He described the geological formation.

(14.) To Frederick Bronson, June 28, 1842.— * * * There begins to be more enquiry for land and especially for water power than there has been for several years. Our farmers are increasing their flocks of sheep very rapidly and woolen manufacturers are looking for sites for manufacturing. There is also more immigration to this part of Michigan and more disposition to immigrate manifested than I have witnessed for a long time, so that on the whole our prospects appear to be brighter. I have not yet got my salt works in full operation, but I have done enough at making salt in a small way to test the experiment and to prove that its manufacture can be carried on here at a fair profit.

(15.) To Douglass Houghton, July 2, 1842.—The State salt well is down 660 feet and every day or two hard streaks of clay rock from one to five inches thick are struck. Sixteen gallons of the water taken from the top of the well were boiled down a day or two ago and yielded fifty ounces of salt. The contract will be completed by the 20th and the writer wants to know as to whether it is desired to have the wells sunk deeper than 700 feet. His own salt well is not very prosperous. After operating the works a fortnight and evaporating at least 850 gallons of water every 24 hours it was found that only about 300 bushels of salt was made. Either the brine is very weak or fresh water flowed in. Manufacturing has been stopped for the present until stronger brine can be procured, either by rimming out the well and putting the bag down to a greater depth or by some other means. In the meantime he is satisfied that the strongest brine that can be obtained is not strong enough to enable him to manufacture salt by means of fuel alone. Water power at the rapids is such as would enable him to pump the brine high enough to be let down through brush walls or through walls made of fine lath into reservoirs under them thus permitting evaporation. This would work very well in summer, but it would hardly do in winter.

(16.) To Douglass Houghton, July 17, 1842.— * * * I have been much disappointed in the strength of the brine furnished by our well at this place; for I am now satisfied that the strongest we have ever seen from it does not contain more than four and two-third ounces avoirdupois of salt to the gallon, and consequently that 192 gallons of it would be required to yield a bushel of 56 pounds. I was misled on this subject by the strong taste of the brine, the statements of the Hulberts, who boiled enough of it to make about a bushel of salt last fall when we first obtained it, and especially by having seen it stated in books which I supposed were good authority, that a gallon of pure water, wine measure, weighs eight pounds. Knowing that the brine as it ran from the tubes last fall weighed eight pounds and ten ounces to the gallon, I supposed each gallon contained ten ounces of salt, that 90 gallons would yield a bushel, and consequently that 8,500 gallons, the quantity that we evaporated every 24 hours while our works were in operation, ought to produce 94 bushels, while it remained at full strength. Finding that we could not get one-half of this quantity, I began to suspect that there was some error in my calculation as to the weight of pure water, and on investigation soon found that a gallon of pure water weighs eight pounds five and one-third ounces; so that the brine which I supposed contained 10 ounces of salt to the gallon could not contain more than four and two-third ounces as before stated. I make this statement, thinking it probable that you may have fallen in the same error that I

did; an error which to me must prove most disastrous in its consequences unless I can find some means of escaping from them; and I can see none unless we can obtain stronger brine by boring deeper, or concentrate that we now have by means of graduation houses, and this latter means has never been tried in the United States as far as I have any knowledge. I have, however, no doubt of its success because our atmosphere must be as dry as that of France or Germany, where they are extensively employed, and because I know no other way in which the same expense of evaporating service can be got at anything like the same expense. * * * The cost of making salt at this place by combining natural with artificial evaporation I estimate at $19,000, of which $10,000 is for graduation house and fixtures and $9,000 already invested in the well. The cost of making 60,000 bushels of salt I estimate at $5,200, being eight and two-thirds cents per bushel. * * * I should like to be the first to erect a graduation house, which is entirely unknown on this continent and I have already engaged my timber and plank for a brine cistern 12x20 feet with two graduation walls above it. * * *

(18.) To J. M. Howard, Aug. 2, 1842.—Asking him to procure the establishment of a mail route from Battle Creek to Grand Rapids. The Detroit mail would be delivered about 30 hours earlier than it is now received and without additional expense, for it would save travel and transportation around by the way of Kalamazoo, which is full twenty-five miles out of the way.

(19.) To S. Yorke At Lee, Aug. 5, 1842.— * * * I know that the country around Lyons is but very thinly settled and that the village is consequently almost deserted, and I should think you would not be able to find business there to support you. When the vacant lands for twenty miles around Lyons are settled it will become a place of business and will at some future time be one of the most flourishing as it is now and always will be one of the most beautiful places in the State, but if you leave Detroit you ought to go to some place that is prosperous at the present time. I hardly know what place to recommend, but I think the prospects of our little village of Grand Rapids are as good for the future as those of any other place in the State. The members of the bar here cannot live by their profession and they all resort more or less to other business for support. What other business you could engage in with any success, I do not know. My belief is that you would be more likely to attain any object of interest or ambition that you may propose to yourself by remaining in Detroit than by seeking a new home. * * *

(20.) To Dan Lyon, Aug. 15, 1842.— * * * The price of land has fallen very much throughout all the western countries. Unimproved land of the best quality can be bought now almost anywhere for $1.50 to $2.50 per acre, even where the country is partly settled. This presents strong inducements to immigration from older countries where land is high, and I can see by movements now making that we shall have considerable immigration to our State next year.

We are recovering slowly and surely from the evil effect of the paper money expansion of 1834-5-6, and I think Michigan is now in much better condition than New York. Our farmers are doing much better than farmers are in New York or any of the eastern states, because we can afford to raise wheat and wool at present prices and make half profits at them, while their farmers cannot make anything. Michigan is remarkably healthy this year. I have not heard of a single case of sickness in the whole State for ten months past and we never have any other disease than fever and ague at any time. * * *

(21.) To James Gordon Bennett, Aug. 20, 1842.—In the last number of your paper received here I see you advise the poor immigrants who are returning to Europe because they can get no work in New York to go to the west, those who have money, and purchase farms. This is excellent advice both to those who have money and to those who have none; because all can get plenty of work here and fair wages which will enable them in a short time to purchase small farms whether they have money when they arrive here or not. Many of the most prosperous and independent farmers of this country came here less than six years ago without a dollar in their pockets and now they have land, cattle, horses, sheep and hogs in abundance, and some of them, by the labor of themselves and family alone produce from 500 to 2,000 bushels of wheat for sale every year, and hardly any one less than 100 bushels, besides a large quantity of other grains. It would do your heart good to see the prosperity of these industrous immigrants who came here penniless and are now on the road to wealth. Let those who think of returning to Europe come here directly. We will receive them with open arms and do everything in our power to aid them in settling among us and planning homes for their families in one of the finest and most healthy countries on the globe. A society has been organized here for that purpose. Application for any further information may be made either to the officers of the society or to James Scribner, chairman of the committee, residing at Grand Rapids. Our village is situated on the Grand river of Lake Michigan, 30 miles east from the lake shore and 84 miles north from the northern boundary of the state of Indiana, and is destined as all admit to be the second, if not the first town in the State. Like the country around it, it is growing in all the elements of wealth and enduring prosperity, and now that President Tyler has checked rascally politicians who determined to ride us with a national bank and tax us to death by means of what they call a perfected tariff, we have nothing to fear. I must not forget to mention that religion flourishes here as well as everything else that is good. Though our village is but six years old, it has six places of public worship and six religious societies organized. The Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Congregational, Dutch Reformed, Methodists and Baptists. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Lefevre added twenty members to his church here last Sunday. The Herald is the most popular throughout all this region and is eagerly sought after in every town and hamlet in the State. And we subscribe and pay for more newspapers in proportion to our population than the people of any other state in the Union. Ours is the only new state that has ever paid all the expenses of its mail establishment and left a surplus in the general fund. So you see we are not only reading but writing people. We are also a working people, and if we go on increasing our products as we have for the last three years, the next census will show such an increase of wealth as it will be hard to beat. Michigan is the Garden of the Great West and the Grand River Valley is the garden of Michigan.

(22.) To Douglass Houghton, Sept. 12, 1842.—We are now down to the State salt well 770 feet and are striking more water, but the strength of this water we do not know. Since I wrote you last we have gone on night and day without ceasing, and without any marked change in the character of the rock until we reached last week the depth of 765 feet where, after passing through a hard strata of indurated clay rock about ten inches thick, similar to many above it, we come gradually to softer clay rock than we have been in for a long time, and soon found that it was not only soft but was also so porous that the springs coming in through it would raise a sediment up out of the well as fast as it could form. We usually pump up the sediment regularly every morning and evening and generally from

three to four pumps of thick mud, but for the last five feet we have not been able to get more than three pumps full and half the time we could not obtain any. We obtained some sediment this morning which for the first time in 426 feet was chiefly sand, showing that the character of the rock is about changing. Since the last water was struck, the gas rising up out of the gum has been far more abundant than before. The bubbles come up now for an hour together sometimes, as big as peas and even as large as birds' eggs, when before, you recollect, they were not larger than a pin head. The quantity and strength of the water running over the gum seems to remain about the same and we have not yet sunk our tin bucket down to obtain any of the lower water but will probably do so tomorrow. I will send you a bottle of it at the first opportunity, unless in the meantime you should arrive here, as I hope you will; though when you do come, I want you to come prepared to stay at least three weeks so as to have time to make a great many experiments.

(23.) To S. R. Hobbie, First Assistant Postmaster General, Oct. 18, 1842.—Urging the establishment of a new postoffice in Kent county, to be called Caledonia, and recommending the appointment of Henry C. Foster as postmaster.

(24.) To the same, Oct. 18, 1842.—Expressing the hope that James M. Nelson, the present postmaster at Grand Rapids, will not be removed. The only thing that can be said against Mr. Nelson is that he is a Whig, but he says little or nothing on the subject of politics and certainly attends closely to the duties of his office. And not a whisper of complaint is heard from any quarter.

(25.) To President Tyler, Nov. 26, 1842.—Urging the reappointment of Col. A. Edwards, as register of the land office in Kalamazoo. The sales of land have been greater at his office than at any other land office in the United States and never has a single word of complaint been heard against either his official or private conduct.

(26.) To the members of the Senate of the State of Michigan, Dec. 11, 1842.—Endorsing Peter R. L. Pierce, for engrossing and enrolling clerk for the Senate at the approaching session of your honorable body. Politically, writer cannot urge him as strongly as he would like, for Mr. Pierce aided in appointing a Whig register in this county at the late election in preference to the regularly nominated Democratic candidate, but personally and on every other account there is not a young man in the State he would rather see get the place.

(27.) To President Tyler, Dec. 24, 1842.—Testifying good character and standing of Digby V. Bell of Ada, who may be a candidate for an appointment. As a public man he is well and publicly known and in all the relations of life he is highly respected and his character is without spot or blemish. He has resided in Michigan nine or ten years, during which time he has been bank commissioner, and a member of both branches of the State Legislature, besides having held other offices, the duties of all of which he has discharged with great credit to himself and to the entire satisfaction of the community. He is now a prominent, leading and influential member of our State Senate, and having always been a Jeffersonian Republican, he of course approves of the leading measures of your administration.

(28.) To Dan'l Webster, Secretary of State, Dec. 24, 1842.—My friend, Hon. Digby V. Bell of Ada, who has resided some nine or ten years in this State where he has held several important offices and is now the leading and influential member of our State Senate, was born in one of the West India Islands, and having had a

thorough commercial education and being well acquainted with the character of the people and the business of those islands, I think him peculiarly qualified for the appointment of consul of the United States.

(29.) To D. V. Bell, Jan. 17, 1843.—Asking him to have a bill passed as soon as possible making all Auditor Generals' warrants issued or that may be issued in payment for improvement of a State salt spring receivable in all payments of either principal or interest and for all lands belonging to the State. There may be objections to receiving them for school and university lands, but there can certainly be none against receiving them for the lands above named which belong exclusively to the State. The warrants stand on different ground from the warrants issued to contractors on the railroad because those contractors have no legal claim to payment from any other source than the installments of the five million loan.

(30.) To S. M. Johnson, Jan. 22, 1843.—Urging the passage of his bill making the Auditor General's warrants issued for the improvement of the State salt springs receivable for State buildings and all the lands belonging to the State. E. H. Turner and some others here owe the State for State building lands. I owe Turner and the State owes me for a warrant that I hold, but I cannot pay Turner nor can he pay the State for his land because the State does not receive its own paper, in payment or at least does not receive the warrants issued to me for work at the salt springs.

(31.) To E. H. Turner, Feb. 23, 1843.—From Detroit. Advising him that a bill had just passed the House of Representatives authorizing all purchasers of State building lands to pay for the same in such Auditor General's warrants as are on interest, and the bill will undoubtedly pass the Senate. A bill has passed the Senate and will pass the House in three or four days organizing a land office to be located at Marshall, and providing for the sale of the salt spring and all the lands belonging to the State, including university and school lands and also providing for the receipt of Auditor Generals' warrants in payment. The minimum price of all these lands, except university and school lands, is fixed by the bill as it passed the Senate at $1.25 per acre, and I think the House agreed to this price.

(32.) To W. A. Sherwood, May 2, 1843.—I have now seven and sometimes ten men employed in cutting and binding fagots, and by the middle of June or first of July I mean to have about two thousand bundles, averaging a foot in diameter and five feet long, cut and laid up on the spars in layers one above another in the graduating house. The carpenters will commence framing this week, as soon as the high water in Grand river subsides sufficiently to allow them to do so, and it is my intention to drive every part of the work ahead as fast as possible. About three thousand bundles of the fagots are already cut and bound, and their average size is about that of a man's fingers. From this you can form some idea of the amount of the evaporating service that they will afford when the whole ten thousand bundles shall be laid up and kept wet with brine. I believe it will amount to about 25,000 gallons every 24 hours during the summer months.

(33.) To Geo. H. Lyon, May 8, 1843.—The average cost of cutting the grub and clearing off an acre of common oak opening here ready for the plow is about $5, and four yoke of oxen with a large, strong breaking-up plow and a man to hold it and man and boy to drive will break up on an average about an acre per day, perhaps a little more. This makes the cost of the first plowing or breaking-up about $3 per acre, and for wheat crop the breaking-up should all be done by the 10th of July.

The crop, plowing and harrowing, can be done with less than half the team necessary for breaking and will not cost more than $1.75 per acre. As fencing timber can always be found on the ground in oak openings, a fence of good oak rail will not cost more than 25 cents per rod, and for a ten-acre field in a square form $40; or $4 per acre, making the whole cost of clearing, fencing, plowing and sowing oak openings with wheat about $13.75 per acre, besides the cost of seed, which will be from 50 to 75 cents per bushel. Most people, however, do not incur the expense of taking off the timber for some three or four years, or until the limbs begin to fall. They girdle the trees and let them stand, which renders the first expense of clearing not more than $2 per acre. The price of working oxen at this season of the year is from $45 to $60 per yoke. The average price of wheat within thirty miles of the lake has been about 50 cents per bushel for three years past, but it is now at least 60 cents. The average yield per acre, both in Michigan and Wisconsin, is not far from 17 bushels, sometimes as high as 30. It always commands cash price, and is the only article raised by the farmers in this country that will always sell for money; though on account of the scarcity occasioned by the past hard winter corn, oats and potatoes will all command money now. The average prices for the past four years have been—for corn, about 30 cents; oats, 18; and potatoes 15 cents per bushel. Wages for men to work on farms by the month, during six months of the warmest season, is about $12 per month. In Wisconsin, about the same, perhaps a little more.

(34.) To Sam'l J. Bayard, June 11, 1843.— * * * I live in the second Congressional district in this State and am informed that I can have the nomination for Congress if I desire it. My business affairs are in such condition that I shall make no effort to obtain it and shall not allow my name to be used as a candidate before the convention, which is to meet in September, if the delegates can agree to support any of my friends, as I think they will. I am struggling under the pressure of the heavy load of debt contracted under an inflated currency and shall probably lose every dollar's worth of property that I have in the world. The pay of a member of Congress is not enough to afford me much assistance and I have thought of returning to my old business, that of surveying the public lands, if I can find a good opportunity to do so. Such an opportunity, I should think, might be presented in Iowa whenever new surveys are ordered there. If you have opportunity will you do me the favor to inquire of the Surveyor General what amounts of land are ordered to be surveyed in Iowa and Wisconsin, and whether he expects any further orders this year. Also, whether I could obtain 40 or 50 townships to lay out and subdivide, and if so at what price per mile. I formerly spent ten years of my life in surveying public lands, Indian boundary lands and State boundaries in Michigan and Wisconsin, and no surveys have ever been more faithfully or more accurately made in America than those of mine. Every line was run by myself personally, and in running them I have walked in the woods more than 50,000 miles. The boundary between Illinois and Wisconsin is one of these lines and was established by me as commissioner on the part of the United States. The meridian running north from the surveys in Illinois and crossing the Mississippi at the Rock river rapid and recrossing it again near the mouth of Fever river and passing near the town of Galena and thence on to the Wisconsin river is another. Most of the mining country in Wisconsin was surveyed by me as well as a large portion of the State of Michigan on the eastern side of the lake. I have not the pleasure of an acquaintance of the present Surveyor General of Wisconsin and Iowa, and am not sure that I know his name, but I believe Col. Wilson, formerly of New Hampshire, holds the office. When in the Senate I carried through the bill for the establishment

of the office and secured the appointment of my friend, A. G. Ellis, the first incumbent; since that time I have lost sight of the change of officers.

(35.) To Douglass Houghton, June 11, 1843.—The State salt well is now the depth of 876 feet, which is 32 feet deeper than it was on March 31. To cover my actual expenses incurred in sinking this last 32 feet I must receive in awards the price of $26 per foot; the next 30 feet will probably cost about $32 per foot if we meet with no accidents. Everything is in good order and works well now, but the depth of the well is so great that our pumps are very slow.

(36.) To Douglass Houghton, July 30, 1843.—Advising him that the State salt well has become hopelessly obstructed. The only way to remedy it would be to begin back at the top of the rock in rimming it out large enough to put in a sheath tube down to and below where the well crumbles and caves in.

(37.) To Rev. M. Hoyt, of Ionia, Aug. 3, 1843.—Agreeing to relinquish any interest he may have to any lot not already sold, provided an Episcopal church building be erected, commodious and respectable looking, costing at least three hundred dollars.

(38.) To O. P. Lacey, Aug. 2, 1843.—I am much gratified by the expression of the preference which you entertain and which you suppose the people of Berrien county to entertain for me for the nomination of Congressman for this district to be made by the convention to assemble at Battle Creek on the 12th of next month, and as you desire it I will state explicitly and frankly my own feelings and views in regard to it. The nomination I consider in many respects desirable and I should be glad to receive it if a clear majority of the Democratic party of the district prefer me to any other person, but I have not sought and do not intend to seek it. I take it for granted that whenever the party to which we belong want my services they will let me know it. Until they do so I mean to attend to my own business. I understand that this county, Ionia and Ottawa will send delegates favorable to me and Gen. A. F. Bolden and Judge Moody of Jackson, informed me two or three weeks ago that that county would do the same. Farther than this I have not heard for I have had no correspondence with any person on the subject previously to the receipt of your letter last evening. Do you know anything of the probable action of the Democrats of Van Buren, Cass, St. Joseph, Kalamazoo or Calhoun counties? I would like to have you inform me what it will be. My own impression is that living as I do in a remote and thinly settled portion of the district I can hardly expect support enough to give me a majority in the convention; but it is possible it may be otherwise. I shall therefore not be disappointed, let the result be what it may.

(39.) To A. P. Stinson, Aug. 21, 1843.—Your letter informing me that the Democrats of Cass and Berrien counties have nominated for Congress my friend, General Fitzgerald, and expressing the hope and belief that if uncommitted to any other and not a candidate myself, his nomination would receive my support and the support of this portion of our Congressional district, was received by the last mail. In reply, I have to say that I am so far committed that I have said to my friends here and elsewhere who have expressed a wish to bring my name before the convention that I would consent to their doing so only on condition that when the convention meets it shall appear that my nomination would be more satisfactory than that of any other man. I have very little reason to suppose that this will be the case and am prepared to support cordially and zealously any nomination that may be made by our party, and none more cordially than that of General Fitzgerald if he should be the successful candidate.

(40.) To William A. Richmond and H. P. Yale, Sept. 10, 1843.—As you are the delegates from this county to the Congressional convention which is to meet at Battle Creek on the 12th inst., and understand my views and feelings in relation to the presentation of my name to the convention for a nomination, I hereby give you full authority to act for me as my friend in reference to that matter, and shall consider myself bound by your action whatever it may be.

(41.) To A. P. Stinson, Sept., 1843.—Expressing appreciation of what Berrien county had done for him in the Congressional convention and gratitude for the friendly course of General Fitzgerald. In regard to presidential candidates for the next campaign he is equally friendly toward Van Buren, Calhoun, Johnson and Cass; knows them all personally, and is certain the government would be safe with either. Letter is badly faded.

(42.) To Gen. J. Burdick, Sept. 25, 1843.—Appreciates the honor conferred upon him by the late convention, an honor that he hardly expected. Now that he is in the field he wants to be elected and urges the necessity of getting out the full Democratic vote. Letter badly faded.

(43.) To General Fitzgerald, Sept. 26, 1843.—I had the gratification to receive by last mail your favor of the 19th inst., and I assure you that the friendly feeling therein expressed is most cordially reciprocated by me. I was not desirous to be brought before the convention as a candidate for the nomination, and should have been much more reluctant had I known of your nomination by Cass and Berrien counties before I gave permission to my friends to use my name. There is no man in the State whose good opinion and friendship I value more highly than yours and I would not willingly have done or suffered to have done anything in opposition to your views and interest. I am glad that no collision has taken place that can interrupt the friendly relations always existing between us, but that on the contrary our friendly correspondence is renewed after so long a suspension. I shall get, I think, something more than a party vote in this part of the district, but the election this fall is one of the most important that can ever occur, being for Governor and Legislature as well as for Congressmen, and I fear the Whigs will come to the polls much stronger than our friends expect, especially as the Legislature will elect a successor to Federal Pet Porter. We must see that our people all turn out and vote or we shall be beaten. If successful now I do not expect nor do I desire to be a candidate for re-election next year, and this may as well be understood now as ever. * * You say your part of the country is being flooded with the Advertiser Extra. I cannot learn that the paper is sent here at all and should like to see some of the numbers. * * * I am greatly obliged to you for doing justice to my efforts in favor of appropriations for the harbor at St. Joseph. I made the first survey and obtained from Congress the first appropriation for that work, if I remember correctly, and I think I obtained the second appropriation. The work must, of course, be completed and works of a similar character should be commenced immediately at the mouth of the Kalamazoo river and at the mouth of the Grand. * * * All the property in St. Joseph which you purchased for me and I paid for with money obtained from Isaac Bronson, I reconveyed or rather conveyed to his executors, and they have, besides, my farms in Kalamazoo county, this county and at Lyons to pay the balance that I was owing them on account of investments made for Isaac Bronson. These investments and my guarantee to refund the money invested and interest, over and above all costs and taxes, ruined me. I have to be sure been helped down the hill a good deal by being endorser and surety for my friends, but my dealings

with the Bronsons injured me more than anything else. It will require ten years of diligent attention to business and the strictest economy on my part to enable me to pay my debts. I have been hard at work since 1839 to effect this object, but make slow progress. * * *

(44.) To Dr. Alexander H. Stevens, New York, Oct. 8, 1843.—Introducing Dr. Charles Shepard of Grand Rapids, who goes to New York to improve himself in his profession.

(45.) To Edwin F. Johnson, Arthur Bronson, and Charles Butler, New York city, introducing Dr. Shepard.

(46.) To George Dexter, Ionia, Oct. 14, 1843.—Advising him that if elected, he will in relation to the division of the Grand river land district or the removal of the Ionia land office be guided as in all other matters relating to local matters, involving no sacrifice of principle, by the wishes of a majority of his constituents.

(47.) To John Bartow, Flint, Oct. 17, 1843.— * * * I am much gratified to learn that Mr. Hunt is certain of his election. If I should be elected, as I trust I shall be, it will give me great pleasure to know that I am to have him for one of my colleagues. Mr. McClelland, I am informed by a late letter from his district, is sure of being chosen, so that Michigan will probably present in the House of Representatives an unbroken Democratic front. I regret that we cannot say the same of the Senate, but we must bide our time.

(48.) To David C. Skerrett, Philadelphia, Oct. 18, 1843.—In answer to your circular asking the preferences of the Democrats of this county and State for a candidate for the presidency at the next election, Mr. Van Buren is the choice of a majority of the Democrats of this county, and next to him General Cass or Mr. Calhoun, I cannot say which. A. D. Rathbone, Robert Hilton, Sylvester Granger, James Scribner and William A. Richmond are friendly to his nomination and reside in this village. General H. H. Comstock, of Comstock, Kalamazoo county; William A. Bradley of Marshall; J. Eastman Johnson, of Centerville, and John S. Bagg and A. Ten Eyck, of Detroit, are also friendly to the nomination of Mr. Van Buren. There is very little said in the western part of Michigan on the subject of presidential election, and the most conciliatory spirit prevails in relation to it.

(49.) To O. P. Lacey, Oct. 27, 1843.—Denying, or having no recollection of being the author or mover, as charged by some person on the reserve in Berrien county, of that provision of a late pre-emption law which exempts from its operation all lands located by the authority of any state for educational purposes. * * * But if it were true that I had introduced this provision into the laws, it seems to me that the pre-emption claimants ought not to oppose me on that account, for I presume it will be readily admitted that a member of the United States Senate should prefer the interests of his whole State to the interest of any man or set of men in it in all cases where the two come in conflict, and leave the State to protect the rights and interests of its citizens as it ought. It is well known to all who know anything of my opinions and feelings on the subject that I have been the constant, steady, uniform, active and zealous advocate of the policy of granting pre-emption rights from the passage of the act of May 29, 1830, down to the present time. I speak only in self defense and not boastingly when I assert that no man in this State, and but few in the Union, have done more than I have done to promote the interest of pre-emption claimants. I have spent time and money freely for that purpose, and have by perseverance and zeal in their favor sometimes subjected

myself to the abuse and reproaches of their opponents. They may see a specimen of the sneers of their opponents in a speech of Henry Clay delivered in the United States Senate January 20, 1838, an extract of which is published in the Democratic Free Press of the 23d inst. In return for all this, I have never been benefited either directly or indirectly to the amount of one cent; and now I am informed that some of the pre-emptionists on your reserve will oppose my election and support the election of my opponent, who is an avowed supporter of this same Henry Clay, because somebody has said that I sustained the interests of the State in preference to their interests. Surely this is a strange way of supporting their friends.

(50.) To A. L. Roof, Ionia county, Oct. 28, 1843.—Replying to resolutions adopted by the convention assembled at Portland to consider the improvement of Grand river, * * * I have to say that the project of improving the navigation of Grand river as far up as the village of Jackson so as to make it navigable for boats, meets my cordial approbation, and will receive from me every aid that it may be in my power to give. I consider this work one of the most important that can be undertaken in our State, and in the event of my election to Congress it is my intention to do all I can in that body to procure a grant of lands sufficient to complete it; and from the fact that the relative strength of the western states is now much greater in the House of Representatives than it ever has been, I have strong hopes that something may be done in the matter very much to our advantage.

(51.) To Allen Goodrich. Centerville, Nov. 14, 1843.— * * * My majority as reported in the counties of Ottawa, Kent, Ionia, Allegan and Barry is 450, and in all the counties in the district, excepting Cass and Eaton, which I have not yet heard from, it is about 2,200, which is at least three times as great as I expected. In this county, Kent, where I thought I should do exceedingly well to get 100, I received 260 majority, and in Ionia county, which was set down as a Whig county and where the Whigs exerted themselves to the very utmost, my majority was 83. Your county has done nobly by us, and I can at least speak for myself when I say that we feel under the strongest obligations for its generous support. Gov. Barry's majority must be not far from 6,000 in the State, and so far as I have heard there is not a Whig Senator elected. We have glory enough for one election. Our forces are everywhere victorious. But we must follow up the advantage we have gained and prepare at once for the great battle of 1844. * * * He encloses blank book in which he asks that the names of all persons in that vicinity may be put down to whom documents and other material may be sent.

(52.) To his father, Nov. 16, 1843.—Having just been elected to Congress from the second Congressional district in Michigan, by a majority of about 2,300 over my Whig competitor, Joseph R. Williams, of St. Joseph county, I shall avail myself of the franking privilege to write you somewhat oftener than I have been in the habit of doing since my term in the United States Senate expired. As Congress meets on Monday, the 4th of December, two weeks from next Monday, I shall have to leave here within seven or eight days to be in Washington to take my seat at the beginning of the session. My salt works, which are now nearly completed and ready for operation, will be left in charge of George A. Robinson and G. S. Dean, the former keeping the books and accounts and the latter looking after the works. Lucius A. Thayer will attend school at the academy in this village during the coming winter and Lucretia will take care of his clothes, etc. * * * Truman H. Lyon keeps the Mansion House, near the foot of Monroe street, down in the middle of the village, about 100 rods from my office, and is doing and is likely to do a very good

business. Sidney Smith has just been elected treasurer of this, Kent county, an office worth some $300 per annum, and will remove here from Ada in a few weeks and occupy a house about half way between my office and Truman Lyon's, so that we shall be all together in this village, with the exception of David Irish, who is county clerk of Ionia county, and J. W. Tabor, who resides on his farm in the west part of Clinton county. * * * I am myself still very much in debt, but I think I shall be able to get out in about seven or eight years and have a comfortable property. I have known what it is to be rich as well as poor, and with reference to happiness, do not think there is so much difference as most people imagine between the two states of poverty and riches. I have lived long enough and had experience enough to know that, constituted as I am, all the real happiness that I can ever enjoy in the present life must arise from the consciousness of having done good in the world, either to my friends, my country or mankind at large so that the world may be improved in some way and to some extent at least by my agency and exertion. I desire to know when I die, and before I die, that I have not lived in vain; and in all that I do, I keep this object constantly in view. I am, therefore, less desirous to be rich than to be useful; and it does not grieve me to be poor so long as I know that my labor is not lost to the world. If my life and health should be spared for twelve or fifteen years longer, I know I can be richer than I have ever been—I can be worth at least one or two hundred thousand dollars; but I do not regard such an amount of property as at all desirable for any purpose other than to benefit mankind. * * *

(53.) To Samuel Etheridge, Coldwater, Nov. 19, 1843.—Acknowledging receipt of letter and advertisement of his patent mill pick. * * * Daniel Ball, a merchant of this place and owner of a steamboat and other boats running on Grand river, and also owner of the plaster mill on Plaster Creek, two miles below here, talks of building a flouring mill here next year, and E. D. Bostwick, of this place, who was candidate for the office of Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Philo C. Fuller two years ago, is now erecting a grist mill of two runs of stone on Plaster Creek, about three miles distant, and is about to erect another on Bear Creek which falls into Grand river on its north side about 14 miles above this place. Mr. Ball, William A. Richmond and Mr. Bostwick would probably all be glad to correspond with you in relation to the purchase of burr mill stones and mill picks of your invention. * * *

(54.) To William Lewis, Nov. 21, 1843.—Advising him that an unforeseen accident had occurred to prevent the making of a load of salt for him by the 20th, but he hoped to have the salt ready in a few days and would not leave for Washington until the works were in operation.

(55.) To A. Roberts & Son, Nov. 23, 1843.—Acknowledging the gift of a "very beautiful and excellent coat" which "fits to a T and is just the article that I happen to be most in need of."

(56.) To Miss Lucretia Lyon, Dec. 22, 1843.—From Buffalo, telling of his trip to Washington thus far. He left Grand Rapids on the 11th, stayed that night at McNaughton's; Tuesday night reached Kalamazoo; Wednesday night at Battle Creek; Thursday at Jackson, and Friday reached Detroit, where he remained until Monday. He took the stage through Canada and found the roads muddy and traveling hard and arrived at Buffalo Friday evening, the 22d. He will leave on the cars the next morning and will reach Washington probably by the 27th, going by way of New York.

NOTE.—The following letters are all dated from Washington, unless otherwise indicated.

(57.) To H. L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, Dec. 31, 1843.—Giving crop conditions in Michigan for 1843:—Wheat, the crop, taking the whole State together, is greater than last year by at least ten per cent. Barley, about the same as last year, little raised. Oats, crop injured by cold weather in the spring and the excessive heat in the latter part of June and July, and less than last year by ten per cent. Rye, about the same as last year, little raised. Buckwheat, about the same as last year. Indian corn, better than last year by five per cent. Potatoes and hay, about the same. Sugar, almost an entire failure, at least eighty per cent less than last year, because the snow was so deep the ground did not freeze.

(58.) To Howell Cobb, chairman of committee on Mileage, Jan. 8, 1844.—Giving mileage from Grand Rapids to Washington. From Grand Rapids by stage to Kalamazoo 65 miles, to Detroit 118 miles, to Buffalo 379 miles, to Albany 340 miles, to New York 151 and to Washington 236, a total of 1,319 miles. The allowance for mileage is 40 cents, and the amount due, to Washington and return, is $1055.20.

(59.) To T. Carroll, Jan. 11, 1844.—Sending him some grape cuttings which he brought for him from William Hale of Detroit. The same grape grows wild on the sand hills on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, and he has seen hundreds of bushels of them within a small area.

(60.) To Alfred Bronson, Jan. 19, 1844.—I called on the commissioner of Indian affairs today and had a long conversation with him on the subject of the purchase of Isle Royal and the other islands in the American waters of Lake Superior; and learn from him that Robert Stuart, when he was here last fall, was instructed to visit Lake Superior and if possible procure the formal assent of the Indians, who claim the islands, to the treaty which he made at La Pointe, Oct. 11, 1842. If this should be obtained as Mr. Stuart thinks it will, the whole difficulty will be overcome: Mr. Crawford says the United States certainly paid for the islands and supposed they purchased them from those who had a right to sell. * * *.

(61.) To P. Marantette, Jan. 19, 1844.—Advising him that he will do everything possible to procure the allowance of his claim of $4,570.50 for articles furnished the Pottawattamie Indians at a time when they were destitute and could not emigrate without them, but the case appears to be a hard one; it is in the hands of the committee and if a way can be found for its allowance it will be paid.

(62.) To William Woodbridge, Jan. 20, 1844.—Giving estimate of lands the State would receive if Senate bill No. 17 were enacted:—The distance from Ann Arbor to St. Joseph is 137 miles and the amount of land grant for the Detroit and St. Joseph railroad would be 438,400 acres. The distance from Rochester, Oakland county, to Grand Rapids is about 130 miles and the grant for the Clinton-Kalamazoo canal would be 416,000 acres. If the canal terminated at the head of navigation of Kalamazoo river the grant would be about 447,000 acres, and if it be made to branch from Rochester so as to terminate both at Grand Rapids and at Allegan, as contemplated by some of the engineers, the distance would be 195 miles and the land grant 624,000 acres.

(63.) To S. M. Johnson, Jan. 20, 1844.—The position and feeling of the executive and of his particular confidential friends here seem to have been a good deal changed since the meeting of Congress and the organization of the House of Repre-

sentatives. The election of a Van Buren speaker and of the editor of the Globe to be printer to the House was not at all in accordance with the wishes or expectations of the President; and it is believed here now that the recommendations of Democrats have very little or no influence upon him, and it is openly avowed by the heads of all departments that no removals will be made from office on political grounds. * * * It is almost certain that Van Buren will be nominated next May for the presidency, and between Van Buren and Clay the President will probably favor Clay. He may do nothing beyond maintaining an armed neutrality between the two champions of the two great parties, which position will relieve him to a great extent from the annoying applications for office from either side. * * * Will endeavor to secure Johnson's appointment as solicitor of the land office. * * * The President today nominated Henry A. Wise as minister to Brazil in place of Proffit of Indiana. * * *

(64.) To J. W. Tyson, Second Assistant Postmaster General, Jan. 21, 1844.—When I left home I promised the postmaster and people interested in the Kent post-office, in Kent county, Michigan, where I reside, that I would on my arrival here endeavor to have the name of that office changed to Grand Rapids so as to correspond with the name of the village in which it is located. The office was established and received its name before the village of Grand Rapids began to grow much. The village now has upwards of 1,000 inhabitants, and persons abroad are often much puzzled to know how to direct their letters on account of the village bearing one name and the postoffice there another. I beg leave therefore to recommend a change of name, and that the office be called Grand Rapids postoffice.

(65.) To William A. Richmond, Jan. 21, 1844.—Long letter regarding national politics. * * * The attention of many of the friends of Calhoun, Buchanan and Johnson would have been turned toward Cass if our own State had supported him; but the proceedings of our State convention forbid their looking in that direction, and they have now no other course left but to make up their minds to support Van Buren, or to sit down and do nothing. In this way Van Buren is all the time growing and I can see that within the past fortnight many of his friends who have expressed great fears of the result of the election in the east in the event of his nomination, begin to feel somewhat encouraged. * * *

(66.) To E. H. Lothrop, Jan. 23, 1844.—Congratulating him upon his almost unanimous election as Speaker of the House in the Michigan Legislature.

(67.) To Sam'l Yorke At Lee, Jan. 24, 1844.—I thank you for your letter of the 9th giving the results of our State convention at Ann Arbor. It turned out as I had no doubt it would, very strong for Van Buren, and I am very glad that delegates directly from the people were appointed to attend the Baltimore convention, instead of making the members of Congress delegates as some had proposed. I am very glad to learn, also, that there was so much harmony and good feeling manifested. Its good effect will be soon shown I trust at the next fall election. If we could see a little more good feeling and confidence and determination here it would be gratifying. One-half of our Democrats here are predicting that Van Buren will be defeated, and the other half are dull and lifeless. I wish the nomination was over. They would then make up their minds one way or another and we should know what to depend upon. Mr. Tyler still expects to be a candidate and I am informed that he does not by any means despair of being elected. What course Mr. Calhoun will take is not yet known.

(68.) To J. W. Tyson, Second Assistant Postmaster, Jan. 25, 1844.—Enclosing petition from citizens in Texas, Kalamazoo county, asking for the establishment of a postoffice there and recommending the appointment of Oliver C. Hill as postmaster.

(69.) To John McLean, Jan. 25, 1844.— * * * As I anticipated when I saw you in New York, our State convention was strongly in favor of Van Buren, evidently because they felt strong enough to elect anybody and desired to fight the battle of 1840 over again under the same leader, but if they considered the result of the contest doubtful and if it should appear to be probable that Gen. Cass could get more votes in the United States than Mr. Van Buren, I have no doubt but a large majority of the Democrats of our State would be glad to see him taken up and nominated. I suppose, however, that the matter is settled. Mr. Van Buren must be the nominee of the national convention unless he should die or voluntarily withdraw. Do you suppose there is any chance of his withdrawal? I confess the signs look unfavorable, whether he should withdraw or not, although I think either Cass or Johnson could succeed. Everybody here seems to be so cautious that I can learn nothing certain of the real opinions and intentions of the members of Congress and the executive officers, further than can be inferred from their public acts. We do not yet know what course Mr. Calhoun and his friends will pursue. If any considerable portion of them prefer Clay to Van Buren we shall of course lose South Carolina in the event of Mr. Van Buren being our leader, and probably also Virginia, to say nothing of the other southern states. I shall await with some anxiety for further developments in that quarter. * * *

(70.) To Thomas C. Legate, Jan. 26, 1844.— * * * I board this winter with my two colleagues at Mrs. Hamilton's, a few doors west of Mrs. Polk's, with Senator Woodbury and family and a large mass of members, among whom is Hon. John Wentworth of Chicago, one of your Illinois representatives. Your delegation is an able one and much respected; and the west generally, with the exception of the 2d Michigan, is at least as well and ably represented as any other portion of our Union. * * *

(71.) To H. P. Yale, Jan. 26, 1844.—Telling him of the political situation. The President is intent upon a nomination, is utterly hostile to Van Buren and will make no appointments of Van Buren men to office, and looks with suspicion upon Democrats who are supposed to favor Van Buren. On this account the Michigan delegation has little influence with him, but this may wear away when the President becomes better acquainted with them.

(72.) To Darius B. Cook, Jan. 27, 1844.— * * * Mr. Weller of Ohio, yesterday morning, before the meeting of the House, met a reporter for one of the Baltimore papers by the name of Shriver, back of the Speaker's chair, and being grossly insulted by him, knocked him down on the spot. Today it is rumored that Shriver, whose family in Maryland, are very respectable, has challenged Weller and that Cost Johnson was the bearer of the challenge.

(73.) To D. Goodwin, Jan. 28, 1844.—Suggesting that he buy a plaster bust of Van Buren to be placed in Democratic headquarters in Detroit. They are made by Samuel Goodwin of New York, and his advertisement is enclosed, the bust to cost $10 in plaster or $20 in imperishable Roman stone.

(74.) To Edward Lyon, Feb. 2, 1844.— * * * I pay $9 a week for board, lodging, room, fire and light, and 25 cents a week for bootblacking. When I was

here four years ago the same board, etc., at the same house would have cost at least $12 or $14 a week. The price has fallen about 25 per cent and is now 25 per cent too high, as everything but flour is as low here as in Detroit. * * * *

(75.) To E. J. Foote, Feb. 2, 1844.—I shall take an opportunity to have a conversation with Gen. C. M. Reed on the subject of having one of the upper lake steamboats touch at the mouth of the Grand river of Lake Michigan once in two or four weeks during the season. In reply to your question about lands near Grand Rapids, I answer, good lands can be purchased within 3 or 4 miles of Grand Rapids for from $2.50 to $6 per acre according to situation. Within two miles of Grand Rapids I know very little land that can be bought as low as $6 per acre, but within ten miles there is plenty to be had for $1.25. Farms that have been improved bring more, according to the value of the improvements, but no improved farm would sell for more than $10 or $11 per acre unless it lay near the village so as to be valuable for other purposes than farming.

(76.) To N. Dunham, Feb. 6, 1844.—You give me the first intimation that I have received from any quarter that I should be thought of for the Senate of the United States next winter; and but for the fact that I know you understand the feelings of the political men and the motives for political action in our State quite as well if not better than any other man in it, I should think you were deceived. I have made no calculations on ever being a candidate for the office of Senator, but I do not deny that I should be inclined to make some effort in that direction if I thought there was any considerable degree of certainty of success; for nothing would gratify me more than to be reinstated in the place from which I was thrust out, or rather left out in 1839. But enough of this for the present. The Democrats are gaining confidence and becoming better and better united here every day. The Calhoun, Buchanan and Johnson men, now that their leaders have withdrawn, all go in zealously for the nominee of the Baltimore convention, or in other words for Van Buren, and a much better feeling prevails than I have seen before.

(77.) To Sam'l Yorke At Lee, Feb. 18, 1844.— * * * I saw Col. Benton in the Senate today and talked to him about you. He says he receives so many letters and papers from all parts of the United States that if he were to devote 18 out of 24 hours every day to opening and reading them he could hardly do it; and it is utterly impossible for him to answer or to attempt to acknowledge the receipt of more than one in twenty of them. He desired me to present his best regards to you and to thank you for having written him, which I promised to do. * * * *

(78.) To the Secretary of War, Feb. 18. 1844.—Michael Dousman had, under the laws of the United States, a land claim confirmed to him on the Island of Bois Blanc, which claim was surveyed in 1827 or 1828, but he has never been able to obtain a patent for his land because it is represented on the plats in the general land office as having been reserved for military purposes, or rather for the purpose of furnishing fuel for the garrison at Michillimackinac. I surveyed the Island of Bois Blanc and I can state that the reservation of Dousman's claim was of no utility for furnishing fuel for the fuel had been all or very nearly all cut off from it before the survey was made. Maj. Alex. R. Thompson, the officer in command at Mackinac when the reservation was made, has certified that Dousman's claim was not wanted for the use of the garrison, and I am informed that his certificate to that effect was enclosed in a letter from the general land office addressed to the Secretary of War on the 25th of January, 1833, which letter contains a full statement of the case. * * * Asks that the matter be looked up and finally decided.

(79.) To W. C. Dusenberg, ,Feb. 19, 1844.—Naming as good collecting lawyers in his district:—Henry S. Jennings, Hastings, Barry county; A. F. Bell, Ionia; Martin & Johnson, John Ball and A. D. Rathbone, Grand Rapids; J. Eastman Johnson, Centerville, St. Joseph county.

(80.) To W. S. Sherwood, Feb. 29, 1844.—Telling of his salt making operations at Grand Rapids. * * * As you have joined H. R. Williams in the purchase of the plaster mills of D. Ball, I hope you will go to Grand Rapids to reside. I should be much gratified to have you there for a neighbor. I should think the purchase at $8,000 a very good one, though as there is no snow there this winter you will not be able to sell much plaster until spring. * * * If Van Buren and Clay would be the candidates of their respective parties the Whigs have two chances to one in their favor, and this, I believe, is the candid opinion of the best informed members of Congress here, Democrats as well as Whigs, though of course we do not say so except among our friends. Either Cass or Johnson would be much stronger than Van Buren. Cass, if nominated, would get the votes of the following states, which Van Buren cannot get:—Maine 9 electoral votes, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 26, Delaware 3, Maryland 8, Louisiana 6, Ohio 23, Indiana 11, making 93, to say nothing about Michigan which Cass can carry by a majority of 8,000, and it is doubtful whether we can carry it for Van Buren at all. * * * There is no state in which Cass would not run as well as Van Buren. He can be elected, but Van Buren, I am sorry to say, I fear cannot, though I would as soon support him as Cass.

(81.) To S. M. Johnson, March 3, 1844.— * * * You will see by the Madisonian that the President is doing just what you anticipated he would do—set up for himself in the coming contest. There is to be a Tyler convention at Baltimore on the 4th Monday of May, the same day that our Democratic convention meets, and it is appointed for that time and place for the purpose of facilitating some arrangement with the Van Buren convention for the benefit of Tyler and his friends—at least it so appears to me. They think, or say they think, that Van Buren's friends, when they see that the election of Van Buren is impossible will be willing to go for some other candidate and perhaps for Tyler himself. * * * You will see by the papers that a terrible accident has occurred here which has filled the country with gloom; but it will soon be forgotten, and we shall all be as careless and selfish and heartless as ever, until the grave closes over us, and we in our turn are forgotten also. * * *

(82.) To Hiram Moore, March 3, 1844.— * * * Your patent is dated March 28, 1836. On the 21st of June, 1834, Cyrus McCormick of Rockbridge county, Virginia, took out a patent for cutting grain by a machine with a sickle edge saw, like the one you use and operated in a similar manner. It is said to do a good business in Virginia at the present time. March 16, 1841, A. Churchill of Geneva, Ill., patented a harvesting and threshing machine. May 4, 1841, Damon A. Church of Friendship, N. Y., patented a machine for harvesting, threshing and cleaning. April 6, 1842, Charles Brown and S. Crané patented their "improved harvester," which cuts by means of revolving scythes, and on the 12th of March, 1842, Jonathan Read of the state of New York, now of the city of Washington, patented a machine to cut grain with a scalloped sickle edge, just like one that you use. There are several others besides those that I have mentioned, but I have given you the principle ones. I should think your safest plan would be to patent your improvements separately. I fear you have been anticipated in some of them, though I have not had leisure to examine very carefully.

(83.) To W. D. Wilson, March 7, 1844.— * * * Your books, the Life of Tyler, are safe in my room and no one seems inclined to borrow, steal or disturb them in any way.

SECTION VII.

NOTE.—Unless otherwise stated, the following letters are written from Washington, and many of them are abbreviated, giving the substance only.

(1.) To C. A. Wickliff, Postmaster General, March 9, 1844.—Enclosing petition of 236 citizens of Kent county, asking that mail be sent from Battle Creek to Milwaukee by way of the mouth of the Grand river and steamboat. This would give Milwaukee mail from the east at least 24 hours sooner than at present and would facilitate trade relations between the two shores of the lake.

(2.) To J. W. Tyson, Second Assistant Postmaster General, March 9, 1844.—Enclosing petition of 85 persons, comprising a large portion of the male population, asking that a postoffice be established in the town of Walker, Kent county, with James Davis as postmaster.

(3.) To Charles E. Stuart, March 12, 1844.—The committee on public lands in the Senate to whom the nomination of Mr. Gilbert was referred reported against confirming him, but their report has not yet been taken up. The policy of the majority is to postpone action on Democratic nominations as long as possible for the purpose in many cases of getting pledges from the nominees or their friends that they will not oppose the Whigs at the coming election. Mr. Gilbert had better get his Whig friends in Kalamazoo to write to Messrs. Woodbridge and Porter in his favor. * * *

(4.) To C. A. Wickliffe, March 13, 1844.—Recommending Samuel Prescott as postmaster of Henrietta, Jackson county.

(5.) To Thomas C. Sheldon, March 13, 1844.—I regret to hear from you that there is a possibility of the Whigs gaining the ascendancy in our State next fall. They will not if we do our duty. We must keep Michigan in line let other states go as they may. I have no doubt that our party would be much more certain of success with Gen. Cass as our candidate than with Mr. Van Buren and this I believe has been the opinion of more than three-fourths of all the Democratic members of Congress; but a majority of the Democrats confidently believe we can elect Mr. Van Buren and there are therefore very few of them disposed to give him up. He will unquestionably be nominated and be our candidate unless the elections should go against us in New Hampshire, Connecticut and Virginia. If these states should go against us at the spring elections the prospects of defeat would be so certain that Mr. Van Buren could not desire to be run. Mr. Van Buren has a reasonable certainty of receiving the vote of ten states, including Michigan, giving 110 electoral votes, Mr. Clay has about the same prospect of receiving the vote of ten states, giving 80 votes, and there are six states, giving 80 votes, which are doubtful. The whole number of electoral votes is 275, number necessary to choice 138. General Cass, if he were to be taken up, could carry all the states that Mr. Van Buren can and all the doubtful ones besides, making in all 190 electoral votes. How many of the doubtful states Mr. Van Buren will get I will not pretend to say. I have presented this view to many of our Democratic friends and they generally agree with me, but they think that Mr. Van Buren is the choice of so large a majority of the party that it is too late now to change and concentrate public opinion on another candidate.

(6.) To Sidney Smith, Feb. 21, 1844.—Informing him of the appointment of Nelson Robinson as postmaster of Ada.

(7.) To Geo. A. Robinson, March 20, 1844.—Giving directions for tubing the salt well with wooden tube, as he is unable to buy copper tube. * * * I hope you have got the evaporating works ready for use and that you are using them every day when they can be used to advantage. You ought not to attempt to boil the brine until it is reduced down within a few degrees of saturation. When you have the lower reservoir filled four feet deep with brine reduced to within 20 degrees of saturation you will have 72,000 gallons which will yield 2,000 bushels of salt. You can then as soon as it may settle pump it up over the brush for the last time and let it fall into the upper reservoir. Then you will be ready to start your fires and make about 80 bushels of salt per day, feeding the middle and back pans with the strong clear brine while the weak brine from the well is running through the front pans into the lower reservoir to be pumped up over the brush again and again until you have the lower reservoir filled with the strong brine as before. * * *

(8.) To A. L. Deming, Homer, Mich., March 23, 1844.—Advising him that Landon Andrews of Calhoun county had been granted a pension for Revolutionary war services at the rate of $40.22, to date from March 4, 1831.

(9.) To H. L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, March 28, 1844.—Enclosing to him a letter from John Norvell in which Mr. Norvell asks for some seeds. "Watermelon, muskmelon, cantilope and the other varieties of the same product will be very acceptable. Beet and pumpkin seed, the largest kind, cauliflower and broccoli seed will be extremely acceptable and also the cabbage head lettuce."

(10.) To General Thomas Fitzgerald, March 29, 1844.— * * * . I desire to thank you most sincerely for your letters of January 27 and the 7th inst., and to assure you that I appreciate most highly the friendly sentiments therein expressed. I cannot tell now whether I shall desire to be a candidate for re-election next fall or not, or whether I shall desire any other public station at any time hereafter; for I sometimes think I will retire from public life and devote myself to mending my broken fortunes. But whether I remain in Congress longer than my present term or not, I shall be glad while I do remain to render you any service in my power. * * * It was my intention to get a new collection district formed on the east coast of Lake Michigan, but the committee on commerce think the trade of the different towns there is not sufficient to justify it. They have, however, reported a bill for a new collector's office at Chicago, and I presume it will become a law. The bills reported by the committee on commerce for the improvement of harbors and rivers, where works have been commenced, are to be taken up next week. I could not get any provision inserted for new works, but the provision for continuing the work at St. Joseph will give $20,000 for that purpose, for the ensuing year, if the bill should pass. I have introduced a separate bill for Kalamazoo and Grand river, but I do not believe that I shall be able to get it passed, because the House is adverse to commencing new works which all experience shows will cost a great deal more than is estimated to complete them. For example, take the work at St. Joseph. The appropriations for this work have already amounted to $111,113, and if the bill now before the House should pass will amount, at the close of the present session, to $131,113. I should be glad to have your opinion as to the necessity for any further appropriation for St. Joseph harbor after this year; for as long as this work requires appropriations I fear we shall not be able to get an appropriation for any other point on the eastern shore of the lake. Please say to Col. Witteninger that in

accordance with your urgent request and his own solicitation, I have procured the appointment of his son as a cadet in the United States military academy. * * * I note what you say on the subject of the presidentail election and I approve of the course which you propose to pursue. It is important that we preserve union and harmony in our ranks, and those who make the greatest sacrifice of interest and feeling without any sacrifice of principle to attain it, deserve to be rewarded. We must endeavor to keep the Democratic party in the ascendant in Michigan, let other states go as they may. Our prospects throughout the union are rather doubtful, but they are growing better rather than worse; and it is perfectly certain that Mr. Clay cannot be elected if our party can unite cordially upon any man to oppose him. He has been defeated so many times that the Whig party cannot rally to his support with half the enthusiasm that they showed and felt in the campaign of 1840. But I fear we cannot unite cordially in support of the nominee of the Baltimore convention; and if we do not we shall certainly be defeated. There is every prospect of defeat in Connecticut next Monday in consequence of the Calhoun men being perfectly neutral and doing nothing, while what few Tyler men there are unite with the Whigs for the purpose of injuring Mr. Van Buren's prospects by making it appear that he is unpopular. The same course to some extent will be pursued in Virginia next month. If these elections go against us it will be difficult to inspire our friends with confidence enough to make them exert themselves for Mr. Van Buren, Gen. Cass or anybody else.

(11.) To Hon. N. Dunham, March 30, 1844.—I thank you for your two letters of the 28th ult. and 21st inst. on the subject of the next election of United States Senator. In the latter you inquire whether I have yet received any intimations on the subject from any other quarter, to which I reply in the affirmative. One or two persons have written to me proffering their support and I have written to them in reply that I cannot tell yet whether I shall desire to be a candidate or not. I will name them to you confidentially. One is Gen. Thomas Fitzgerald of St. Joseph, Berrien county, and the other Senator Wilson of Ann Arbor. Perhaps I am going too far in mentioning their names, but I am sure you will not repeat them. I have received intimations from other quarters that if our party should continue in the ascendant I might be brought forward for Governor or United States Senator, but I place very little reliance on some of the persons who have written me. The course that I am disposed to take in regard to the matter is to leave it to my friends and to make as many friends as I can; but I do not wish to be considered an expectant of either of the above named offices, for I know how uncertain are all hopes based on expectations of this sort. Can you furnish me with a correct list of the names and postoffice addresses of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of our State? I have not been able to obtain one.

(12.) To Gen. J. Burdick, March 31, 1844.—Asking him to make out a list of the prominent, active and influential Democrats in the different townships of Kalamazoo county to whom speeches and documents might be sent and enclosing a blank book for the purpose. * * * All that I can tell you about politics is that Van Buren and Clay are the only persons named or spoken of here as candidates of their respective parties and they will unquestionably both be nominated. We shall be beaten at the election in Connecticut which will take place tomorrow, and may be beaten in Virginia this spring, though I think we shall carry the latter both in the spring and fall. What are the prospects in Michigan?

(13.) To E. B. Bostwick, April 4, 1844.—A day or two ago I received from you a letter which I have this day filed in the postoffice department in favor of the estab-

lishment of a new postoffice in Kent county, to be called Canonsburg. I have requested the usual queries to be sent to the postmaster at Grand Rapids and when the answers are returned if there appears to be no objection the office will be established. Perhaps you had better get some of my Democratic friends to recommend the person named by you for postmaster, especially those living within the delivery of the office, if there be any such, for I should like to have their assent to a matter in which they are to be interested.

(14.) To Lewis Cass, April 6, 1844 (confidential).—In compliance with a request of the writer, I enclose herewith a letter just received from N. Niles, Esq., of New York. What friends have you in the Senate and in the house with whom Mr. McClelland and myself can confer confidentially on the subject of your nomination by the Baltimore convention? We have long entertained the opinion that you would be the strongest candidate that could be brought before the people in opposition to Mr. Clay and we are disposed to do what we can to effect that object.

(15.) To Right Rev. P. P. Lefevre, Bishop of Detroit, April 13, 1844.—I received some time ago a letter from you on the subject of the settlement of the conflicting missionary claims on Grand river, Michigan, which letter I enclosed to the Secretary of the Treasury on Feb. 19 last, after having in vain attempted to see him on the subject. I have not yet received any reply from him, but I learn from a letter received from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated the 9th inst., that the tract designated for the missionary societies, being lots 1, 2 and 3, in fractional section 25, township 7 north, range 12 west, Michigan, are to be sold under instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury so soon as the value of the improvements made upon those lots by both missionary societies shall be ascertained. I further learn from the same source that Robert Stuart of Detroit has been instructed to appoint an agent on the part of the United States who, with persons to be selected by the missionary societies, are to appraise the improvements made by them respectively and report their relative value to the government.

(16.) To Lewis Cass, April 12, 1844.—Doct. Martin, formerly one of the writers for the Globe, and a clerk who was turned out of office by Mr. Webster, has this day been nominated to the Senate as secretary of legation at Paris. You are aware, I suppose, that Charles G. Ferris, Esq., of New York, has been nominated for the office of collector of that port in place of Mr. Cartiss, removed. These nominations are both of them blows aimed at Mr. Webster and the former may perhaps also be aimed at you.

(17.) To A. L. Ely, April 13, 1844.—Your letter of the 20th ult. enclosing a petition signed by 64 citizens of Allegan asking for the establishment of a post route from Grand Rapids through Grandville and Allegan to Paw Paw in Van Buren county, is this day received and will be immediately presented to Congress. I have introduced a bill for the improvement of the entrances into the mouths of the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers and got it reported upon favorably by the committee on commerce in the House of Representatives, but being for new works it is doubtful whether it will pass.

(18.) To Isaac E. Crary, April 15, 1844.— * * * Dr. Houghton, who is here, says the supreme court of Michigan has lately given a decision which will have the effect to release every endorser in that State from all liability because the form of the certificate of protest or of the notice of protest in use there does not set forth the fact that the notes were presented at the proper time at the place where due and that payment was demanded and refused. The usual form he says

merely states that the note was protested for non-payment. * * * We shall probably adjourn about the 27th of next month and I shall see you early in June. Mr. Calhoun inquired very particularly after you the other day when I saw him and read to him your letter of the 23d, in which you speak of the tariff. He coincided fully with your views and thought them well expressed. It is certain that the present tariff will not be disturbed by the present Congress, and it is doubtful whether we can pass any bill for its modification through the House of Representatives. A motion to take up the subject today failed by a majority of eleven votes, though many of the members were absent, and among the number myself. I was at the War and Treasury Departments. In reply to your question about the Surveyor General's office, I answer that I have very little expectation of receiving the appointment because the present incumbent will follow the office if it is removed to Detroit, as he is a Tyler man, and because if there should be a vacancy there are others who would be more likely to succeed in obtaining the appointment than I should.

(19.) To Governor J. D. Doty, Wisconsin, April 22, 1844.— * * * The case of Mr. Horner was settled before I received your letter in his favor, and I therefore return it in compliance with your request. The commissioner of the general land office declined to notice the charges against Mr. Horner.

(20.) To S. M. Johnson, April 22, 1844.— * * * I note what you say of the political talk in the second congressional district with reference to the future. So far as I am interested or concerned in the matter I have determined to let things take their course, or at least not commit myself till I return and have an opportunity to consult with you and other friends as to the course which it will be best to pursue. We are going to try to take up the tariff bill in the house this morning and as it is necessary that all friends of the measure should be there precisely at 11 o'clock, I must be off.

(21.) To Geo. A. Robinson, April 23, 1844.—Enclosing power of attorney and authorizing him to do whatever may seem best in the matter of building a bridge across Grand river, favoring the Bridge street site.

(22.) To Auditor of the Treasury, St. Clair Clarke, April 27, 1844.—Urging the claim of Alanson L. Stewart, amounting to $600 to $900, for transporting the mails between Tecumseh and the mouth of the St. Joseph during the years 1829, 1830, 1831 and 1832.

(23.) To W. A. Richmond, April 27, 1844.—I thank you for your letter of the 12th inst. and will proceed to reply to some of the points of which it treats, taking them in the order named by you.

1st. As to my renomination—I received a few days ago a letter from J. Eastman Johnson, of Centreville, saying that my friends there desired to be informed as early as possible whether I would accept a renomination next fall. In reply I wrote him that I was in the hands of my friends to do with me as they saw fit, that I did not desire to stand in the way of abler and better men, but that if the Democrats of the second congressional district should think best to nominate me I should not decline. He seemed to think there would be no difficulty in my getting the delegation from that county.

2d. Texas—Mr. Clay, you will see, is out decidedly in a letter of three columns in the National Intelligencer against annexation, and there is said to be a letter from Mr. Van Buren in the city on the same subject, but it has not been published, and it is unknown which side he takes. My own views are that the interests

of the whole United States, taken collectively, would be promoted by the annexation of Texas as soon as we can get the consent of Mexico, but I doubt whether the interests of Michigan would be promoted by it and whether my constituents would be in favor of the measure, and I shall, therefore, if called to vote on the question at the present session, vote against it.

3d. Salt lands—I introduced and got through the house early in the session a bill giving the assent of Congress to the sale of these lands on such terms as our State may deem expedient, but our Senators have shown no desire to have the bill pass the Senate, and I fear they will let it lie there and fail for want of attention. I have spoken to Gov. Woodbridge, chairman of the committee on public lands, several times in relation to it, but he has not as yet even reported it back to the Senate. I shall set Doct. Houghton at him and Bostwick, if he comes here, and see what they can do. Perhaps it will be well to have some of the Whigs of our county write to him and tell him the importance of passing the bill.

I have introduced and got the committee on commerce to report favorably on a bill for harbors at the mouths of the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers, and I have strong hopes that I shall get appropriations for both of these places.

(24.) To W. A. Richmond, April 28, 1844.—I closed my letter to you last evening very abruptly for the purpose of going with Doct. Houghton to see the President. We found him just recovering from a few days' confinement to his room by sickness, and had an hour's conversation with him in which nothing of particular interest was said except the expression of opinion by the President that it would be impossible for Congress to adjourn before the 1st of July. Whether he intends to have the Texas question brought before both houses or not, he did not say. There will be no use in doing so unless there is a majority of the Senate in favor of the treaty and that will be ascertained during the discussion in secret session. I do not believe there will be more than ten or twelve Senators in favor of it, and probably not more than half that number. Mr. Van Buren as well as Mr. Clay, is now antagonistic, as you will see by the Globe, a copy of which I sent you last night. * * * So much for business. I have only time for a few words more, and they shall relate to movements for the Presidency. There has been all winter a growing conviction among the members of Congress that Mr. Van Buren would not be the strongest candidate that could be nominated and that, if nominated, there would be great danger of defeat. Within the last two or three weeks this conviction has become general, and many, I believe more than one-half of the Democratic members have expressed themselves in favor of the nomination of General Cass. Most of these have, I believe, or at least hoped, that Mr. Van Buren would see that he could not be elected and that he voluntarily withdraw. His letter on the annexation of Texas puts an extinguisher on all such hopes, and shows that he intends to be nominated if he can. This determination of his will not be satisfactory to a large portion of the delegates to the Baltimore convention, and I should not be disappointed if there should be a strong effort made at that convention by those who were elected as Van Buren men to throw him overboard and take up either General Cass or Old Ironsides Stewart. There will be a good deal of excitement there and you had better come on here in season to be present if you can. The Tyler convention is to take place at the same time and this will add to the fuel if nothing more. If he should be a candidate, as seems now to be his intention, it is possible this Texas question may give him the votes of a sufficient number of southern states to prevent the election of either Clay or Van Buren, and to bring the election into the House of Representatives, but I think this hardly probable.

(25.) To G. S. Dean, April 28, 1844.— * * * Mr. Richmond wants a bridge built over the canal at the foot of Bridge street. I have written to him that I will authorize Mr. Robinson, and I do now hereby authorize him, or you, to make the best arrangement you can for paying my portion of the expense of building such bridge according to the proportion which the water power which I use from the canal bears to the whole amount used by others. This is as much as I ought to be required to do. I hope you will do all you can to get the bridge finally located on Bridge street. I will give the right of way there but will not give it at any other point below the basin. I hope you will keep the evaporating works going whenever the weather will permit. It will take some time to get the lower reservoir full of very strong brine. Being 80 feet long, 30 feet wide and 4⅓ feet deep at least, its cubical contents is at least 10,000 solid feet, and allowing 7½ gallons to the foot, it contains, when the depth is 4⅓ feet, 75,000 gallons. Allowing this to be concentrated so that every 30 gallons of the brine will yield 56 pounds of salt, the 75,000 gallons would give 2,500 bushels, and as we know that it takes at least 230 gallons of brine as it comes from the well to yield a bushel of salt, you will have to evaporate 200 gallons for every bushel, or 500,000 gallons before you can get the 75,000 gallons of strong brine. At 20,000 gallons per day, this would take 25 days, and at 15,000 per day it would require 33 days. So that you can finish all the reservoir before it will be necessary to go to boiling, for when the brine gets very strong in the lower reservoir you can let it run into the upper reservoir (when it falls through the brush) and fill that one full. It will probably take until the middle of July to get both reservoirs filled, and by that time I hope to be at home.

(26.) To Gen. Lewis Cass, April 29, 1844.—As I have a few moments to spare, I will say in addition to what Doct. Houghton and myself have written you today, that the effect of Mr. Van Buren's letter seems to be to disappoint and drive from him the whole south, while it gains him no friends in the north. The Whigs are in high spirits. There are hundreds of Whig delegates here from all parts of the union on their way to the Baltimore convention, and they all look upon it as deciding his fate. They were doubtful and dispirited after the publication of Mr. Clay's letter, and they are of course overjoyed to find that Mr. Van Buren takes the same side. I took tea last evening with Senator Walker. He says that Van Buren is out of the question, that he cannot get a single southern vote, and that our party must now nominate someone else. So says Dixon H. Lewis, and so say all the southern Democrats and all the members from Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and Connecticut, with two or three exceptions, and a great many of the members from other states are of the same opinion. I ought, perhaps, to except Cave Johnson of Tennessee, and all but Mr. Hopkins of the Democratic members from Virginia. Mr. Hopkins is said to be in favor of the nomination of Commodore Stewart, and I have heard two or three members express a preference for Col. Johnson, but the attention of the Democratic members who despair of the success of Mr. Van Buren is every day becoming more and more concentrated and fixed on you, and I believe that, if the whole body of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives were to nominate a candidate for the presidency you would be the man. What effect the opinions of members of Congress will have upon the action of the Baltimore convention I cannot pretend to say. The opinions of members are not yet settled, and of course vary somewhat from day to day. When the first feeling of disappointment is over, perhaps the southern men will think better of Mr. Van Buren's letter. I speak of their feelings and opinions as they express them now. The Texas treaty and papers printed with it reached here this morn-

ing from New York, but I have not seen it. It is in the New York Evening Post. Doctor Houghton has agreed to write you every day hereafter as long as he remains here.

(27.) To Thomas B. Church, Grand Rapids, April 29, 1844.—I enclose herewith a letter from S. R. Hobbie, First Assistant Postmaster General, informing me that service on route No. 3667, Battle Creek to Grand Rapids, has been transferred on the usual terms to Canton Smith and John Stewart, to take effect from the 1st of July, 1844.

(28.) Memorandum.—Persons present at the preliminary Texas meeting at the room of the committee on commerce at the capitol last evening, April 30, 1844. Senator Walker, of Miss., chairman; Messrs. Rhett, Woodward, Black and Simpson, of South Carolina; Thompson, Tucker and Hammet, of Mississippi; Cobb, Haralson and Stiles, Georgia; Dixon H. Lewis, Alabama; General Saunders, North Carolinia; Jones and Andrew Johnson, Tennessee; Kirkpatrick, New Jersey; Catlin, Connecticut; Henly. J. A. Wright and Thomas Smith, Indiana; Hoge, Illinois; Cross, Arkansas; Lyon, Michigan; Barton, a distinguished lawyer, not a member, Louisiana. Committees appointed: 1st. A committee to make personal inquiry of the delegations from each state to ascertain the number of members favorable to the immediate annexation of Texas, and also the probable strength of Mr. Van Buren. 2d. A committee to draft resolutions and an address to the people of the United States favorable to annexation. 3d. A committee of invitation to invite distinguished persons from Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York to attend a general meeting to be held in the city of Washington on Tuesday of next week. The meeting adjourned to meet again at the same place Thursday evening of this week to discuss reports, etc.

(29.) To Gen. Lewis Cass, May 2, 1844.—It is now certain that if Mr. Van Buren be nominated by the Baltimore convention, our party will split and the Democrats of the south will run another candidate; the result of which will probably be the defeat of both and the election of Mr. Clay by the people. Nothing in my estimation can save the party from defeat but your nomination; and to enable the convention to unite upon you so as to make you the candidate of the whole party, at the south and west as well as the north and east, it will be necessary for you to come out at once boldly for the annexation of Texas to the Union. Place yourself on ground similar to that occupied by General Jackson. Write a short, forcible, patriotic, anti-British letter (such as you know how to write) in favor of annexation at the earliest practicable moment, or as soon as a majority of the people of the United States shall elect representatives in favor of the measure; mention the common error of supposing this exclusively a southern question, allude to the fact that Texas extends almost as far north as the city of Detroit; treat it as a northern and western as well as a southern question and above all as a great national question. Say not a word about slavery and you will occupy a position in which you will be sustained by the feelings and judgment of a large majority of the people of the United States, a position which will in all probability secure your nomination by the Baltimore convention, harmonize the jawing sections of our party and place you in the presidential chair on the 4th of March next. This is the unanimous opinion of all your friends here from the south and west that I have talked with. I consulted, yesterday, Hannegan of the Senate (who informed me he had written you on the subject), Thompson and Hammet of Mississippi, Black of South Carolina, J. A. Wright and Thomas Smith of Indiana, Douglass of Illinios, Hughes of Missouri, and my colleague, McClelland, or rather

they spoke to me voluntarily and all concurred in the opinion above expressed. The members from the south are growing impatient to hear your opinions and to know whether you are in favor of or opposed to annexation. Hannegan says it is of the first importance that they should know them soon. They all suppose from your views of the Oregon question and your strong anti-British feeling generally that you will come out in favor of immediate annexation, and I hear it remarked from various sources that you have a fine chance now to take the wind all out of the sails of Van Buren and Benton and leave them hard aground in the mud. The whole question with them is one of time. Now, nine-tenths of the people throughout the country will say "if you are going to annex Texas at all you may as well do it now as at any future period. As to a war with Mexico, it's all a humbug;" while the friends of annexation fear that if more time is given Texas may be lost to us forever. I enclose the daily Globe of last evening in which you will see a communication from C. J. Ingersoll in favor of annexation. Senator Buchanan is also in favor of it and of the ratification of the treaty, as are also, I am informed, a majority of the Democratic Senators. I heard Hannegan offer to bet that there would be at least 13 votes in favor of it and I have understood that but one Whig Senator would go for it. It seems to be treated somewhat as a party question. If it should be made a question in the election next fall the annexation candidate for the Presidency would be pretty sure to get the votes of every southern state except Kentucky and possibly North Carolinia. This is the general opinion expressed the other night at the meeting of the southern members. In addition to these you would, if you were the candidate, be sure to get the votes of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan, and also Ohio if the abolition vote should not be thrown for Clay. Your being in favor of annexation would weaken you a little with the northern states, but not much. In the south nothing could stand before you. The friends of Mr. Calhoun as well as the friends of other Democratic candidates would support you with great enthusiasm. Mr. Calhoun's friends would of course have preferred him, but the success of their favorite measure is of far more importance to them than anything else, and they would therefore now prefer you, if you are favorable to their views. If not, they will either support Col. Johnson or Gov. Dodge in the convention, and if they fail they will then have another convention of delegates elected with reference to the issues now before the country. President Tyler is expecting to be the candidate of the south, but the members from the south show no disposition to support him. After Hannegan wrote you yesterday I suggested to him that it would be better that you should address your letter in favor of annexation (if you should write one) to him in preference to any man in the slave holding states. He agreed with me and authorized me to write such a letter to you as I saw fit and sign his name to it. You may, therefore, consider the letter written in such shape as you please, and it shall be written and signed as agreed on. I have just seen a letter from Detroit which states that you are opposed to annexation. It may be so and may not. I am perfectly aware that your opinion on the subject, whatever it may be, will be sound and judicious. Yet it will do no harm to let you know what we are saying here. The article headed "The Texas Question" in the Globe last evening, Senator Woodbury says, was written by Col. Benton.

(30.) To Gen. Cass, May 2, 1844.—I forgot to mention that the suggestions in the enclosed letter relative to the character of the letter which it was hoped you would write came from Doct. Hammet, one of the members of the House from the state of Mississippi, and were taken down in his own language as near as I could

recollect it. He is a member who stands well in the House and desires to be known as one of your friends. After I had written the letter I determined not to send it, fearing it might look too much like presuming to give advice in a matter which you could judge much better of than we could, but Doct. Houghton, who has just paid me a visit, says "send it; it will show the General what is passing through our minds." So I let it go for what it is worth.

(31.) To William Hale, May 2, 1844.— * * * If the President distrusts Col. Brooks he certainly will distrust the friendship of the Michigan delegation, so that the more we attempt to do for him the worse will be his prospects. I do not believe the President's confidence in him can be shaken, but if it can, it can be shaken in anybody. The Texas question and the opinion of Mr. Van Buren in relation to it has thrown our party into confusion. If Mr. Van Buren had come out for annexation at the earliest period when a majority of the people of the United States should elect representatives in favor of the measure, he would have united the entire party and made it strong. Now the southern and many of the western Democrats will oppose his nomination and if he should be nominated the Democrats at the south cannot be induced to do anything in his favor. He cannot under any circumstances carry a single southern state. Mr. Calhoun's friends in both houses of Congress are decidedly hostile to him and could hardly have been induced to support him if the Texas question had not come up. Now their support of him, under the circumstances, is out of the question, and they look upon him and speak of him as "dead and buried." I have heard Dixon H. Lewis use this language frequently. Under this state of things it is probably the delegates to the Baltimore convention will find it necessary to select some other candidate upon whom the party can be better united. It is given up by Mr. Van Buren's friends here that the party cannot unite on him. The question then occurs, who can we unite upon? Upon this question there is of course some diversity of opinion, but the general impression here is that if it be possible to unite on any candidate, either Cass or Johnson will be the man. At present Cass seems to stand the best chance so far as I can judge from the opinions of the members of Congress, and if the south can be satisfied with him on the Texas question he will probably be nominated. * * *

(32.) To Gen. Cass, May 3, 1844.—Every day shows more clearly that the Texas question will cause a complete breaking up and reorganization of the Democratic party. This process is going on now with astonishing rapidity. Politicians hardly know what to do, but it is easy, I think, to see that the annexation of Texas is gaining friends every hour, and that it will inevitably become the leading party question of the day, overwhelming and rendering comparatively unimportant every other issue before the country, until it shall be finally disposed of. Mr. Van Buren attempted to prevent this and the attempt destroyed him. Even his old friend, Mr. Richie, has taken the lead in reconsidering the vote of instructions in his favor to the delegates from Virginia, and they are left free to act in convention as they see fit. This settles the matter. It is generally admitted now that his nomination is out of the question, and that we must have a candidate who is in favor of early annexation. Your opinions are looked for with much anxiety, and there was a report in the city today that somebody here has received a letter from you on the subject, but I could not learn that there was any foundation for the rumor.

(33.) To Nathaniel Emery, May 8, 1844.—As soon as I received your letter I went to the postoffice department and had permission made out for you to transport

the mail between Grand Rapids and Grand Haven in steamboat in lieu of the the present service, and herewith enclose a letter signed by Wm. H. Dundas to that effect. I am glad to hear that immigration to our country has commenced this spring in a flood like that of four years ago.

(34.) To H. N. Walker, May 11, 1844.—The prospects of Gen. Cass' nomination increase daily. If his opinions on the annexation of Texas should prove tolerably satisfactory to the south and not go so far as to seriously injure him in the east and north he will be nominated, and if nominated harmoniously he will be elected by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Clay will not receive the vote of a single southern state and not more than one-half of the votes of the northern states. * * * You are represented to the southern men as the leading friend of Gen. Cass in Detroit and you are reported to have said that you would not vote for any man for President who is in favor of the annexation of Texas. All these reports injure the General's prospects for a nomination, and if they were believed would of course defeat him.

(35.) To General Cass, May 19, 1844.—The paper enclosed in your letter of the 12th inst., handed me by Gen. Stockton, who arrived here yesterday, has been shown to my colleagues, Messrs. McClelland and Hunt, and to Gen. Howard, J. A. Wright and Thomas Smith of Indiana, all warm friends of yours. I thought McClelland, Hunt and myself ought to have enclosed it to the Globe for publication, but Gen. Howard and the Indian members say there is no necessity for it, and they think it may possibly lose some votes on account of your opinions on the tariff question. The southern members are entirely satisfied now with your views on this subject without any further inquiry; for judging from the votes of the members of the present Congress from the states of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, they consider all these states as sound on this question as the state of South Carolina herself, and they take it for granted that your real sentiments correspond with ours. The state of Pennsylvania, on the contrary, being in favor of high protective tariff, may entertain some hopes that would be more favorable to their views than would Mr. Van Buren. For this reason your Indiana friends suggest that I had better not publish the letter at present, but keep it to be referred to if necessary if occasion should require. Mr. Buchanan, it is said, has been endeavoring to prevent a reconsideration of instructions to the delegates from Pennsylvania, and Mr. McClelland has just received a letter from James Mill, Esq., of Chambersburg, which inclines us to think he will succeed in doing so. Mr. Mill, however, says that if Van Buren should be nominated he will run behind both Clay and Tyler in that state, and yet he thinks their delegates will vote for him in convention. There is a most determined and desperate effort now making by Col. Benton, Silas Wright, Mr. Buchanan, the whole Ohio delegation in both houses, with the exception of Gen. McDowell, Gen. Dromgoole and a few others from Virginia and Amos Kendall and the Globe of this city to secure the nomination of Mr. Van Buren at all hazards, and the delegates are so hampered with instructions which the Globe is constantly holding up before them that I very much fear they will succeed. Mr. Bagg has been here for the last ten days as busy as a bee acting in concert with them. They are making a cat's paw of him to aid Van Buren by proclaiming your want of strength even in the State where you reside. He admits, when we talk with him on the subject, that you would, if nominated get more votes than Van Buren, but he says that eight-tenths of our Democrats prefer Van Buren. When we deny this he says we know nothing of the sentiments of our constituents. I hope the other delegates will be here soon to counteract these state-

ments, for they are used now with considerable effect. I shall go to Baltimore next Saturday for the purpose of seeing the delegates from the different states as they come in, and giving them such information as I possess. It is certain that the convention will not be able to agree harmoniously and cordially on the nomination of Van Buren, and without harmony and good feeling throughout all sections of our party he cannot be elected. Everybody knows this, and yet I believe he will allow himself to be run if he can secure the nomination by a bare majority of the convention, hoping in that event that Tyler will get votes enough at the south to bring the election into the House of Representatives, where he thinks his (Van Buren's) election would be certain. Col. Johnson arrived in the city last evening and will remain here and at Baltimore, it is said, until after the sitting of the convention. I wish, and I have heard others wish, that you were either here or in Philadelphia or New York where you could be seen by those who might desire to communicate with you. I shall be so busy during the convention week that I shall hardly have time to write again before the meeting of the convention, but I shall do so then and again when it is over.

(36.) To General Cass, May 31, 1844.—When I wrote you on the morning of the 29th inst. that five or six ballots would result in your nomination for the presidency by the Democratic national convention, I stated what no member of the convention doubted, so far as I could learn, whether a supporter of you or not. I knew that a delegate by the name of Miller from the district in which Mt. Vernon is situated in Ohio, sustained by Medway, of the Ohio Statesman, and McNutty, the clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and Mr. Steenrod of Virginia, and others, had the evening previously kicked up a row on purpose to kill time and compel an adjournment of the convention before the eighth ballot was taken, because they knew that Col. Johnson's friends had given him up, and that the 21 votes which he had received on the seventh trial and about ten more from Pennsylvania and Ohio would all be given to you on the eighth, which would give you about 144 votes, a decided majority of all the votes cast. I knew, too, that during the previous night the Van Buren men had held a meeting for the purpose of trying to agree to support Mr. Buchanan, which they could not do, because when Van Buren should be withdrawn, 16 of the delegates from New York, 13 from Pennsylvania and about 10 from Ohio were ready to support you in preference to any other man. Knowing these things, and being informed by Green and Hunter of Virginia, Senator Walker of Mississippi, and Cullom and Jones of Tennessee, that their respective delegations stood firm, that the delegation from Louisiana would unite with them and that the whole south confidently expected your nomination on the tenth ballot, I feit authorized at 8 o'clock Wednesday morning to write you as I did. Up to that hour the name of Gen. Polk had never been mentioned as a candidate for the presidency by any one—certainly not in my presence. At 9 o'clock the convention met. Several short speeches were made, in reference chiefly to the violent course pursued by the Van Buren men the evening before, during which I saw Gov. Hubbard speak to B. F. Butler and the latter go and whisper to Cave Johnson and Maj. Donelson of Tennessee, and when the eighth ballot was taken the Tennessee delegation and some few other delegates who had previously voted for you gave their votes for Polk. Cave Johnson and Maj. Donelson were there very active in going around the hall among the delegates from Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and immediately afterward the delegations from New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia retired separately for consultation. After being out a few minutes, they began to return one after the other, and as they came in each on the ninth ballot

voted for Polk, the states in the meantime having been called through and those from which the delegations were absent passed over until the delegates from them returned. ' When so many changes had taken place that it was certain Gov. Polk would be nominated, Mr. Bradley, chairman of the Michigan delegation, rose, and after a very appropriate and sensible speech, which did him and you much credit, asked leave to have the vote of Michigan changed and recorded for the man who seemed to be the choice of the convention. The Kentucky, Arkansas, Vermont, New Jersey and one or two or three other delegations, who had voted for you, then did the same, and within one hour from the first apparent movement in favor of Gov. Polk, he was unanimously nominated by the convention. This result was brought about by a sudden, secret and dextrous movement on the part of Van Buren's friends. The temptation which they held out was too great to be resisted by Tennessee, but it should have been resisted by Alabama, Virginia and the other states friendly to you, and I think it would have been if the delegates had taken more time for reflection. Some of the secret means used were exceedingly unfair, and the movement would not have been successful if they had been known. You were the first choice of more than one-third (and I think one-half) and the second choice of more than two-thirds of the convention, and now, when the Democratic party here have had time to reflect on what has been done, the regret that you were not nominated is almost universal. Your friends here feel that you have been wronged, and they are determined that you shall be the candidate of the party in 1848, whether Mr. Polk be elected or not. We must give him the vote of Michigan this time if we can, and then claim the support of his friends for you at the next convention. A large proportion of the convention desired to put you on the ticket as a candidate for the office of vice president, but the suggestion was not countenanced by the Michigan and Indiana delegations, and was therefore abandoned.

(37.) To the President, June 3, 1844.—Recommending Mitchell Hinsdill of Kalamazoo as receiver of the land office at Kalamazoo, in place of Henry Gilbert, rejected by the Senate. Judge Hinsdill lives on his farm about a mile from Kalamazoo, and is one of the purest, best, most highly respectable and most influential men in the State of Michigan. He is right politically and right every way, and his appointment would give universal satisfaction to every one but the ultra partisans of Mr. Clay.

(38.) To the President, June 3, 1844.—Recommending Frederick Hall of Ionia for receiver of the land office at Ionia to succeed Samuel Dexter, resigned. Had known him from boyhood, and is a man of correct business habits, political friend of the administration and a gentleman of as high respectability and influence as to be found in that section of the State.

(39.) To Frederick Hall, Ionia, and Mitchell Hinsdill, Kalamazoo, June 5, 1844.—advising them that the President had instructed his private secretary to make out their nominations for the respective offices. Also to the effect that the nominations of Polk and Dallas were well received in political circles.

(40.) To Charles Butler, June 5, 1844.—The bill from the Senate granting to the State of Michigan alternate sections of the public lands along the line of the Central railroad and along the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal from Rochester in Oakland county to the Grand river, (with the privilege of locating elsewhere in the State lands in lieu of the alternate quarter sections which may have been sold) for the purpose of completing said railroad and canal, is a bill of so much importance to the

interests of our State and to the interests of the holders of our State bonds, that I take the liberty to suggest and to urge upon you in the most earnest manner the propriety of your coming on here immediately to aid us in getting it through the House. You can have great influence with your delegation and much with other delegations and I do hope you will come; for the passage of this bill would make it certain that we shall be able to pay punctually the interest on all our State indebtedness.

(41.) To James K. Polk, Columbia, Tenn., June 7, 1844.—Among the thousands of congratulatory letters which are pouring in upon you from all parts of the Union, permit me to send mine. I rejoice to see the flattering prospects you now have of reaching so soon the most lofty political station in the world, and I also rejoice to see the union, harmony, zeal and determination which everywhere prevails in our ranks, and to know that our party is better united now than it has been for many years. I attended the Baltimore convention as a friend of General Cass, who but for the management of the friends of Mr. Van Buren would have been the choice of the convention. I supported him because I knew him to be thoroughly Democratic in his views and feelings, and because I thought he would be more likely to unite the different factions of our party than any other man. When your name was mentioned as a candidate, and it became evident that the convention could unite on you even better than on General Cass, we gave him up most cheerfully and went for your nomination, and I can assure you that the General himself and all his friends will give you a warm and zealous support. I believe you will get many more votes than Mr. Van Buren could even in the northern states, and in the south we expect that you will sweep all before you. But let other states go as they may, we shall endeavor to give you the vote of Michigan, and I beg you to present my compliments to Mrs. Polk and tell her that I expect to have the gratification and honor of paying my respects to her at the "White House" from and after the 4th of March next.

(42.) To the President, June 13, 1844.—Frederick Hall, as pure a man as ever lived, and one who has the respect and esteem of all who know him, having been rejected by the Senate for no other reason than because he is a Democrat and a friend and supporter of the present administration, I beg leave now to recommend the nomination of David Irish of Ionia, to be receiver of public money at that place in place of Samuel Dexter, resigned. Mr. Irish is treasurer of Ionia county, where he resides, and though in politics a Democrat of the State rights school, he is mild and conciliatory in his intercourse with men and commands the respect and esteem of all parties. I have known him from his boyhood and can testify that he is a man of the strictest integrity and of excellent business habits and qualifications.

(43.) To Frederick Hall, June 13, 1844.—Advising him that he had been rejected by the Senate but that no disgrace is attached to such rejection as the Michigan Senators were anxious to have T. P. Tucker of St. Clair, or some other Whig appointed to the place.

(44.) To M. C. Young, Acting Secretary of the Treasury, June 17, 1844.—Recommending that Doctor Douglass Houghton be appointed to make the geological survey of the copper mining region south of Lake Superior, for which $20,000 had been appropriated by Congress.

(45.) To the President of the United States, June 17, 1844, (Mr. Lyon, joined by James G. Hunt and Robt. McClelland).—Urging that the office of the Surveyor General of the United States for Ohio, Indiana and Michigan be removed from Cincin-

nati to Detroit. Most of the unsurveyed lands within this district are in Michigan and with the office located at Cincinnati it is impossible to exercise proper supervision over the work, and within the last seven years the government has lost more than $20,000 by paying deputy surveyors sent from Indiana and Ohio for surveys in Michigan which they never executed.

(46.) To Allen Goodridge, June 19, 1844.—I cannot tell now whether I shall desire to be a candidate for re-election or not, and I intend to reserve my decision until I return home and ascertain the wishes and feelings of the Democrats of the district. I feel mortified, disappointed and vexed at the failure of Congress to do anything for the benefit of the western states except to pass the western harbor bill. All other bills for the western states were defeated by angry discussion in the House on the bill for re-chartering the banks of the District of Columbia and the bill to provide for the continuation of the Cumberland road. The bill for the improvement of the entrances into the mouths of the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers is on the calendar and will probably pass at the next session.

(47.) To J. W. Tyson, 2d Asst. P. M. Gen., June 19, 1844.—Enclosing petition and recommending the change in name of Freedom postoffice to Fawn River, St. Joseph county.

(48.) To J. A. Holbrook and others, June 19, 1844.—Promising to make an attempt to secure the appointment of Henry A. Goodyear as postmaster at Hastings in place of Henry S. Jennings, and requesting that Mr. Jennings be informed of it. The Jennings appointment was made through secret means by the influence of Senator Porter and against the wishes of a majority of the people who receive their mail at that office.

(49.) To Thomas H. Blake, Commissioner General Land Office, June 19, 1844.—Enclosing letter from Michael Dousman of Michilimackinac, asking a patent for a tract of land confirmed to him on the Island of Bois Blanc, and requesting that it be issued immediately.

(50.) To J. K. Polk, June 20, 1844.—I enclose two Detroit papers received this morning which will show something of the spirit that is animating the Democracy of the peninsula state. I have private letters from every portion of the state which satisfy me that the vote of Michigan is just as safe for Polk and Dallas as though it had been officially declared by the canvassers after election. Your election is nearly certain.

(51.) To J. W. Tyson, June 20, 1844.—Enclosing petition and recommending that postoffice be established at Nortonville, Ottawa county.

(52.) To T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 21, 1844.—Recommending Mumford Eldred of Richland, Kalamazoo county, for the appointment of assistent farmer for the Ottawa and Griswold colonies of Indians in that county in place of Stephen Fairbanks who is represented to be a violent political abolitionist who ought not on that account to hold the station.

(53.) To same.—Asking that a sub-Indian agent be appointed for the Indians in the western portion of the peninsula of Michigan north of Grand river and between the Grand and Kalamazoo rivers. There are several thousands of Ottawa and Chippewas scattered through that part of the State who have now no means of com-

municating their wishes and wants to the government short of going to the agency at Detroit, a distance of more than 200 miles, and it appears to me that an additional agency would be useful and proper.

(54.) To Henry A. Goodyear, June 24, 1844.—Advising him of his appointment as postmaster at Hastings in place of Henry S. Jennings, removed. Mr. Jennings knew of the proceedings against him and had written to the postoffice department asking that he be not removed and among other things said that Mr. Goodyear was a strong partisan of Mr. Van Buren. The fact that Mr. Jennings was as strong a partisan of Mr. Clay was used as an offset.

(55.) To R. S. Wilson, June 25, 1844.—This is a miserable, lonely, deserted place now. No news here except that the President walked down to the cars this morning, unknown to anybody, and went north; rumor says to marry Miss Gardiner of New York.

(56.) To John C. Calhoun, Secretary of State, dated Detroit, July 13, 1844.—Protesting against the removal of Edward Brooks as collector of customs at Detroit. Mr. Brooks is an active supporter of the present administration and the only party that would be benefited by his removal would be the Whigs.

(57.) To Gen. John T. Mason, July 11, 1844, from Detroit.—Assuring him that the appointment of Levi S. Humphrey as marshal in place of Howard gives general satisfaction to all parties except the Whigs and that it is expected that an appointment will soon be made in place of George C. Bates who lately made a Whig speech. The removal of Bates is not recommended but if the President is determined to make a change Edward Bradley is endorsed for the place.

(58.) To Hon. F. Shurtz, July 12, 1844, from Detroit.— * * * As to the office of United States Senator, there are so many persons looking for it that I think I had better stand aside and not be considered a candidate. Governor Barry and Judge Ransom and probably others from the west of the State will be in the field, besides other candidates from the eastern part of the State, and my chance of success is so small that I am not disposed at present to make any effort to obtain the office. When the legislature meets, my friends can tell better what to do and I am disposed to be governed by their wishes. The prospects for our party all over the Union were never brighter than at the present time. We must do our duty in Michigan and if we do we shall give them a greater majority in proportion to our population than they are likely to receive from any other State. * * * *

(59.) To William A. Burt, July 14 ,1844, from Detroit.—Congratulating him upon securing an appropriation for a geological survey in connection with a lineal survey of the copper mining regions on Lake Superior.

(60.) To Gen. Thomas Fitzgerald, July 25, 1844, from Grand Rapids.—Advising him that he was confirmed as register of the Ionia land office without opposition and that his commission had been forwarded to Ionia where it was probably waiting for him. Ionia, though tolerably pleasant, is not as pleasant a place to live as Niles, Kalamazoo, Marshall, or Grand Rapids in my estimation. The office is worth about $600 a year, but after two or three years when the State lands are sold, will be worth at least twice that amount.

(61.) To Lovett Eames, July 26, 1844, from Grand Rapids.—Asking if he can make a boring machine and lathe with a set of augers and everything complete for boring and finishing wooden tubes for a price not exceeding $50. The machine

is wanted within two or three weeks or sooner so that it can be used as soon as the timber for making 400 feet of tube can be procured. The tubes you made for me are worthless because the taps are so nearly cut off they break, or because they are so thin in places by reason of crooked boring they burst under the pressure. Wooden tubes will answer every purpose if well made, but they ought to be thicker than those you made for me which were 4¾ inches in diameter on the outside and ¾-inch thick at the thickest end.

(62.) To A. P. Stinson, July 28, 1844, from Grand Rapids.—I have received your kind letter of the 19th. I owe to yourself and Gen. Fitzgerald a debt of gratitude for what you have done for me which I shall remember to my dying day. I have written to the General today but have not expressed to him half the gratitude I feel for his noble and magnaminous course toward me. I feel under obligations to all my competitors in the last year's convention for the course they pursued after the nomination was made, but to the General in particular my warmest acknowledgments are due. Under the influence of this feeling I have thought that perhaps I ought not to be a candidate this fall if my being so would at all conflict with the wishes or interests of those of my competitors who so generously supported me and I have therefore concluded to make no effort to secure the nomination, but to leave the matter to be decided by others.

(63.) To H. H. Comstock, August 4, 1844, from Grand Rapids.— * * * I have received several letters from different parts of the district enquiring whether I would be a candidate this fall for a renomination and have answered them, stating in substance that I did not intend to do anything myself or to make any interest through my friends to procure a renomination, but if it should be offered to me I should accept. I have never sought an electoral office and do not intend to begin now, though I presume I value such favors as highly and feel as grateful for them as any other man. * * *

(64.) To Timothy Page, August 6, 1844, from Grand Rapids.—I am glad to see you express your opinions so frankly and fully on the great political questions of the day, but regret to find those opinions so erroneous that I am forced to the conclusion that you must have adopted them without any very careful examination or that we are so differently constituted that the reasoning which fixes your opinion on one side has had the contrary effect upon me. You appear to be opposed to the extention of our Union, as the Federalists were in the time of Mr. Jefferson. I think the advantage to our Union so manifold and great that I would like to see it extended so as to embrace the whole of North America just as fast as any portion of it shall be settled and occupied by a people fitted for a republican government and disposed to unite with us in seeking a glorious destiny. The advantages of an extension of the Union are very great, even in a pecuniary point of view, for the same army, navy, foreign ministers and home officers that are necessary for twenty million people would be sufficient for three times that number. The tendency of the extension of the Union to lessen the burden of supporting the national government will appear more striking when we consider what grinding and oppressive taxation each state would be subjected to for the purpose of supporting its army and navy and maintaining its foreign relations if the Union were entirely dissolved. The burden of taxation would then be almost insupportable. Now it is comparatively light even under a high tariff, and as the Union is extended and the population increases it will be lighter still. But this advantage of the extension of our Union is but small when compared with the advantage of increasing our power and influence among the

nations of the earth and of extending our commerce and free trade at home, as we shall do by the annexation of Texas or Canada, or any other fertile tract of country that may lie near us. The Whigs who sneer at free trade, if they were consistent, would be in favor of dissolving the Union so that each state might have its swarm of revenue officers and burden the trade between the different states with as much taxation as possible, instead of letting it go entirely free as it now does. This, according to their notions, would be "protection" to the interests and industries of the several states. They would for the same reason oppose the annexation of Texas and call it "humbug" in order that both Texas and the United States might have the benefits of this kind of protection. But the Democrats, and especially the Democrats of Michigan, have never been able to perceive any advantage to grow out of taxing the articles of commerce any higher than may be necessary for the purpose of raising an amount of money barely sufficient to support an economical administration of government. To provide against the contingency of war, they are willing to raise such an amount of money as may be needed annually by a tax upon imports discriminating in favor of such articles of the growth or produce of our own country as would probably be most needed in the event of war, so as to encourage their growth or manufacture at home, provided the duty to be levied upon any article shall never be so high as to diminish the amount of revenue that its importation would produce under a sufficient ad valorem duty to be levied upon all articles alike, excepting those which will produce most revenue by imposing a tax below the standard. In other words, the Democrats are in favor of no protection but that which is incident to revenue. They think "there is no necessity of protection for protection." They believe that sound reason as well as the experience of all nations teaches that under like circumstances the people of that nation whose commerce is most free and unshackled will be most prosperous and happy. The rapid progress of our own country in the increase of wealth and the means of enjoyment is a striking illustration of this truth; for all that portion of our trade between the states, amounting to more than four-fifths of the whole is entirely free, without any duty or restriction, while the small portion which we carry on with foreign nations has with a very few years exception been burdened with taxation, and is less with duties than the commerce of any other nation. Capital and labor have both been left comparatively free to find their most profitable employment, and have found it as they always will when they are not interfered with. The late Whig tariff interferes with them to some extent and just so far as it does so, beyond what is required for the purpose of revenue, it retards the increase of wealth in the country. For it is evident that the only reason why more capital and labor was not engaged in manufacturing before the passage of that law was that it was more profitably employed where it was. Hence the law, by changing it from a more profitable to a less profitable employment has occasioned and is occasioning a loss of wealth to this country; and the amount of this loss the consumer of the article has to pay. It appears to me that instead of all "sensible men" seeing, as you do, that the present tariff law works well and that it is the cause of reviving prosperity in the country, all sensible men must see that it works ill and that the country would be more prosperous if it were modified so as to levy no higher taxes than the government requires. You have mistaken the causes of the returning prosperity of the country. It is attributable mainly to the industry and frugality which have been practiced for the last six years by a nation of eighteen millions of people.

(65.) To Sands McCamly, August 6, 1844, from Grand Rapids.—Acknowledging his election as an honorary member of the Battle Creek Hickory Club.

(66.) To H. H. Comstock, August 12, 1844, from Grand Rapids.— * * * What the result of the Congressional convention at Kalamazoo will be, I cannot from the information that I possess form an opinion and I have made up my mind to this conclusion, that if the precedent is to be established in this district that a member of Congress shall serve but one term and then retire to make room for some other man, it might as well be established in my case as in any other. I shall not complain, let the results be what they may. I shall make no effort to secure the nomination, and I think this course should be sufficient proof that I do not adopt the maxim that "all is fair in politics." I am sure that the motive which induces me to adopt it is a desire to act with the most perfect fairness toward you and the other candidates for the office which I now hold. I have reason to believe that by pursuing a different course and making interest for myself I could have secured a renomination without much difficulty; and I have equally good reason to believe that by taking the course that I do take I shall lose it.

(67.) To A. P. Stinson, August 13, 1844, from Grand Rapids.—The election news which you give us from Illinois is most cheering to our Democratic friends and with the news that we have received from two or three of the northern counties in Indiana puts our party in high feather, while the Whigs, poor fellows, are seized with terror and dismay. We shall look anxiously for further intelligence by the mail tonight and every night until we hear from all the states where elections have taken place. A tri-weekly mail brings us news too slowly. We feel the want of a daily mail in these stirring times.

(68.) To Lovett Eames, August 13, 1844, from Grand Rapids.—Giving details of salt manufacturing. The brine yields one bushel of salt to 280 gallons; sea water yields a bushel to 300 gallons, and the brine at Salina, N. Y., one bushel to 35 gallons. The cost of operating in New York is $14 a day, with a product of 275 bushels, or five cents a bushel, and it can be delivered here with barrel and all expenses paid at $1.50 The daily expense of running the works here is about $9 and the product 35 bushels or 26 cents a bushel, to which must be added 14 cents a bushel interest on investment and expense of sinking the well, making the total cost $2 a barrel in bulk without the barrel. By means of a brush house erected at a cost of $4,000 the operating expense is reduced to about 13 cents per bushel making the whole expense of evaporating with the brush house that I now have about twenty cents per bushel, or ½ what it is by boiling. The expense could be further reduced to about ten cents per bushel by building another brush house.

(69.) To Wm. A. Richardson, from Grand Rapids, August. 13, 1844.—Advising him that he had received a letter from Gen. Thomas Fitzgerald at Ionia to the effect that Gen. Fitzgerald had entered upon his duties as receiver of the land office and upon looking through the vault found a box of coin amounting to $17,060, said to have been left there on account of Mr. Richmond. Suit had been begun against Mr. Richmond for this very money and it will be taken care of until directions are received from the department.

(70.) To S. Y. At Lee, from Grand Rapids, August 15, 1844.—I am glad to hear that Hunt is likely to be renominated for he is really one of the best and least selfish men to be found in this selfish world. He makes an excellent representative and one who has the high respect and esteem of all who know him. I do not expect renomination for I have not made the slightest interest to secure it and do not intend to do so. My competitors supported me handsomely last year and I shall do nothing to cross their path now. * * *

(71.) To Hon. Thos. T. Whittlesay, of Danbury, Conn., from Grand Rapids, August 18, 1844.—When you leave Detroit, I hope you will take the Central railroad to Marshall, 115 miles; then go on in the stage to Battle Creek, 12 miles; and then take the Battle Creek and Grand Rapids stage, which leaves Battle Creek at four o'clock every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning for this place, a distance of 70 miles. You will reach Battle Creek very easily the first night, and this place about ten o'clock in the evening of the second night, if you leave Detroit so as to meet the Battle Creek stage and not have to lie over at that place. From here, after you have made me a good visit, which I shall insist on your doing before you leave me, you can go down the Grand river, forty miles, to its mouth in a steamboat which goes down every other day, and at the mouth you can always find vessels going either to Milwaukee or Chicago in which you can cross the lake without much delay. Your best way will be to go to Milwaukee, thence by stage to Madison, where your land lies; thence to Galena, in Illinois; thence to Chicago, and thence down the lakes to Buffalo. By taking this route you will see a large portion of Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, and the whole circuit of the great lakes.

(71½.) To M. P. Crowell, August 18, 1844.—Acknowledging receipt of a petition to the Postmaster General, signed by 83 citizens of the town of Leoni, asking for the appointment of P. C. Lawrence as postmaster in place of Wm. Jackson; but no removal can be effected so long as the Democrats are divided as to the person to be named.

(72.) To Lovett Eames, August 23, 1844.—Ordering the remaining 80 ft. of the 230 ft. of tubing for the salt well to be made of black walnut, selected and at least two-thirds seasoned.

(73.) To James B. Hunt, August 23, 1844.—Expressing pleasure that there is no doubt of Mr. Hunt's renomination and that Hunt and McClelland will have at least two years to serve under the administration of James K. Polk. As for himself, his Congressional life will terminate when Polk's administration will commence. He is not a candidate and hopes his name will not be presented in the convention. I have done this because I dislike to engage in a scramble for the nomination, and because a nomination would be more gratifying to any of the other candidates than it would to me. The convention will have a large number to choose from and will doubtless make a good selection.

(74.) To Gen. J. Burdick, August 25, 1844.—I wrote last evening to Judge Ransom requesting him to show my letter to you, but having a few moments this morning I write to you also, chiefly to say that I shall request some of my friends from this part of the country to consult with the judge and yourself about the proper course for them to pursue in the convention next Tuesday. The delegates from Kent county are Thomas B. Church and S. G. Harris. From Ottawa the delegates originally appointed could not attend and they have substituted F. M. Johnson and Geo. M. Mills of this place; but I believe Ottawa county is entitled to only one delegate, so Johnson and Mills will have to settle the matter between themselves as to who shall act. From these two counties the delegates are instructed to vote for me. From Ionia the delegates are Mr. Rich and Porter Place. They are not instructed and are inclined to go against me. I have said to two delegates that I have seen that I will not go into a scramble for a nomination and have requested them not to bring me forward as a candidate or vote for me at all in convention unless they shall first be perfectly sure that a majority of delegates from other portions of the district will support me.

(75.) To Gen. H. H. Comstock, August 25, 1844.—The delegates from this county and Ottawa are here and about ready to start for Kalamazoo. I understand they go there instructed to vote for me. I regret this because I will not under any circumstances go into a scramble for nomination. I desire to treat all the candidates with fairness and liberality, and for the purpose of doing so I have requested the delegates that I have seen not to bring me before the convention as a candidate, or vote for me, or procure others to vote for me, unless it should turn out that the convention should be unable to agree upon the nomination of any other candidate, as well as they can on me, and this result I do not anticipate. I think you will find the delegation from this part of the district disposed to pursue a fair, honorable and liberal course, and such a course as will be satisfactory to other portions of the district.

(76.) To J. N. Chipman, chairman of Branch county central committee, and Benjamin A. Gould, chairman of Cass county, August 31, 1844.—Regretting that he cannot attend a Democratic mass meeting at Niles on Saturday next. It would afford him much pleasure to show by his presence the interest he feels in the pending political contest which is likely to prove as important in its results as any that has taken place since the formation of the government. The Democratic party will triumph there is hardly room for doubt.

(77.) To Douglass Houghton, Sept. 5, 1844.—The season here has been so constantly wet that we have not been able to do much at making salt. My brush house I find in good weather will evaporate from six to eleven gallons of brine per day, or about as much as we can evaporate by boiling in twenty-four hours with five cords of wood and two men to burn it.

(78.) To Gen. Thomas Fitzgerald, Sept. 6, 1844.—I have no regrets on account of not receiving the nomination for Congress, for I cared very little about the matter, but I do regret that I was brought forward and voted for as a candidate against my express request and wishes. * * * I have learned that the first thing Geo. M. Mills did after his arrival at Kalamazoo, before the convention, was to meet J. S. Chipman and Gen. Burdick and there lay a plan to have me brought forward as a candidate on the first ballot for the double purpose of injuring me before the convention then assembled and also with reference to any other occasion that I might be a candidate for hereafter. This arrangement was entered into without the knowledge of the other delegates from Kent and Ottawa counties and Mills had address enough to induce them to fall in with his views, though they did not know his motives and supposed him friendly to me. After voting for me a few times, I understand, they all voted for Chipman to the end, and in return Chipman's friends from the Senatorial convention voted informally for Mills for Senator. * * * *

(79.) To Moses P. Crowell, Sept. 7, 1844.—I have written to P. S. Lawrence on the subject of the Leoni postoffice and informed him that I should write you recommending that all the candidates for the postoffice submit their claims to a public meeting of all the Democrats who ordinarily send and receive their papers and letters through that office, and that when after full and fair notice to all a meeting shall be had the person who may be chosen by a majority of such meeting shall be considered the candidate for said office. The proceedings of the meeting should state under the signatures of responsible officers the number of Democrats present and the number of votes given for each candidate.

(80.) To Charles A. Wickliffe, Postmaster General, Sept. 7, 1844.—Enclosing petition and recommending the removal of Francis March, Jr., the present postmaster of Kalamazoo, and the appointment of Alexis Ransom, brother of Chief Ransom, in his stead. The petition is signed by ten of the most respectable influential citizens of Kalamazoo.

(81.) To T. Paige, Sept. 14, 1844.—I see that you are sanguine as ever of Mr. Clay's election. You are most certainly doomed to be disappointed. Mr. Polk will receive very nearly or quite two votes to his one. The contest in my estimation is already decided, and Mr. Clay himself begins to think it is going against him. He is disappointed in the effect of the Texas question. It is nearly as popular here at the north as it is at the south. All the Democrats and many of the Whigs are in favor of annexation and it is decidedly a strong queston in this State.

(82.) To the President of the United States, Sept. 23, 1844.—Strongly recommending the appointment of Alexis Ransom postmaster of Kalamazoo in place of Francis March, Jr. Mr. March is most actively engaged and with all his might in electioneering for Mr. Clay, and distributes by means of his office an immense number of Junius tracts, New York Clay Tribunes and other similar matter to operate on the coming presidential election. He professed when he received the appointment three years ago to be a Tyler man, but joined the Clay Club last winter and since then has been the most active party in the county.

(83.) Contract with Elisha G. Hale of Grand Rapids, to deliver three hundred good, strong, well made and large size line salt barrels, hooped with ten hoops each at 28 cents apiece. Oct. 18, 1844.

(84.) To H. L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, Oct. 14, 1844.—Wheat is poor and shrunken throughout the district in consequence of rust, and in the south part of the district it is injured by the fly. The amount raised is less than last year by at least 25 per cent. Barley, about the same as last year, very little is raised. Oats, a good crop, 33 per cent at least better than last year. Rye, very little raised. Buckwheat, good crop, never better. Indian corn, a good crop, 30 per cent better than last year. Potatoes, good crop on dry land; on wet land, poor; on the whole, about 30 to 40 per cent better than last year when they were in consequence of dry season very poor. Hay, English hay never better, Marsh hay poor, season too wet. Maple sugar, a large yield, at least ten times as much made from the maple trees last spring as was made the spring previous. One young man, Mr. Coon, of Kent county, made seven hundred pounds from one hundred trees. This year from April to September it has been extremely wet, and after the middle of June warm.

(85.) To Henry R. Schoolcraft, Oct. 23, 1844.—A verdict has been rendered in favor of the United States against O. Newberry and me as your surety for the sum of $9,965.23 including interest. The verdict is by $2,000 the most favorable that we can hope to obtain, and I have learned that you have made no provision to save Mr. Newberry and myself from having our property levied on and sold to pay the debt as soon as judgment shall be entered up against us. Under these circumstances I feel no little anxiety to hear from you and to know certainly whether you will save me or not. If you do not I must of course be utterly ruined beyond all hope of recovery.

(86.) To Henry N. Walker, Nov. 10, 1844.—Detroit has done nobly considering the powerful influence of the Whig party there and the result is most fortunate for the interests of our party and especially for the interest of Gen. Cass. He has carried the ward, the city, the county and the State that he lives in, for his successful rival, besides doing battle gloriously in other states. His services in the cause will be remembered for the party four years hence.

(87.) To James K. Polk, President-elect, Nov. 17, 1844.—Introducing Major A. P. Stinson, of St. Joseph, who will visit relatives in Kentucky and may extend his journey to Tennessee.

Note.—All the letters following are from Washington unless otherwise dated:

(88.) To Charles H. Stewart, Dec. 3, 1844.—The House of Representatives has this day rescinded by a vote of 108 to 80, the 21st rule, so called, and papers relating to slavery can not be received and acted on like papers relating to other subjects. What is a little remarkable is, the vote was taken without a word of debate or even an attempt at debate.

(89.) To Gen. Cass, Dec. 4, 1844.—Mr. Polk has not written a letter to any person in this city since the election. The Tennessee delegation say they have not conversed with him and know nothing about his views in relation to the formation of his cabinet; but Cave Johnson in a long conversation wth Hannegan yesterday expressed a strong desire that you should be Secretary of State and that Mr. Wright should be offered the post of Secretary of the Treasury. "Old Cave" as we call him appears to be a friend of yours. He told me that you won all the laurels at the Nashville convention where there were many of the first figures of the Union. I have uniformly told everybody who inquired that our Legislature would send you to the Senate if you would accept the office of Senator, but that I doubted whether you would accept that or any other official station.

(90.) To Gen. H. H. Comstock, Dec. 5, 1844.—I have not thought of being a candidate for the Senate in place of Mr. Porter, because I have all along supposed and desired that Gen. Cass should fill that station if he would acept it. I still think we should elect him and leave it to him to accept or decline as he may think proper. If he should decline to accept the office of Senator after being elected or should go into the cabinet I should then feel disposed to be a candidate, provided I can first be satisfied that I should be successful, but not otherwise. * * * * *

(91.) To Chas. A. Wickliff, Postmaster General, Dec. 9, 1844.—Enclosing petition of 55 citizens of Ionia and recommending the appointment of Sam'l D. Smith as Postmaster in the place of E. S. Johnson.

(91.) To the same, Dec. 10, 1844.—Enclosing petition and recommending the establishment of a new postoffice at Gidley Station, Jackson county.

(92.) To H. N. Walker, Dec. 16, 1844.—Gen. Cass' warmest friends here are opposed to his going into the Senate and some of them inform me that they have written to him to that effect. Hannegan and Wright are among the number. They ask what have Clay, Webster, Benton, Calhoun and Buchanan been able to do for themselves in the Senate? The Tennessee members express no opinion on the subject. Cave Johnson asks me if Gen. Cass will accept a seat in the cabinet and I told him I did not know his views on that subject. Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, is decidedly in favor of the General coming to the Senate, and so is Mr. Blair of

the Globe and Mr. Woodbury of the Senate. I am decidedly of the opinion myself that they are correct and that the best thing that the General could do for himself is to come. Our Legislature will, I hope, elect him by unanimous vote.

(93.) To E. Bradley, Dec. 17, 1844.—There is nothing certainly known of Mr. Polk's intentions in regard to the formation of his cabinet, but Aaron N. Brown, the representative from his Congressional District, thinks he ought not to call any common candidate for the Presidency to the State Department, because that department has heretofore been looked upon as the stepping stone to the Presidency, and Mr. Polk should do nothing that would be like nominating his successor. Mr. Brown's opinion is that the State Department will be offered Buchanan, whose chances for the succession are so small that his appointment could not create much jealousy. The Treasury Department, he thinks, will be offered to Mr. Wright and the War Department to Mr. Cass.

(94.) To Adam L. Roof, Dec. 20, 1844.—The Postoffice Department declines to remove Ethan S. Johnson, the present postmaster at Ionia, because there is nothing alleged against him, not even that he has been a warm partisan. I am much gratified at what you say in supporting me for United States Senator. I desire the election of Gen. Cass to that office if he thinks proper to accept it. If not I will be a candidate.

(95.) To Timothy Eastman, Dec. 23, 1844.—The Postmaster General says that until the mail route can be established by law on the north side of Grand river the mail can be furnished at the different offices between Grand Rapids and Grand Haven, provided any responsible contractor will propose to carry it once a week and back from Grand Rapids to Grand Haven for the net proceeds of the postage paid at the offices along the route, not to exceed, however, $5.00 per mile for the whole distance. The distance is about 35 miles, so that the compensation will be $175. Please let me know what offices ought to be established along the route, their names and the names of the persons who should be appointed postmasters.

(96.) To Hon. John McDonell, Dec. 23, 1844.—I thank you for the information contained in your private note. I hope that if Gen. Cass will accept the office of Senator that he will be elected unanimously. He would add greatly to the character and influence of our State in the Senate, and we might all justly be proud of him, but I doubt some whether he will not decline to serve. His standing now before the nation is so high that it can hardly be elevated by anything that he could do under the most fortunate circumstances, and he might possibly in the Senate get into some tight place from which he could hardly escape without injury from some quarter. I have never authorized any body to use my name as a candidate for the Senate and do not intend to do so, though if Gen. Cass should decline and I should be elected I should probably accept.

(97.) To P. H. Brown, Dec. 24, 1844.—The contest has been a severe one everywhere; even in the Northwest where the Democracy has carried every state except Ohio, our victory was not gained without the greatest effort. Gen. Cass behaved nobly. He was constantly on the stump himself and his son was all the time paying out money wherever it would do any good, and he actually paid out and expended about $3,000 in cash during the canvass. If the efforts of Gen. Cass did not save Michigan and Indiana they contributed greatly to increase our majority in these states, and also to increase our votes in Ohio.

(98.) To S. M. Johnson, Dec. 25, 1844.—I observe what you say about my employment as a minister at some foreign court, but do not think it worth while to move in the matter because there are so many more prominent men than I looking for such stations. Besides this, I speak no language but the English, and every man appointed to a foreign mission ought to be able to speak and write the language of the country to which he is accredited. I had formerly some knowledge of the French language, but that is nearly forgotten now. * * * * There is nothing yet known about the cabinet of Mr. Polk. Major Lewis, an old friend of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Polk, has just returned from Tennessee where he saw and conversed most familiarly with both the old and the young Hickory; and he states most distinctly that Mr. Polk had never spoken on the subject of his cabinet to any one but Gen. Jackson, and that no conclusion had been arrived at concerning it. The Major says that Old Hickory and Young Hickory both entertained the kindest feelings toward Gen. Cass and speak of him in terms of the greatest respect and regard, and that this feeling is common to the whole Democracy of the State of Tennessee on whom he made a very strong and favorable impression during his visit there at the great convention at Nashville. Many of the Democrats of Tennessee admit that if Cass had been our candidate instead of Polk he would have carried that state by a handsome majority. The Whigs who had formerly voted against Polk for Governor thought they could not consistently vote for him for President.

(99.) Dec. 25, 1844.—Petition to the Michigan Legislature asking for especial enactment permitting the construction of a dam across Grand river at Grand Rapids, the same to be of a height not exceeding the average height of the bed of Grand river at the head of the rapids, and to be divided with sluiceway and inclined planes not less than 30 feet wide in the deepest channel of the river for the purpose of passing boats and rafts over the same.

(100.) To W. A. Richmond, Jan. 2, 1845.—(Marked confidential)—Your opinion of the inexpediency of Gen. Cass being candidate to the United States Senate agrees well with the opinions of his warmest friends here, many of whom have written to him to that effect, and among the number is Mr. Ledyard, his son-in-law, who is now here and has written to him against accepting a seat in the Senate. Others, who want his assistance here in obtaining office for themselves, are very anxious that he should accept, and if he should accept and come on here if only for the session of the Senate which will be called immediately after the 4th of March, for the purpose of action upon the important nomination then to be made. I rather think his own inclinations are in favor of acceptance, and I shall therefore expect him here as Senator, for I think Mr. Calhoun will remain for some time to come in the State Department, and that is the only department that Gen. Cass would think of going into. It is possible that the General may decline both a seat in the cabinet and the Senate. In that event you may procure my election to the Senate if you choose and find you can do so without injury to our party if successful or injury to myself if defeated. I will leave the whole matter to your discretion to act as you think best. * * * * *

(101.) To Gen. Cass, Jan. 6, 1845.—Your favor of the 26th of last month was received this morning. I have all along thought that you ought to go into the Senate for the reasons alluded to by you, and am glad to see that you are coming to the same conclusion. So far as the interest and character of our State are concerned, I have never for one moment had the slightest doubt of the propriety of this step on your part, and as to your own interest, I do not think it likely to be injured, but on the

contrary, it appears to me it may be promoted by your being in the Senate. I know that many of your most devoted friends here entertain a different opinion, and this has sometimes led me to doubt the correctness of my own judgment on this subject, but on a review of all that I have heard said on the subject, I still adhere to the opinion first formed. Those who oppose the idea of your going into the Senate think your standing is so high now that nothing that you can do can add to it, while an unlucky combination of circumstances or a false step might injure you if you were to accept any official station. It appears to me they do not consider that in the onward progress of men and things standing still is about the same as going backward. You will be elected to the Senate without opposition and I hope you will remain there for at least two years. I consider it a better place for you, even, than the State Department, because it will place you more immediately in contact with the members of Congress whose agency in forming and giving direction to public opinion is very great.

(102.) To E. Bradley, Jan. 12, 1845.—Gen. Cass has finally decided to accept the office of Senator, if elected, and on many accounts I am glad he has come to this conclusion. I should be glad on every account if it were not for the fear I entertain that it may possibly injure his prospects for the Presidency in 1848, and I do not know that it will. On the contrary it may aid his views if everything should work right. It will show that he has the confidence and support of his own State and this will aid him in other states. It will also enable him to become personally acquainted with the new politicians who have come on the stage since the General resided here, and as they are mostly young men representing the young Democracy of the country their acquaintance and friendship is desirable. His acquaintance will prevent a scramble for the office of Senator which might injure our party as the contest did in 1839.

(103.) To Gen. Levi S. Humphrey, Jan. 15, 1845.—Advising him that his nomination as Marshal of the District of Michigan was yesterday confirmed by the Senate. Gen. Stockton took an active part in your favor and was the means of conciliating our Senators and bringing them to your support.

(104.) To Wm. A. Richmond, Jan. 15, 1845.—(Marked private)—Yours of the 10th was just received and I confess the idea that I can be elected to the United States Senate without the influence of Gen. Cass and his friends and in direct opposition to it takes me by surprise; and were it not for the knowledge that I have of your sagacity and caution I should doubt the correctness of your opinion. I know, however, that you are likely to be deceived and I must therefore make up my mind as to what course I will pursue. The prize is almost too tempting to be rejected, and if I could secure it without being placed in opposition to Gen. Cass and his wishes and interest, I should of course be glad to do so; but as I understand his views and wishes, I do not see how this can be done. I expressed to the General when I last saw him in Detroit a wish that he might be elected to the Senate and I have uniformly expressed the same desire to others. I can do nothing that shall be inconsistent with these professions, not even to secure a seat for six years in the Senate of the United States. If the General would go into the cabinet or should refuse to accept the office of Senator, I hereby give you in that event full power to make such arrangements for me and in my name as you may judge necessary and proper to secure my election, and I shall consider myself bound thereby whenever you inform me what you have done. You now know the rela-

tions existing between Gen. Cass and myself, and I trust to your friendship and judgment to keep me in a position in the pending Senatorial election, for my honor and good faith shall not be questioned or questionable.

(105.) Wm. A. Richmond, Jan. 29, 1845.—Yours of the 21st was received this morning and I am glad to learn that I am not to be named as a candidate for the office of Senator in competition with or in opposition to Gen. Cass. Under no circumstances can I consent to have my name used in competition with his, as you are well aware from the letters which I have written you heretofore, and I regret to learn, by a letter received this morning from S. M. Johnson, that he has any opposition. I had hoped and expected that he would be elected unanimously, and I still hope for the same result. I am exceedingly gratified this morning to find that my vote on the joint resolution for the immediate annexation of Texas is backed up and sustained by the action of the House of Representatives of Michigtan and I doubt not it will also be sustained by your body.

(106.) To D. Goodwin, Feb. 13, 1845.—Mr. Polk, the President-elect, arrived this evening in the cars from Baltimore in company with the Vice President and is looking very well indeed, better I think than he did when I last saw him, six years ago.

(107.) To W. A. Richmond, Feb. 16, 1845.—Gen. Cass has not yet arrived, but it is now considered settled here that neither he nor any other candidate nor any person likely to be a candidate for the Presidency in 1848 will go into Mr. Polk's cabinet. Our Legislature, therefore, need not remain in session on this account, but the General will be here in two or three days and we shall then know more about the matter.

(108.) To Geo. W. Dexter, Easton, Ionia Co., Feb. 16, 1845.—As Ionia county has given my successor, Gen. Chipman, the best evidence of its most entire confidence, I have thought it would be the most respectful and proper course for me to leave the selections of persons to fill offices in that county to him without any attempt on my part to interfere in the matter. I shall accordingly do so. I do not believe Mr. Polk's administration will be a proscriptive one. Changes will doubtless be made, but they will be made gradually as the terms of the official incumbents expire. Some of the present incumbents will be removed, but the number of removals will be nothing like the number under the anti-proscriptive administration of Gen. Harrison for the time it lasted.

(109.) To Jeff. G. Thurber, Feb. 23, 1845.—Gen. Cass arrived here at 3 o'clock a. m. on the 21st and saw the President-elect yesterday, but has not been consulted by him in relation to the formation of the cabinet, though it is understood that the cabinet is made up and will be announced in a few days. Rumor assigns Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the State Department; Mr. Bancroft, of Boston, the Treasury; Col. Butler, of Kentucky, the War Department; not known who for the Navy; Senator, of Mississippi, for Attorney General, and Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, for Postmaster General. The above list cannot be relied on as entirely correct, but it is sufficiently so to enable you to judge of the general character and composition of the cabinet. It is certain that Gen. Cass will not go into the cabinet, for I heard him say today that he would not do so if the State Department should be tendered him. There will therefore be no vacancy in the office of Senator from our State before the expiration of Gov. Woodbridge's term two years hence.

(110) To W. A. Richmond, March 7, 1845.—Advising him of his defeat for the appointment of Indian Affairs. Gen. Cass and McClelland have united to recommend the appointment of Chancellor Farnsworth to that office. Farnsworth was not an applicant to this place and no one asked for his appointment, but Cass thought with the many conflicting applications the appointment of Farnsworth would give the most general satisfaction. Major Edwards, R. .A. Forsyth, Gen. Schwartz and T. C. Sheldon, all of whom were urging their claims for the appointment, share the same fate as you. I have just been informed that the office of Surveyor General will be offered to me by the President, unsolicited on my part, and I shall probably visit Cincinnati for the purpose of removing it to Michigan before I return home. I may not therefore return home before the month of May. Edward Bradley, of Marshall, will be appointed United States District Attorney in place of Geo. C. Bates, when Bates' term expires in July next.

(111.) To Cave Johnson, Postmaster General.—Enclosing recommendation signed by 54 of the principal business men of both political parties residing in the place, asking for the appointment of Truman H. Lyon as Postmaster of Grand Rapids, in place of Mr. Nelson. Mr. Nelson himself signed the paper.

(112.) To Mitchell Hinsdill.—As the policy of the new administration is now distinctly avowed, I write to inform you that President Polk has several times within the last two weeks stated to different persons, as to Gen. Cass this morning, that all persons now in office who were appointed for a particular term would be allowed to serve that term without being removed for a difference from him in political opinion. And if Whigs are allowed to serve out their term I presume that Democrats who are now in office have nothing to fear.

(113.) To Major A. P. Stinson, March 17, 1845.—The President is determined to check the excessive and indecent eagerness of office hunters, and has avowed his intention to make no removals at present. When he has time he will look carefully into every case where a change is asked, and act as he deems the public good requires. He will not be proscriptive, but will doubtless proceed to examine and make gradually a good many changes.

(114.) To Sheldon McKnight, March 18, 1845.—As there appears to be very little prospect of your getting the appointment as Postmaster at Detroit, Gen. Cass set himself to work to make an office expressly for your benefit. He has informed you that you will be appointed by the Secretary of War, Assistant Superintendent of United States Mines, with a salary of $1,200 per annum, and be stationed at the Sault Ste Marie to take an accurate account of all ores that may be smelted there or carried through that place down the lake. I have been with the General to the War Department today and got the office established.

(115.) To the President.—Recommending Wm. A. Richmond as Supt. of Indian Affairs for Michigan in place of Robert Stuart. He is a leading and influential member of our State Senate, a gentleman of fine talent, good education, excellent business habits, strict integrity and a high sense of honor, and having resided for many years at Grand Rapids, in the immediate vicinity of the Ottawas and Chippewas, he is well acquainted with their habits, character, condition and wants.

(116.) To Gen. Cass, March 31, 1845.—I have not yet received my appointment, but for an accidental allusion to it the other evening when conversing with the President I should have lost it, and a man from Ohio would have been appointed.

The President had forgotten that he made you any promise in my behalf. Mr. Norvell had a private interview with him the other day and before he left he got, as he afterwards informed me, the President's written direction to Mr. Buchanan to give him, Norvell, the appointment of United States District Attorney for Michigan. This upsets all our calculations in relation to the appointment of Bradley to that office, and he will be greatly disappointed. Mr. Norvell has always told me that he was not looking for, and would not accept any appointment in Michigan, and I did not suspect that he would apply for one.

(117.) To the President, March 25, 1845.—Enclosing recommendations from a large number of the leading Democratic lawyers and other leading members of the Democratic party in Michigan in favor of the appointment of Edward Bradley, of Marshall, to be United States District Attorney for Michigan. Mr. Bradley belongs emphatially to the young Democracy and is one of the most prominent, active, and influential Democrats in the State, and has the warm, earnest and undivided support of the whole Democratic party.

(118.) To S. M. Johnson, April 2, 1845.—Mr. Teneyck, H. N. Walker and myself, called on Mr. Buchanan to jog his memory in relation to your appointment and that of Teneyck. We found him cross and complaining of the constant and reiterated importunity of office seekers and their friends. He said if they would let him alone he could do more in one day than he could do under existing circumstances in two weeks.

(119.) To Wm. Medill, April 3, 1845.—Second Assistant Postmaster General.—Recommending Postoffice appointments: T. H. Lyon in place of James M. Nelson at Grand Rapids; Alonzo Noble at Battle Creek; Zenas Tillotson at Marshall; Peter C. Lawrence at Leoni; Sam'l W. B. Chester at Niles; Geo. Essick at Berrien Springs, and Mumford Eldred, Jr., at Ross Center, the latter office to be changed to Yorkville.

(120.) To John S. Barry, April 7, 1845.—Recommending the appointment of John Almy as agent to reside in the city of New York for the purpose of directing emigration to the State of Michigan. Judge Almy has devoted most of his time for the last six months to visiting and becoming acquainted with such persons in the cities of New York and Boston as he thought would aid in turning the tide of emigration to our State, and, in doing so, had qualified himself to render the State more service in such an agency than any other person of my acquaintance.

(121.) To Wm. Medill, Second Assistant Postmaster General, April 8, 1845.—Recommending the establishment of Fort Wilkins postoffice on Lake Superior, about 200 miles west of Sault Ste. Marie and 250 miles north of Green Bay with Charles R. Brush as postmaster. The mineral character of the country on the border of Lake Superior is now attracting the attention of the public and several hundred miners are already in the mineral regions about Point Keweenaw, with no postoffice nearer to them than Sault Ste. Marie.

(122.) To John Mullett, April 18, 1845.—If I should be appointed Surveyor General it is my intention to employ no deputy who is not a good practical geologist, able and willing to return to the office, for the use of the government, full minute and accurate geological information in relation to every section and quarter section that may be surveyed, so far as such information can be obtained by careful observation without materially increasing the travel necessary to run the lines. I have

conversed with the Secretary of the Treasury on the practicability and expediency of procuring geological information in this way, and he deems the subject of so much importance that he will probably give me instructions concerning it. One object that I had in view in getting the compensation for surveying in our State increased was to enable me to carry this plan into effect. When its practicability shall have been tested in our State it will, I have no doubt, be adopted in all the surveys of the public land throughout the United States.

(123.) To Wm. A. Richmond, April 14, 1845.—Permit me to congratulate you on your appointment this day as Indian Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the State of Michigan. The order has been given by the President to have your commission for his signature, and I saw the clerk in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs writing it about two hours ago. It is by this time, I presume, signed by the President and sealed with the great seal of the War Department. It is the best office in our State and one that has more patronage than any other. You will have to give bond to the sum of $40,000 and enter upon the discharge of your duties immediately. Your success will occasion much disappointment to Gen. Cass, Chancellor Farnsworth, H. N. Walker, Dr. Houghton and several other warm personal and political friends of mine, who desired Farnsworth's appointment, but I do not see how they can find fault with me for they all knew that I preferred you for the office before any other man and they ought to have expected, if they did not do so, that I would do all I could for you.

(124.) To Dr. Houghton, April 15, 1845.—Explaining the appointments of Mr. Norvell and Mr. Robinson. Gen. Cass hurried off home on the very day that the Senate adjourned. He should have stayed here a week or ten days at least or until the appointments for our State were all determined on and settled. He had several interviews with the President and I supposed he had everything settled, but he seems to have neglected it. Before I knew it Mr. Norvell had got the absolute promise of the appointment as District Attorney. I supposed the Superintendent of Indian Affairs was settled and that Farnsworth would be appointed in accordance with Gen. Cass's wishes and was therefore surprised when the President asked me to recommend a man to succeed Robt. Stuart, to be removed, and I recommended Richmond, and he was appointed without opposition.

(125.) To E. McGavock, April 18, 1845.—The depreciation in the value of all descriptions of real estate of Michigan has been greater than can be credited by those who have not witnessed the change. More than nine-tenths of all the wild lands in Michigan which were purchased of the government in 1835-6 and 7 can be bought now for a less sum than would have repaid the owners the taxes that have been assessed on them together with the interest on the first cost; so that the owners of these lands who purchased them in those years and have continued to hold them have actually sunk the whole of the original capital invested. Many have done much worse.

(126.) To James Buchanan, Secretary of State.—Urging the appointment of Simeon M. Johnson as consul at Matanzas; Anthony TenEyck as Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands; and Lewis Cass, Jr., of Detroit, as Charge d'Affaires at Paris. The fees of the consulate amount to about sixteen hundred; the salary of the commissioners three thousand, and the salary and outfit of the charge about nine thousand. The State is justly entitled by population and representation in Congress to these places. Michigan has only had a single clerkship in the war department and has

never received a civil or diplomatic appointment of any kind, either at Washington or abroad; for General Cass when he was appointed Secretary of War and also when he went abroad, was a citizen of Ohio and never became a citizen of Michigan until after his return from France. The total amount of the consular expenses of the government is one million two hundred and fifty dollars, and on the basis of Michigan's representation in Congress she is entitled to places to the amount of twenty-two thousand four hundred and eighty. The three places asked for amount to thirteen thousand six hundred.

(127.) To Gen. Cass, April 22, 1845.—You have doubtless heard that the President adheres to his promise to appoint Mr. Norvell. He says his word has been given and must not be violated, but he is willing to do anything that he can to provide for Mr. Bradley in some other way. Mr. Tassistro has been here on Norvell's behalf. Mr. TenEyck has been appointed Commissioner to Sandwich Islands and his commission will be made out today. I do not know what can be done for Johnson. I have done all that I can do for him and there is no use in my saying anything more in his favor. I think you can, by writing to the President or Mr. Buchanan and presenting the claims of our State in a clear and forcible manner, secure his appointment without in any way injuring the prospects of Lewis. * * *

(128.) To W. A. Richmond, May 1, 1845.—I have seen the President today in company with Chas. G. Hammond and had a full, deliberate and satisfactory talk with him. He told us the Secretary of the Treasury had, agreeably to his order, reported on your case this morning, that he had caused examination to be made of the books in the office of the first comptroller and register of the Treasury and found that you were not a defaulter. He said he was very glad to learn this, because he had appointed you on my recommendation chiefly and should have been obliged to turn you out immediately if the statement against you had proven true. You stand well with the President now, better than you would have done if you had not been attacked; and the same remark is true, I believe, in regard to myself. All of Bradley's efforts to injure you are recoiling on his own head and that too, with great effect.

(129.) To John S. Chipman, May 3, 1845.—Enclosed herewith I send you a letter which I have just received from T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, informing me that instructions to Major Thos. H. Harvey of St. Louis, Mo., to negotiate a treaty with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattomies have been renewed and that he will enter immediately upon the duty. Also that he is directed to endeavor to procure, independent of the treaty, the assent of those Indians to the claims against them adjudicated by Wm. B. Mitchell. As P. Marantette and others in your vicinity are deeply interested in procuring the assent of the Indians to the payment of the claim which they hold against them, I send this letter to you and beg you to advise them that they send an agent or agents to attend the treaty and procure the assent.

(130.) To Geo. W. Thayer, May 7, 1845, from New York.—I arrived here last night and shall probably remain a week and then go to Detroit by way of Montreal, stopping one day at Burlington to see our friends and take you along with me. I hope you will be ready before I arrive.

(131.) To General Lewis Cass, June 3, 1845, from Grand Rapids.—S. M. Johnson has heard of his appointment, and if there is any happier man alive than he is this day I should be glad to see him. He attributes his success entirely to your letter as he ought and his feelings are all right.

(132.) To S. Barton, Solicitor of the Treasury, June 7, 1845, from Grand Rapids.—In compliance with your request I give you below the list of names and place of residence of suitable persons to take charge of and administer the properties that the government has acquired or may acquire under its judgments at marshal sale in different portions of this State: Adam L. Roof, Lyons, for the counties of Ionia and Clinton; Truman H. Lyon, for Kent, Ottawa, and Barry; Sam'l Clark, Kalamazoo, for Kalamazoo and Allegan; Isaac E. Crary, Marshall, for Calhoun and Eaton; Wm. J. Moody, Jackson, for Jackson and Ingham; Gen. Thos. Fitzgerald, St. Joseph, for Berrien and Van Buren; A. H. Redfield, Cassopolis, for Cass; John S. Chipman, Centerville, for St. Joseph and Branch; Ezra Williams, Detroit, for Wayne; Robt. McClelland, Monroe, for Monroe, Lenawee, and Hillsdale; K. S. Bingham, Green Oak, for Livingston and Washtenaw counties; James B. Hunt, Pontiac, for Oakland, Shiawassee and Genesee; G. D. Williams for Saginaw; Alvin N. Hart, Lapeer, for Lapeer, and Col. Andrew Mack, St. Clair, for St. Clair county.

(133.) To James Scribner, June 2, 1845, Grand Rapids.—At your request I hereby give you permission to procure for the purpose of constructing a bridge across the rapids of Grand river any stone belonging to me on said rapids excepting such as have been laid into the wing wall at the head of the canal or into the wall built by Dan'l Ball.

(134.) To Capt. John McNeil, July 2, 1845.—I received my commission as Surveyor General last evening and shall leave here for Detroit in a day or two. * * * We have fine crops of all kinds in this part of Michigan now on the ground, and the prospects warrant the belief that the wheat crop here will be better and more abundant than ever before. Everything here at Grand Rapids looks prosperous and the whole Grand river valley is increasing in wealth and population and also in political importance. Three of the best appointments yet made in our State being from this village—S. M. Johnson, consul at Matanzas, Cuba; Wm. A. Richmond, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Michigan; and myself, Surveyor General of Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. The Democracy of the State are, I believe, pretty well satisfied with President Polk's administration and have more and more confidence in him every day.

(135.) To John Almy, July 13, 1845, Detroit.—I am now prepared to offer you a situation as clerk in the surveyor's office, with a salary of $1,000 per annum, or an appointment as surveyor and a contract for surveying south of Lake Superior at five dollars per mile for township boundaries, and four dollars a mile for section line. I have offered S. W. Higgins a contract for surveying south of Lake Superior on the same terms, to embrace a geological as well as linear survey, and he has concluded to accept. He will be ready to go up the lakes as soon as he can hear from Washington.

(136.) To Hiram Burnham.—I was sworn in and commenced my official duties on the 11th inst. * * * I am making my arrangements to go to Lake Superior in two or three weeks to fix upon the best plan for carrying on the surveys there.

(137.) To Gen. C. C. Hascall, July 19, 1845, from Detroit.—I beg leave to suggest for the consideration of yourself and Mr. McLain that you may as well let all matters relating to our mining enterprise in Canada remain as they are until he receives the answers to his letters. If he should ascertain that lease can be procured for any considerable extent of country on the Canada shore of Lake Superior, we

will then designate the mineral region that we want; but in the meantime we ought to make some further explorations. The tract directly northeast of Isle Royal is said to be rich in copper, as we know the island to be, but how far down the coast the indications of copper extend I do not know, but they probably extends to within seventy or eighty miles of St. Mary's river, or the outlet of the lake. We ought, if possible, embrace the whole coast and for twenty miles back into the interior from the Canadian boundary where it leaves Lake Superior on the northwest down to within sixty miles of the outlet of the lake. A lease covering such a tract for twenty or thirty years, I should consider immensely valuable. Copper and silver have been found within this tract, and lead will probably be found later.

(138.) To Seth Barton, Solicitor of the Treasury, July 12, 1845, Detroit.—Suggesting that instead of having agents for the management and disposal of such real estate as may be taken by the United States for debts due to them from public officers and their sureties in different counties in the State, that it would be much more economical and better for the government, as well as more convenient, to have all this property managed and disposed of by Mr. Norvell, the United States District Attorney for this State.

(139.) To E. D. Burr, July 25, 1845, Detroit.—The copper mining excitement seems to increase. I have no doubt of the richness of the mines of Lake Superior, but I have great doubt whether one-tenth of those who go there will get paid for their trouble. There is very little said about politics at the present time. Austin E. Wing, of Monroe, and James Kingsley, of Ann Arbor, appear to be considered candidates with Governor Barry for the nomination of Governor. Who will be chosen by the convention I cannot say, but presume it will be Barry, if he will accept.

(140.) To Thos. S. At Lee, Detroit.—I have appointed Geo. S. Frost, selected by Gen. Cass; Hiram Burnham, of Saline, selected by Mr. McClelland; and Joseph E. Hyde, of Pontiac, selected by Mr. Hunt, as clerks in the Surveyor General's office. I have also appointed John Almy, of Kent, to be one of the two draughtsmen employed in the office. Mr. Morrison, the other draughtsman, and Mr. Williams, the chief clerk, having long been in the office and intimately acquainted with its business, cannot well be spared. The arrangement of the clerkships in the office may therefore be considered as completed.

(141.) To S. M. Johnson, August 11, 1845. On board the steamboat Illinois.—The writer is en route to Lake Superior for the purpose of making arrangements to carry on surveys in the public lands in the mining district, at the same time to open a rich mine of silver and gold, which runs through three locations of one mile square each which the New York and Michigan Mining Company have on Dead river about one hundred and seventy miles beyond the Sault Ste. Marie and perhaps one hundred or ninety miles this side of Fort Wilkins. He is very confident that the veins will prove exceedingly rich. Our State Geologist, Dr. Houghton, has maintained for several years past that the mining region around and south of Lake Superior was the richest in the world, and every day now is furnishing proofs of the correctness of his opinion. The Doctor has run and marked more than twelve hundred miles of township and sectional lines there this summer, having been in the woods all the time since the first part of May, and made a great many exceedingly interesting and valuable discoveries. He is admitted on all hands to know more of the mineral character of the country than all the rest of the world put together. His report, which will be made to the Treasury Department through my office, will be an interesting document.

(142.) To Wm. A. Richmond, August 17, 1845, Sault Ste. Marie.—I left Detroit on Monday last, the 11th inst., with Mr. Broadhead, of New York, a friend of Mr. Ledyard, and my two nephews, Lucius and Washington Thayer. We arrived at Mackinac on Tuesday night, where we found Dr. John H. Bagg and Chas. W. Hopkins, who had come on two days before and were waiting for us, and on Wednesday afternoon we all started in the General Scott for this place, where we arrived on Thursday morning, the 14th. We brought along with us from Detroit provisions, tools and outfit enough to last ten men two months. We have hired four men here, bought a boat and sails, and are now waiting for Mr. Ledyard, who is expected up in the Scott on Monday evening. On Tuesday, if the weather will permit, we expect to start to coast along upon the lake to Dead river.

(143.) To S. M. Johnson, Oct. 17, 1845.—The writer returned from Lake Superior on the 12th inst. Mr. Ledyard, Mr. Broadhead and himself bought a boat at Sault Ste. Marie and with a party of seven men coasted all the way up Lake Superior to Eagle river on Point Keweenaw, but went no further. They sent J. Stacy, of Maine, to examine and report upon the locations of the company on the Montreal River and Porcupine Mountains, and he is expected to return on his way back to Maine about the 10th of next month. They examined personally the three locations southwest of the mouth of Dead river and west of the mouth of the Chocolate river and found them to cover one of the most extensive and valuable deposits of micaceous or specular iron ore that had ever been found in the world. He doubts if such a deposit can be found elsewhere, either in Europe or America, for richness and abundance and the facility with which it may be quarried and worked.

(144.) To Cave. Johnson, Postmaster General.—Urging that the Detroit postoffice be made a distributing office for the whole year, as it now is for the season when navigation is open upon the lakes.

(145.) To Col. Joseph P. Taylor, October 22, 1845, Detroit.—Offering $1.75 per cord for a few cords of hickory wood piled up back of the house lately occupied by Col. Whiting, which the writer has rented and will soon take possession of.

(146.) To Gov. Mocton, of Louisiana, October 31, 1845, Detroit.—Introducing Hiram Moore, who is going south to avoid the rigor of the northern winter. His health has been seriously impaired by laborous study for some years past to the improvement of agricultural machinery, and he needs a little relaxation. I commend him to you as a man of uncommon merit, and one who has done for the grain growing regions of the north what Whitney and his cotton gin have done for the south, viz., invented and perfected a machine which saves to the agriculturalist three-fifths of the labor of preparing for market the great staple of the country. He has reduced the cost of harvesting and threshing and cleaning grain from more than three dollars to about one dollar per acre, and for this he is destined to be, and deserves to be, ranked in the first and noblest class of our country's benefactors.

THE GLADWIN MANUSCRIPTS.

TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.

BY CHARLES MOORE.

INTRODUCTION.

Pontiac has a well defined place in the history of this country. The temporary success of his great conspiracy against the English and his tragic death by the hand of an assassin; and especially the fact that he embodied in his own person the most formidable protest against the encroachments of the whites on the hunting grounds of the red men, have combined to make him the heroic figure in northwestern history during the years between the surrender of Canada to the English and the War of the Revolution. Moreover, the genius of Parkman has made it certain that the name of Pontiac will never cease to be remembered among English speaking people on this continent.

What changes might have taken place in the development of the northwest had Pontiac's conspiracy been successful, can only be surmised. That he was foiled in his great purpose and after many minor successes was compelled in the end to acknowledge defeat was due to the unexampled intrepidity, carefulness and soldierly training of one man. The sagacity of Henry Gladwin and his success in withstanding the long siege of Detroit, mark him as one of the very few great Indian fighters in our history. And yet when one inquires as to Gladwin's history before or after the siege of Detroit, one finds even on the pages of Parkman nothing but a misspelled name.

Four years ago, the writer began the task of getting together what facts were known as to Gladwin's career. On appealing to Mr. Parkman in person, the result was a charming morning among the roses at his home on the banks of Jamaica Pond; but no information. Nor did a pro-

longed search among the Parkman manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library add much to the meagre stock of knowledge already available. The Haldimand and Bouquet collections of letters were drawn upon both as they appear in part in the published volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and as they exist entire in manuscript form at Ottawa; but here again the results were simply tantalizing.

Meantime, a search through the files of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1755—the date of Gladwin's coming to America—to the end of the century, yielded the date of his death (1791), and, what was more important, the dates of the marriages of several of his daughters. It so happens that the family into which Mary, Gladwin's third daughter, married, finds a place in Burke's County Families, and after repeated importunities, a letter was received from the present representative of that family, R. D. de Uphaugh, of Hollingbourne, near Maidstone, who referred the writer to Rev. Henry Gladwyn Jebb, of Firbeck Hall, Rotherham, Yorkshire, who took a decided interest in the matter, and who kindly sent the manuscripts, copies of which are given below.

With the assistance of the descendants of Gen. Gladwin the following facts in regard to his life were brought to light:

HENRY GLADWIN.

The Gladwin family traces its descent from Thomas Gladwin, who lived at Boythrope, county Derby, and who was born about 1605. He was the father of Thomas Gladwin, Esq., justice of the peace, of Tupton Hall, who was baptized in 1630, and was high sheriff of Derby county in 1667. In 1660 he had a grant of arms. His eldest son was Lemuel, from whom descended Miss Lord, of Tupton Hall. Another son, John, had a daughter, Dorothy, who married the Right Honorable, the Earl of Newburgh; and another daughter, Jane, who married Gen. William Wynyard. There were also two daughters, Mary and Dorothy. The second son of Thomas was Henry Gladwin, with whom we have to do.[1]

Henry Gladwin was born in 1730. The first record of him is found in the British Army Lists for 1753, in which he appears as a lieutenant of the 48th foot (advanced from 2d lieutenant, Irish half-pay). From the Gentleman's Magazine of 1755 we learn that Gladwin was a subaltern in Colonel Dunbar's regiment at the time of the Braddock defeat at Little Meadows, and that he was among those who showed bravery on that occasion is proved by the fact that he was among the eight wounded sub-

[1] From a printed slip furnished by Capt. Richard Henry Goodwin Gladwyn, of Hinchleywood, Derbyshire.

alterns of his regiment, five of his fellow lieutenants having been killed. His name is spelled "Glandwin" in the report, but is correctly spelled in General Braddock's orderly book No. 2, as reprinted in Lowdermilk's History of Cumberland. It was during this campaign that Gladwin came under the notice of Lieutenant Colonel Gage, with whom he sustained most friendly relations in after years.[2] It would be very interesting to know if at this time a personal acquaintance was formed between Lieutenant Gladwin and George Washington, but continued search through every book and document likely to shed light on this matter fails to give even the slightest information on the subject.

In a letter from Sir Jeffrey Amherst to Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, dated Crown Point, August 10, 1759, we find this mention of Gladwin:[3]

"I now enclose to your Lordship * * as likewise a copy of a Com-
"mission to serve as Major during the Campaign that I thought necessary
"for the good of His Majesty's Service to grant to Captain Gladwin as
"Eldest Captain of Gage's, as Major to that Regiment. * * I hope my
"having appointed Majors to the Corps during the Campaign will meet
"with His Majesty's gracious approbation."

On May 28, 1760, Gen. Amherst ordered Gladwin from New York by way of Fort Pitt, to relieve Niagara. On his way he was to leave 150 men at Presq' Isle where he was to throw up an intrenchment.[4] On his way across Lake Erie, Gladwin made a chart of the coast.

On September 9, Vaudreuil announced to the Beaujou at Michilimackinac, the capitulation of Montreal; and on October 18, Monckton wrote to Bouquet that Amherst had ordered Major Robert Rogers to Michilimackinac to take possession of the upper posts. With Rogers went Captain Campbell with a detachment to garrison Detroit. On the same day Amherst wrote from Crown Point to the Duke of Richmond:[5]

"I really am sorry that Your Grace's Protection to Captain Gladwin
"with the mention you were pleased to make of his promotion, has not
"been attended with better success. I would renew my application to
"Lord Barrington, but I can expect no good effect from it, since your
"Grace's mentioning Captain Gladwin has not taken place; this is the
"second Campaign I have given him a Commission to serve as Major, and
"if I may be allowed to forget for a moment that he is recommended by
"Your Grace, it is a justice I owe to his Services, to say, the manner in
"which he has at all times commanded Gage's (the 80th Foot) Corps does

[2] See letter, Gladwin to Gage, in Gladwin MSS.

[3] I am under deep obligations to Col. William Ludlow, Military Attaché, Embassy of the United States, London, England, who, at the request of Senator James McMillan, obtained for me copies of every mention of Gen. Gladwin on file in the British War Office. The request made by Col. Ludlow was complied with through the courtesy of the Marquis of Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War; Sir Ralph Thompson and Sir Arthur Haliburton. Copies of entire correspondence are now in my possession.

[4] Monckton to Bouquet, July 6, 1760. Bouquet Papers.

[5] British War Office MSS.

"him great honour, and as you have been so good to speak for him, I hope "he will get the rank of Major to that Regiment, for I do not know any "Captain in the Army more deserving of it."

The Bouquet Papers, printed in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, give information as to the reception of Major Rogers at Detroit and descriptions of the post and of Detroit life. On July 30, 1761, Major Walters writes to Bouquet that Sir William Johnson and Major Gladwin are at Niagara on their way to Detroit, with 300 light infantry; and on August 11 the party had reached Presq' Isle. Gen. Amherst reported his action to the Secretary of War, in a letter dated Albany, August 13, 1761, as follows:[6]

"I have sent a detachment of three hundred men to the Upper Lakes "under the command of Capt. Gladwin of Gage's, and I have judged it "for the good of His Majesty's Service to appoint Captain Gladwin to act "as Major during this Expedition, for which I have given him a Commis- "sion, that I hope His Majesty will approve of."

The extract from Commission above referred to, dated 22nd June, 1761, is as follows:

"By His Excellency Jeffrey Amherst, Esqre., Major General and Com- "mander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, &c., &c., &c.

"To Henry Gladwin, Esqre., Captain in His Majesty's 80th Regiment "of Light Armed Foot.:

"Whereas I have thought it requisite for the better carrying on of His "Majesty's Service that a Major should be appointed to His Majesty's "80th, or Regiment of Light Armed Foot, I do by virtue of the Power and "Authority to me given and granted by His Majesty, hereby constitute "and appoint you to be Major to the said Regiment, during this Campaign "only; after which you are to return to the rank of Captain unless pro- "vided for otherwise; you are therefore, &c., &c."

Captain Campbell reports (August 17) to Bouquet the arrival at Detroit of Sir William Johnson and Major Gladwin, and enlarges on the unstinted hospitality that marked the visit. Sir William was convinced that the Indian conspiracy against the English was universal, a fact that Amherst doubted. It also appears from the correspondence that a Mr. Theis had built at Niagara a schooner drawing seven feet of water and carrying six guns, to be commanded by Lieutenant Robertson; and a sloop to carry ten guns. These were the vessels that played such an important part in the Pontiac seige.

In the festivites and negotiations Gladwin had no part. An attack of fever and ague confined him to his quarters; and it was not until October 12 that he had recovered sufficiently to return.[7]

[6] British War Office MSS.

[7] Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, p. 116

After leaving Detroit, Gladwin sailed for England, and on March 30, 1762, he married Frances, the daughter of the Rev. John Beridge. The photograph taken from Mrs. Gladwin's portrait shows that in middle life she was a handsome woman. Indeed at first glance the portrait would be taken for a picture of Martha Washington. That at the age of 18 she must have been a beautiful bride is quite evident; and one can readily believe that it was with no little reluctance on both sides that soon after the marriage the bridegroom again set his face towards the American wilderness. Perhaps it was by way of a wedding present that Gladwin was offered a majority in Bouquet's regiment of Royal Americans; but he declined the proffer, because he preferred to take his chances in the regular British army. The correspondence on the subject is to be found in a letter from Amherst[8] dated June 15, 1762, stating that he had granted a commission to Major Gladwin of Wilmott's (80th Foot) to succeed Major Walters in the Royal American Regiment; but in a subsequent letter (July 20, 1762) the General states that Major Gladwin chose to remain in the 80th Regiment. Gladwin explains his decision in a letter to Bouquet, dated July 29. On August 1, we get trace of Gladwin at Niagara; and on the 23d he arrived at Detroit as commandant.[9]

In Bouquet's correspondence with Gen. Amherst during 1763 there are occasional references to Gladwin; but the latter seems to have been little given to the use of his pen. From these scattered references one learns that Amherst had unbounded confidence in the young major; and that while steps were taken to give him relief, yet the gravity of his situation during the long seige seems not to have been appreciated at headquarters. The letter from Gladwin to Amherst, given in the Gladwin MSS., dated November 1, 1763, states the conclusion of the whole Pontiac matter. The promotions given to Gladwin later show that his services were appreciated by Amherst, who had the reputation for preferring officers of ability to officers who had family connections; and finally the home authorities were brought to grant recognition corresponding with Gladwin's deserts.

While the seige of Pontiac was in progress, Sir Jeffrey Amherst on turning over his command to General Gage, on November 17, 1763, said in his instructions: "It was my intention that the 42d Regiment should have garrisoned the Detroit and Posts above, but as it has been found impracticable for that Regiment to advance from Presq' Isle this season, I have empowered Major Gladwin to keep up the 80th Regiment on such an event."

It is not the intention here to tell the well-known story of Pontiac's seige of Detroit; but merely to give the hitherto unknown facts as to Gladwin's life. In a volume of Parkman's MSS., marked "Pontiac Miscellanies, 1764," is a letter from Gage to Bradstreet, dated at New York.

[8] British War Office MSS.

[9] Bouquet Papers.

October 15, 1764, in which Gen. Gage states that Gladwin had delivered Bradstreet's letters of August 28 and 29; and on October 12th Gage (who had succeeded Amherst) wrote to the Secretary of War:[10]

"Major Gladwin having come here from Detroit, and his private affairs "long ago requiring his presence in England, I have given him leave to go "home before the 80th Regiment to which he belongs is reduced.[11]

"The Services this Gentleman had performed will alone be sufficient to "recommend him to your Protection. I would only presume to hope that "his merit will procure him the same rank that every other Officer has "hitherto obtained who has served in the Station of Deputy Adjutant "General."

From Gladwin's letter to Gen. Gage, dated Stubbing, England, February 24, 1774, printed in the Gladwin MSS., we find that he had settled down to the life of a country gentleman, after having been presented at Court. He never saw further military service, and died on June 22, 1791.

The obituary notice in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1791, is as follows:

"After a long illness at his seat at Stubbing, near Chesterfield, county "Derby, Major-general Gladwin, an officer of great merit. He had served "a long time in America, where he was wounded at the action with the "French and Indians at the back settlements on the banks of the river "Ohio, in July, 1755, when Gen. Braddock, the English commander, un-"happily lost his life."

Gladwin was buried in the Wingerworth Church, and the inscription on his monument is as follows:

"Here lieth the remains of General H. Gladwin. He departed this life "on the 22nd day of June, 1794, in the 62d year of his age. He was dis-"tinguished by all those private and social duties which constitute to the "man and the Christian. Early trained to arms and martial deeds he "sought for fame amidst the toils of hostile war, with that ardour which "animates the breast of a brave soldier. On the plains of North America "he reaped the laurels at the battles of Niagara and Ticonderoga, in "which he was wounded. His courage was conspicuous and his memor-"able defence of Fort Detroit against the attack of the Indians will "long be recorded in the annals of a grateful country.

"Also Mary and Henry, son and daughter of the aforesaid General H. "Gladwin and his wife, who died in infancy; Martha Gladwin, their "daughter, died October 17, 1817, aged 32.

"Also Frances, sister of the late John Beridge, of Derby, M. D., and "widow of the above General Gladwin, died October 16, 1817, aged 74 "years."

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[10] British War Office MSS.

[11] The 80th Regiment was disbanded on 5th December, 1764.

It is probable that the monument to Gladwin was erected a considerable time after his death, for the date given thereon, 1794, is three years later than his death actually occurred, as is proved by the record in the Gentleman's Magazine quoted above.

Gladwin's eldest son, Charles Dakeyne of Belmont and Stubbing, was born in 1775 and died in 1844, leaving one daughter. Gladwin's daughter, Frances, married June 9, 1841, Francis Goodwin, Esquire, of Mapleton. He bequeathed all his estates to his nephew, the Rev. Henry Johnson Goodwin, of Hinchleywood, county Derby, from whom they descended to Captain Richard Henry Goodwin, late captain of the 6th Foot, who assumed the additional name and arms of Gladwin a year after he came into the property.

Captain Gladwin, under the date of January 2, 1894, writes me that he has no record of Gen. Gladwin's early life, and that unfortunately when he came into the estate all papers and records had been destroyed. He, however, sent photographs of General and Mrs. Gladwin, and a copy of the monument inscription as given above.

Gen. Gladwin's second daughter, Dorothy, married, January 4, 1792, Joshua Jebb, Esquire, whose descendant, the Rev. Henry Gladwyn Jebb, under the date of December 27, 1893, writes me:

"I had hoped to send you some information by this day's mail on the "subject of my great grand-father, General Gladwin. The Derbyshire "house and home of the Gladwins is Tupton Hall, in North Wingfield "Parish, near Chesterfield, which was built in 1611, and has been altered "scarcely at all since an addition built about 1670. The line of Gladwin "merged into an heiress nearly two hundred years ago, and her descend-"ants, a family named Lord, lived there until recently, when the last of "her line died and left the estate to strangers. I had then, however, the "opportunity of buying all the family pictures, one a group of ten, Thomas "Gladwin and his wife, down to a baby. I got one bit of Gladwin plate, "dated like the picture 1672, a good deal of old furniture and some old "books.

The MSS. given below were among the papers obtained by Mr. Jebb, who sent them to me on March 12, 1894, saying:

"At last I have come upon letters relating to Major Gladwin, which I "hope may prove interesting to you. I have not time just now to copy "them or even to read them through."

Mary, the third daughter of Gen. Gladwin, married November 29, 1800, Baldwin Duppa, Duppa Esquire, of Hollingburn, near Maidstone, Kent, the present representative of which family is R. de Uphaugh, Esq., of Hollingburn, who in my case proved the key to the other descendants of Gladwin, since it was through his kind offices that I was put in communication with them.

HENRY GLADWIN AND THE SIEGE OF PONTIAC.[1]

The conquest of Canada by the English brought about several readjustments within the territory now included in the State of Michigan. The only settlements were at Detroit, at Mackinac (Michilimackinac), at Sault Ste. Marie and St. Joseph; and of these only the ones at Detroit and Mackinac were of importance. The seat of government was transferred from Quebec to New York, whence General Jeffery Amherst exercised miltary control over the posts. Under him Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt (Pittsburg) ranked the commandant at Detroit; but the latter held a general control over the upper lake posts and reported directly to General Amherst. Indian affairs were in charge of Sir William Johnson, whose headquarters, at Johnson Hall in the present State of New York, swarmed with Indian retainers and dependents, as well as with his own half-breed children. Under Sir William was his deputy, George Croghan, who was constantly engaged in going from tribe to tribe in his efforts to keep the peace.

Along the Atlantic coast an American population of English and Dutch descent peopled the country. Nominally colonists, these people formed practically a group of independent states, only awaiting the coming of events already foreshadowed to coalesce into a new nation. From this sturdy civilization the lake region was completely cut off by the Alleghanies, a barrier not to be crossed at all until the close of the Revolution; and for Michigan not until long after that date. As under the French, so under the English, the lake region continued to be held by garrisons maintained in an Indian country for the protection of the fur-trade. The difficulties of the situation arose from the fact that the Indians disputed the right of the French to dispose of the country to the English; while on their part, the English, having no longer to fear the French power, took less and less pains to conciliate the Indians.

Captain Donald Campbell, as he settled down for a long winter at Detroit (1760), was not ill pleased with his situation.[2] The fort was large and in good repair, with two bastions towards the river and a large, strong bastion towards the Isle au Cochon (Belle Isle); two six-pounders and three mortars made up the battery. Within the high palisades some seventy or eighty houses lined the narrow streets. The fertile

[1] Read before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, at the annual meeting, 1895; and now reprinted from Harper's Magazine for June, 1897, by permission of Harper & Brothers. Copyrighted.

[2] Capt. Campbell had been left in command of the British garrison at Detroit by Major Robert Rogers, to whom the post was surrendered, on November 29, 1760, by M. Beletre, the French commandant.

country along both banks of the river was cut into narrow farms fronting on the water and extending back into the endless forest. The Indians living in the vicinity of the Fort, as well as the settlers, looked to the commandant for both justice[3] and supplies. The soldiers were contented, a fact which the captain ascribed to the absence of rum; and the Indians were seemingly friendly, although the supplies issued to them were meagre in extreme. The social life at Detroit especially pleased the gray-haired bachelor commandant. The women surpassed his expectations; and the men, although very independent, were ever ready for pleasure. The Sunday card parties at the commandant's quarters, attended by both sexes, gave to life at Detroit a zest not known at Fort Pitt; and at a ball, given in honor of the King's birthday, the array of ladies was so fine as to call forth Captain Campbell's hearty commendations, in one of his numerous gossipy letters to Colonel Bouquet. Moreover, both the French and the Indians were as fond of the pleasure-loving captain as their fickle natures would allow.

During the summer, however, emissaries from the Six Nations came to Detroit with large belts, for the purpose of stirring up a general warfare against the English. Matters became so serious that Sir Jeffrey Amherst thought best to send Sir William Johnson to make a treaty at Detroit, and to dispatch Major Gladwin with three hundred light infantry to strengthen the western posts. On their arrival in September, Sir William stated his conviction that the conspiracy against the English was universal; but this opinion was not shared by General Amherst. The latter thought the Indians incapable of doing serious harm, but ordered, by way of precaution, that they be kept short of powder.

The visit of Sir William Johnson was the greatest social event that the people of Detroit had ever known. Captain Campbell was in his element. On Sunday evening he gave a ball to which he invited about twenty of the French maidens of the settlement. The dance began at eight o'clock in the evening and lasted until five next morning. It was opened by Sir William and Mademoiselle Cuillerie, the daughter of the principal French trader; and her black eyes made such a lasting impression on the gallant Indian agent that the exchange of compliments between them appears in the correspondence for several years, the last mention being found in a letter from James Stirling, who, on behalf of his wife, returns hearty thanks for Sir William's civilities to her, four years previous. Before leaving Detroit, Sir William also gave a ball, and on this occasion the dancing continued for eleven hours. There was also a round of dinners and calls, at which wines and cordials were served without stint; presents were showered upon the Indians, and

[3] Gladwin MSS. Warrant issued by Sir Jeffery Amherst to Major Henry Gladwin, for the trial and execution of the sentences in the case of two Panis (Pawnee) slaves for the murder of John Clapham. The original warrant was in my possession.

after the final council all the principal inhabitants dined with the diplomat of the forest.

In all these festivities Major Gladwin had no part. Lying in a little house, within hearing of the lively fiddle and the laughter of the dancers, the fever of the country racked his bones and made him long for his Derbyshire home. At evening Sir William would visit him to talk over the events of the day and plan for the future; and it was not until the middle of October that Gladwin was able to leave for Fort William Augustus on his way to England.

In July, 1762, the Indians learned with satisfaction that England was at war with Spain, and soon the report spread far and wide that the French and Spanish were to retake Quebec and all Canada. Here at last was the chance for which the savages had been waiting. With the help of the French they could drive out the English, and once more receive solicitous attention from both nations. At this juncture Major Gladwin again appeared at Detroit, this time with orders to establish posts on Lake Superior and to exercise general supervision over the northwestern establishments. Captain Campbell, although now somewhat wearied by the sameness of garrison pleasures, remained as second in command; and the favor in which he was held by both the French and the Indians was a decided help to the adroit and business-like Gladwin. For company the officers had Sir Robert Davers, an Englishman of education and adventurous disposition, who had been exploring the Lake Superior country.[4]

As Spring came and the February thaws and March rains loosened the ice bonds that for three long months had locked Detroit from the world, Gladwin at evening must often have stood on the platform within the palisades to look out on the tumultuous river, where the great ice cakes from Lake Ste. Claire, tumbling over each other like marine monsters at play, were hurrying down to the warmer waters of Lake Erie. By day the details of administration kept him busy. The French merchants within the fort grumbled at the increased taxes imposed for the support of a garrison much larger than their own king had maintained; the outlying posts were continually sending for supplies; General Amherst was cautioning against gifts of ammunition and rum to the Indians; and the savages, having bartered their furs for liquor at Niagara, had no means of obtaining the necessaries of life from the traders at Detroit. Some of the French and Indians complained that Gladwin called them dogs, and drove them from his house; and the subsequent career of those persons who made the charges shows that the commandant was an excellent judge of human nature.

[4] All contemporary accounts agree in speaking of "Sir" Robert Davers; but there was no such person in the baronetage of England. Robert Davers, an elder son of Sir Richard Davers was living at this time; but died before coming into the title. The family has since become extinct.

Confident of the power of England to hold all that she had gained from France, Gladwin had no suspicions that the Indians would foolishly rush to their own destruction by an attack on the British posts. Living behind palisades, and surrounded by a cordon of discontented and intriguing French, Gladwin could have no accurate knowledge of the mischief that for months had been plotted by the Ottawa chief, Pontiac, who had established himself, with his wives, on the narrow Isle a la Peche (Peach Island), rising above the waters of Lake Ste. Claire and concealed from the view of the fort by the thickly wooded Isle au Cochon. There is no reason to believe that Pontiac had impressed himself upon Gladwin as being in any way distinguished above the other chiefs, and doubtless many of the reports—like those of Rogers—of the Ottawa's striking personality are too highly colored. The fact remains, however, that now, at the age of fifty, Pontiac was in the full vigor of his power over the surrounding tribes, and that, during his connection with the whites, his keen intelligence had absorbed valuable military knowledge. According to his own account, he had saved the French at Detroit from massacre in 1746, when the great chief Mickinac (the Turtle) came with his northern bands "to carry off the head of the French commander and eat his heart and drink his blood." Doubtless, too, he had led the Ottawas at Little Meadows in 1755, when Gladwin for the first time heard the Indian warwhoop. At a great council (April, 1763), held on the banks of the River Ecorses, below Detroit, Pontiac had related to the superstitious Indians a dream wherein the Great Spirit sent his message that they were to cast aside the weapons, the manufactures and the rum of the white men, and with help from above, drive the dogs in red from every post in their country. The superstitious Indians heard with awe the voice from on high, and left the council prepared to obey the summons.

Detroit being the chief point of attack, Pontiac took upon himself the plan for surprising and massacring the garrison. On May 1, forty Ottawas danced the calumet dance before Gladwin's house. This visit was for the purpose of spying out the land. Four days later, M. Gouin, a substantial French settler, brought word that his wife, while visiting the Ottawa camp to buy venison, had seen the Indians filing off the ends of their gun barrels, evidently preparing for some deed of treachery. On the evening of the 6th Gladwin received private information that the next day had been set for the destruction of his garrison. The exact source of this private information is still a matter of doubt. Lieutenant McDougall, who doubtless knew the secret, gives no hint in his report. Mr. C. M. Burton makes the not impossible suggestion that Mademoiselle Cuillerie, whose father and brother unquestionably knew of the conspiracy, put Major Gladwin on his guard, and that James Stirling, who

afterwards became her husband, was well rewarded by the British for the timely warning.[5] The reward which Stirling received, however, might well have been given because he became the leader of the French citizens when they at last determined to support Gladwin. Carver, who visited Detroit five years after the events to be described, and who published three editions of his "Travels through North America" while Gladwin was still living, relates without contemporary contradiction, a story that Cass accepted with little hesitation and that Parkman clings to in spite of the doubts thrown upon it by investigations he himself made subsequent to the first edition of his "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

The evening of May 7th, according to Carver,[6] an Indian girl who had been employed by Major Gladwin to make him a pair of moccasins out of curious elk skin, brought her work home. The Major was so pleased with the moccasins that, intending them as a present to a friend, he ordered her to take back the remainder of the skin to make a pair for him. Having been paid and dismissed, the woman loitered at the door. Gladwin was quick enough to see that something was amiss. Being urged to tell her trouble, she said, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with much goodness to her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it and she should never be able to bring it back. His curiosity being now excited, he insisted that she disclose the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice, and that if it appeared to be beneficial she should be rewarded for it, she informed him that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. Gladwin then dismissed her with injunctions to secrecy and a promise of reward.

A story at once so romantic and so widely accepted deserves tender treatment; but in the Parkman manuscripts this same tale is found in the mouth of one of Roger's soldiers, who, as Cass proves, could not have known the facts. The truth probably has been related by the unknown author of the Pontiac Diary. This writer says that an Ottawa Indian called Mahigan, who had entered but reluctantly into the conspiracy, and who felt displeased with the steps his people were taking, came on Friday night, without the knowledge of the other Indians, to the gate of the Fort and asked to be admitted to the presence of the commander,

[5] Mr. Burton relies on this passage in a letter from Major Henry Basset to Haldimand, dated at Detroit August 29, 1773, ten years after the siege: "I beg to recommend Mr. James Stirling, who is the first Mercht. at this place & a gentleman, of good character, during the late war, through a Lady, that he then courted, from whom he had the best information, was in part the means to save this garrison."—Mich. P. and H. Col. Vol. 19, p. 311.

[6] Carver is clearly wrong in his date. MacDonald gives May 6, Friday, as the day of the disclosure.

saying that he had something of importance to tell him. The gates having been opened, he was conducted to Captain Campbell, second in command, who sent for Gladwin. They wished to call in the interpreter, Labutte, but the Indian objected, saying that he could make himself understood in French. He unfolded the conspiracy of the Indians, and told how they would fall on the English next day. Having obtained a pledge of secrecy and having refused presents lest the Indians should discover his treachery and kill him, he left the fort secretly. The writer adds that Gladwin made a promise not to disclose the source of his information, and that he kept it.[7]

The crisis had come in the life of the young commandant of his majesty's forces at Detroit. Although he could not then have known the extent of the widespread conspiracy which Pontiac had planned; yet he did know that his steadfastness and his knowledge of Indian warfare were about to be put to the test. Gladwin was a soldier by choice and by training, and the seven years he had spent in England's service on the frontiers had not been without its hard lessons. In 1755 he had landed on the banks of the Potomac as a lieutenant in the ill-fated Braddock expedition. He was one of that band of glittering officers whom the provincial soldier, George Washington, had envied as they congregated in the old Braddock House at Alexandria, whose now bare but stately staircase and broad halls seem still to be peopled by the ghosts of fair ladies and dashing soldier gallants of a century and a quarter ago. In the ambush of Little Meadows he had learned from the brave yet cautious young Virginian that the military science of the old world was out of place in battling with the denizens of the American forests; and in the campaigns against Ticonderoga and Niagara this new knowledge had stood him in good stead. Scarcely more than a year previous he had given a hostage to fortune by leading to the altar of the little Wingerwort church in Derbyshire a beautiful girl of nineteen, from whose side military duties in America too quickly recalled him. As the prospective head of an old and honorable county family, yet with little besides his profession of arms to give him support and reputation, Henry Gladwin, at the age of thirty-three, must have realized that the peril which now faced the King's supremacy was for him the door to success or to failure in life, according as he should succeed or fail to hold the post of Detroit against the savages whose hostility and crafty treachery now threatened it. And yet, perhaps the warning of danger to come might be without foundation, as so many other warnings had proved to be. Perhaps the prudent, if fickle, Indians were bent merely on extorting

7 The Pontiac Diary was written in French, probably by one of the priests of St. Anne's. It was found in the roof of a Canadian house that was being torn down. Three translations exist, one in manuscript is among the Parkman MSS. in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; another is to be found in Schoolcraft's second volume; and the other in Vol. 8, Michigan Pioneer Collections. The original has been lost through the carelessness of persons connected with the old Michigan Historical Society; and the loss is a serious one.

more presents and a more liberal portion of rum. Perhaps the serene river was a pathway of peace and not of war; perhaps the stillness of the trackless forest was not destined to be broken by the warwhoop and the death cry. If it was to be war he would be found neither unprepared nor wanting in the determination that marks the soldier. In either event, the morrow would tell the story.

About ten o'clock the next morning, as Carver relates, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived, and were conducted to the council chamber, where Gladwin and his principal officers awaited their coming. As the Indians passed on they could not help observing a greater number of troops than usual drawn up on the parade. No sooner had the Indians entered the council chamber and seated themselves on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the commandant why his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up, and parading the streets. "To keep them perfect in their exercise," was the answer.

Then Pontiac began to protest his friendship and good will towards the English; and when he came to deliver the belt of wampum, which, according to the warning, was to be the signal for his chiefs to fire, "the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half-way from their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same instant made a clattering with their arms before the doors, which had been purposely left open. Even Pontiac trembled, and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His stolid chiefs, who had expected the signal, continued quiet, awaiting the result."

Gladwin, in his turn, made a speech. Instead of thanking Pontiac for the professions of friendship just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He said that the English, who knew everything, were convinced of Pontiac's treachery and villainous designs. Then, reaching down to the Indian chief seated nearest him, he drew aside his blanket, discovering the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians. Inasmuch as he had given his word at the time they desired an audience that their persons should be safe, Gladwin said he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he advised them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut everyone of them to pieces. Pontiac endeavored to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but Gladwin refused to listen, and the Indians sullenly left the fort.

Late that afternoon six warriors returned, bringing with them an old squaw, saying that she had given false information. Gladwin declared that she had never given any kind of advice.[8] When they insisted that he name the author of what he had heard in regard to a plot, he simply

[8] Rogers' Journal. Doubtless this is the origin of the romance of the Indian girl.

replied that it was one of themselves, whose name he promised never to reveal. Whereupon, they went off and carried the old woman with them. When they arrived in camp, Pontiac seized the prisoner and gave her three strokes with a stick on the head, which laid her flat on the ground, and the whole nation assembled around her, and called, "Kill her! kill her."

The next day was Sunday, and late in the afternoon Pontiac and several of his chiefs paddled across the placid river to smoke the pipe of peace with the officers of the fort. Gladwin, suspicious of so much protestation, refused to go near them; but Captain Campbell, unwilling to lose a chance to pacify the Indians, smoked the peace-pipe with them outside the fort and took back to Gladwin the message that next day all the nation would come to council, where everything would be settled to the satisfaction of the English, after which the Indians would immediately disperse, so as to remove all suspicion.

At ten o'clock next morning the anxious watchers behind the palisades saw a fleet of canoes coming around the lower point of the long island, and as the swift-darting boats, hurried by paddle and current, covered the three miles of water the soldiers counted fifty-six of these barks, each carrying seven or eight Indians. The bows of the canoes rested lightly on the sand of the sloping bank, and the warriors made their way to the fort only to find the gates fast barred against them. Instead of the cordial welcome they expected, an interpreter met them with the message that not above sixty chiefs might enter. Whereupon Pontiac, enraged at seeing the futility of all his stratagems, and yet confident of ultimate success, in his most peremptory manner bade the interpreter say to Gladwin that if all the Indians had not free access to the fort, none of them would enter it. "Tell him," said the angry chief, "that he may stay in his fort, and that I will keep the country." Then Pontiac strode to his canoe and paddled for the Ottawa village. His followers, knowing that the fight was on, ran like fiends to the house of an English woman and her two sons, whom they tomahawked and scalped. Another party paddled swiftly to Isle au Cochon, where they first killed twenty-four of King George's bullocks, and then put to death an old English sergeant. Afterwards, the Canadians buried the mutilated corpse; but on returning to the spot, so tradition relates, they were surprised to see an arm protruding from the grave. Thrice the dirt was heaped above the body, and thrice the arm raised itself above the ground, until the mound was sprinkled with holy water; then the perturbed spirit left the body in peace never since disturbed. Having put to death all the English outside the fort, the Indians sent to Gladwin a Frenchman to report both the killing of the woman and her children and also the murder of Sir Robert Davers, Captain Robertson and a boat's crew of six

persons,[9] who had been sent to the St. Clair flats to discover a passage for one of the schooners bound to Michilimackinac. This information removed all lingering doubts that the Indians were determined to wipe out the English at Detroit.

On his return to the Ottawa village, Pontiac ordered the squaws to change the camp to the western bank, above the fort. As the night mists gathered upon the tireless river, dropping a curtain between the great chief and his enemies, Pontiac himself, hideous in war paint, leaped into the center of the ring of braves, and flourishing his tomahawk, began to chant the record of his valorous deeds. One by one the listening braves, catching the contagion from their mighty chief, were drawn into the ring, until at last every savage was wildly dancing the war-dance. There was no sleep for the garrison that night. Gladwin, as he paced the wide street that encircled the buildings of the fort just within the pickets, took council with himself as to how he might withstand his crafty enemies. Burning arrows, silent messengers of destruction, might easily set fire to the four score or more wooden buildings within the enclosure; and the church, standing near the palisades, was particularly exposed, unless, indeed, the superstitious Indians should hearken to their only less superstitious French allies, who had threatened the savages with the vengeance of the Great Spirit if they should attempt to destroy the house of God. The two six-pounders, the three-pounder and the mortars composing the battery of the fort were of little avail against an enemy that fought singly and from behind trees or whatever protection the opportunities might afford; but, on the other hand, an English head above the pickets or an English body at a port hole was the sure lodgment for an Indian bullet. The garrison was made up of one hundred and twenty-two soldiers and eight officers, together with about forty fur-traders and their assistants. These traders would fight to save their lives, but were inclined to the French rather than to the English. Between this little garrison and the thousand savages was a single row of palisades made by planting logs close together so that they would stand twenty-five feet above ground. Blockhouses at the angles and at the gates afforded additional protection; and, best of all, the brimming river, whose little waves lapped the sandy shore near the south line of palisades, gave an abundant water supply. A schooner and a sloop, both armed, might be relied on to keep open the line of communication with Niagara, whence Major Walters would send supplies. Promotion would be the reward of success; the torture-stake the penalty of failure.

The chill that comes before dawn was in the air when Gladwin joined the anxious watchers in the blockhouse. The placid river seemed a

[9] See Clairmont's testimony. Gladwin MSS.

great mirror reflecting the brighter stars. Gradually the black outlines of low farm houses and encircling woods melted into gray; and then beyond the wooded island a disc of molten gold, pushing itself higher and higher, made of the deep waters a broad pathway of shimmering light. On the low bluff far up the river, Gladwin's anxious eye discovered the lodges of Pontiac's Ottawas, who, under the cover of the night, had paddled around the head of the island and noiselessly established themselves above the line of French farmhouses. This meant a siege; and as the commandant was still gazing at the preparations for war, a pattering of bullets against the blockhouse announced the beginning of hostilities.

During the morning a party of Wyandottes, summoned by Pontiac to a council, stopped at the fort on their way. Fortified by English rum, they went off to the meeting-place under promise to Gladwin that they would do all they could to appease the Ottawas and dissuade them from further hostilities. Next came a number of the French settlers, bringing with them chiefs of the Ottawas, Wyandottes, Chippewas and Pottawattamies, who told Gladwin that almost all the French had gathered at the house of the trader M. Cuillerie, where the Indians were to hold their council. They assured Gladwin that if he would allow Captain Campbell[10] and another officer to go to the council, it would not be hard to persuade the Indians to make peace. At any rate, it could do no harm to try; for both the French and the Indians promised to see that the popular old Captain and his companion returned in safety that very night. Gladwin, having little hope of turning Pontiac from his purposes, was reluctant to intrust Captain Campbell to their hands; but the Captain, relying on the friendship that had existed between him and the savages, no less than on the promises of the French, urged to be allowed to go to the council. The deciding influence which brought Gladwin to consent was the absolute necessity of getting into the fort a supply of corn, flour and bear's grease; for the garrison had in store not more than enough for three weeks. So, while Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall went off with high hopes, the prudent commandant, under cover of the darkness, set about gathering provisions from the French settlers across the river.

Scarcely had the embassy of peace crossed the cleared space about the fort than they were met by M. Gouin, who first urged and then begged them not to trust their lives in the hands of the now excited Indians. The appeal was vain. Yet even while the party were making their way along the bank of the river, they were set upon by a crowd of Indians, at whose hands they would have fared ill indeed had not Pontiac himself come to the rescue. On reaching the appointed place of meeting, they found

[10] Cooley and other historians confuse Captain Campbell with Major Campbell, who came later.

the largest room filled with French and Indians. In the center of the group sat M. Cuillerie, arrayed in a hat and coat adorned with gold lace.[11] He kept his seat when the two officers entered and remained covered during the conference. When bread was passed, he ate one piece to show the Indians, as he said, that it was not poisoned. Pontiac, addressing himself to M. Cuillerie, craftily said that he looked upon the Frenchman as his father come to life, and as the commandant at Detroit until the arrival of M. Bellestre, the former French commandant. Then Pontiac, turning to the British officers, told them plainly that to secure peace, the English must leave the country under escort and without arms or baggage. Thereupon M. Cuillerie warmly shook Lieutenant McDougall's hand, saying, "My friend, this is my work; rejoice that I have obtained such good terms for you. I thought Pontiac would be much harder." Hoping against hope for the garrison, but apprehensive of no present danger to himself and his brother officer, Captain Campbell made a short but earnest plea for peace. Then he and Lieutenant McDougall waited anxiously for the usual grunt of approval. The moments dragged, and still the Indians sat impassive. For the space of an hour there was unbroken silence. Then Captain Campbell, dejected by evident failure, arose to retrace his steps to the fort. "My father," said Pontiac quietly, "will sleep tonight in the lodges of his red children."

The unusual intelligence that had raised Pontiac above every other Indian chief, had led the English to rely on his sense of honor, a quality rare indeed among savages. What civilized races call treachery is to the Indian legitimate warfare. It never occurs to a savage to expose himself to harm in order to accomplish an end that he can attain safely by deception. In spite of all promises, therefore, the two Englishmen were sent under strong guard to the house of M. Meloche. That they were not immediately put to death was due solely to the fact that Gladwin held several Pottawattamie prisoners, and Pontiac shrewdly enough feared that if the commandant should retaliate on his hostages, that tribe would vanish into the forest, leaving him without the support he so much needed.

Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall trusted to the promises of the French more than to those of the Indians. It has been assumed that the French at Detroit were the victims of the Pontiac conspiracy only to a less degree than were the English. It is true that there were a few prudent French farmers who gave to Gladwin what assistance they could give without drawing down on themselves the enmity of the Indians; but it was generally believed among the French that the English would soon be driven out of New France, and that the French king would again be their monarch. For two centuries the warfare between

[11] Gladwin MSS.

French and English over the fur trade had been as barbarous as war was in Europe during the same time; human life on either side of the Atlantic was not considered worth a King's serious consideration; and the soldier of that day in every nation was a freebooter. It is not surprising that the French traders and wood-rangers at Detroit should have seized upon Pontiac's war to despoil their ancient enemies and their conquerors of less than three years' standing. The only cause for surprise is that the French did not from the start openly make common cause with Pontiac. That they secretly gave aid and encouragement to the Indians was repeatedly charged by Gladwin. The convincing proof of his assertions is to be found in the official reports of inquiries he caused to be held at Detroit during the siege, reports which after more than a century and a quarter of oblivion, have been found and made available by one of Gladwin's descendants. The problem for Gladwin was to hold out at Detroit until both the French and Indians could be convinced that the French government could not assist them and that the peace with England was definite and lasting.

The terms proposed to Captain Campbell were offered next day to Gladwin, and the French urged him to escape while he might; but the young Englishman absolutely refused to make any terms with savages. His soldiers caught his spirit, so that he was able to write confidently to General Amherst, that he would hold out until succor should come. The schooner *Gladwin*, which bore the dispatch, eluded Pontiac's canoes; and when the chief reported his failure to M. Cuillerie, the Frenchman jeered at him because five canoes withdrew at the death of a single Pottawattamie.[12]

Now began a long series of disasters to the English. One by one the results of Pontiac's plotting transpired. Everything seemed to be giving way before the exulting savages. On May 22 news came of the capture of Fort Sandusky.[12] At the inquiry Ensign Paully testified that on May 17 his sentry called him to speak with some Indians at the gate. Finding some of his own Indians in the party, he allowed seven to enter the fort and gave them tobacco. Soon one of the seven raised his head as a signal, whereupon the two sitting next the officer seized and bound him and hurried him from the room. He passed his sentry dead in the gateway and saw the corpses of his little garrison lying about. His sergeant was killed in the garden where he had been planting; the merchants were dead and their stores were plundered. The Indians spared Paully and took him to their camp at Detroit, where he was adopted as the husband of a widowed squaw, from whose toils he finally escaped to his friends in the fort. On May 18, Ensign Holmes, who commanded the garrison of the Miamis, was told by a Frenchman that Detroit had been

[12] Gladwin MSS.

attacked, whereupon the ensign called in his men and set them at work making cartridges. Three days later Holmes' Indian servant besought him to bleed one of her friends who lay ill in a cabin outside the stockade. On his errand of mercy he was shot dead. The terrified garrison of nine were only too glad to surrender at the command of two Frenchmen, Pontiac's messengers, who were on their way to the Illinois to get a commandant for Detroit. On May 25, at Fort St. Joseph, seventeen Pottawattamies came into Lieutenant Schlosser's room on the pretense of holding a council. A Frenchman who had heard that treachery was planned, rushed in to give the alarm, whereupon Lieutenant Schlosser was seized, ten of the garrison were killed, and the other three with the commandant were made prisoners. They were afterwards brought to Detroit and exchanged.

On the 29th the long expected bateaux from Niagara were seen coming up the river. With joyful hearts the garrison looked forward to the end of their tedious siege. But as the boats came nearer, the English saw with dismay that Indians were the masters of the craft. When the foremost bateaux came opposite the schooner, two soldiers in her made the motion to change rowing places. Quickly they seized the Indians and threw them overboard. One Indian carried his assailant with him and in the struggle both found death. Another soldier struck the remaining Indian over the head with an oar and killed him. Under the fire of sixty savages on the shore the three plucky Englishmen escaped to the vessel with their prize, which contained eight barrels of most acceptable pork and flour. Of the ten bateaux that had set out from Niagara under Lieutenant Cuyler, eight had been captured and the force had been completely routed by an Indian surprise and night attack. Following the capture of the bateaux came the darkest days of the siege. Often during a whole day, the Indians, drunken on the rum from the captured stores, did not fire a shot, but in their fiendish glee they gave notice of their presence by sending the scalped and mangled bodies of English captives to float past the palisades in sight of the sentries.

To add to these tales of disaster came Father La Jaunay, missionary at Michilimackinac (Old Mackinac) to tell the bloodiest story of all. On June 2, the Chippewas living near the fort assembled for their usual game of ball. They played from morning till noon and Captain George Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie stood by to watch the sport. Suddenly the ball was struck over the palisades. A dozen Indians rushed through the gate to get it. Before the dazed sentry could recover, the Captain and Lieutenant were seized and hurried off; the Indians within the fort had received from the squaws stationed there hatchets hidden under their blankets; in an instant Lieutenant Jamet, fifteen soldiers and a trader named Tracy were put to death, five others were reserved for a

like fate, and the remainder of the garrison were made prisoners. Had it not been for the powerful influence of Charles Langlade[13] and his friends the Ottawas, all the English must have perished; as it was Captain Etherington, Lieutenant Leslie, with fourteen men, were held until July 18, and were then taken to Montreal by the Ottawas.

On Sunday, the 26th of June, Pontiac, for mingled purposes of religion and business, paddled across the green river to attend mass in the little French chapel. When the services were over, the chief selected three of the chairs in which the thrifty French had been carried to church, and making the owners his chairmen, he and his guard set off on a search for provisions. He imitated the credit certificates issued by Gladwin and gave in payment for cattle billets signed by his mark, the picture of a coon. The provisions were transported to Pontiac's camp near Parent's Creek, and in due time the billets were redeemed. The next day Pontiac sent another summons to surrender, saying that nine hundred Indians were on their way from Michilimackinac, and if Gladwin waited till those Indians came he would not be answerable for the consequences. Gladwin replied that until Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall were returned, Pontiac might save himself the trouble of sending messages to the fort. To this the wily Pontiac made answer that he had too much regard for his distinguished captives to send them back; because the kettle was on the fire for the entire garrison, and in case they were returned he should have to boil them with the rest.

On the 30th of June, the *Gladwin*, returning from Niagara, plowed her way up the white-capped river and landed a force of fifty men, together with provisions and some much needed ammunition. For two months Gladwin had guarded Detroit against surprise and had sustained a siege conducted by Pontiac in person, while fort after fort had fallen before the savages. As the Indians returned from their successes elsewhere they were more and more eager for the overthrow of the one fort that hitherto had baffled all their efforts. In his extremity Pontiac now turned on the French and threatened to force them to take up arms against the English. During the siege, however, copies of the definitive treaty between France and England had reached Detroit; and, on July 4, Gladwin assembled the French, read to them the articles of peace, and sent a copy across the river to the priest. Thereupon, forty Frenchmen, choosing James Stirling as their leader, took service under Gladwin. On this same day a party from the fort made a sortie for the purpose of bringing in some powder and lead from the house of M. Baby, who had taken refuge in the fort. Lieutenant Hay, an old Indian fighter, commanded the force, and in his exultation over driving off an attacking

[13] Charles Langlade was born at Mackinac. He urged upon the French commandant at Fort Duquesne the necessity of surprising Braddock's forces in 1775, and himself led the Indians in that surprise. Doubtless Pontiac then fought with him.

party, he tore the scalp from the head of a wounded Indian and shook his trophy in the face of his enemies. It happened that the one of the savages killed was the son of a Chippewa chief; and as soon as the tribe heard of their disaster they went to Pontiac to reproach him for being the cause of their ills, saying that he was very brave in taking a loaf of bread or a beef from a Frenchman who made no resistance, but it was the Chippewas who had all the men killed and wounded every day. Therefore, they said, they intended to take from him what he had been saving. Lieutenant McDougall had already made his escape to the fort; but they went to Meloche's house, where the brave old Captain Campbell was still confined. They stripped him, carried him to their camp, killed him, took out his heart and ate it, cut off his head, and divided his body into small pieces. Such was the end of a brave soldier, esteemed, loved and sincerely mourned in the army from General Amherst and Colonel Bouquet down to the privates who served under him.

At midnight on July 10 the sentries in the fort saw floating down the black river a great mass of fire. The flames, feeding on faggots and birch-bark, leaped high in the air, lighting up the forest-covered island in the background and bringing into high relief the whitewashed cottages that lined the shore. Hurried by the swift current, a great fire raft, built by the French and Indians, made for the two vessels anchored in the stream; but the alert crews had anticipated their danger and were prepared for it. The vessels were anchored by two cables, and as the flaming pile approached, they slipped one cable and easily swung out of the way of the enemy.

The hot days succeeded each other all too slowly; but on the 29th of July the guards heard firing down the river, and half an hour later the surprised sentries saw the broad surface of the river dotted with bateaux, the regular dip of whose oars was borne a long way on the still morning air. A detachment of two hundred and sixty men under the command of Captain Dalzell, one of General Amherst's aides-de-camp, had come to put an end to the siege. Captain Dalzell was an officer of undoubted bravery, and the tales of slaughter he had heard at Presque Isle and Sandusky on his way to Detroit made him anxious to crush Pontiac by one bold stroke. Gladwin, whom months of close acquaintance with the wary Indian chief had taught discretion, gave consent to Dalzell's plan of a night attack, only on the threat of the latter to leave Detroit unless such a blow should be struck.[14] The treacherous French, learning the details of the plan, immediately put Pontiac on his guard. In the earliest hours of the 31st of July, Dalzell marched a force of two hundred and

[14] Gladwin and McDonald agree that the night attack was strenuously opposed by the former. There is a tradition (Fred. Carlisle relates it as a fact, in his report to the Wayne County Historical Society for 1890), that Dalzell and Gladwin both sought the hand of Madeleine de Tonnancour, and that when she favored the aid-de-camp, Gladwin willingly sent him to his death. Inasmuch as Gladwin was happily married during the previous year, this story is simply another illustration of the fables that have gained currency in connection with the Pontiac conspiracy.

fifty men along the sandy bank of the swift flowing river, passed the well enclosed cottages of the French and on towards a little stream that fell into the river about a mile and a half above the fort.

The twenty-five men in advance had just stepped on the rude bridge across the run, when from the ridges that formed the further side of the gully came a volley of musketry that hurled the little band in confusion back on the main body. In the pitchy darkness, cheered on by Dalzell's steady words of command, the British swept the ridges only to find themselves chasing those deadly will-o'-the-wisps, the flashes of an enemy's guns. To fall back was absolutely necessary; but here again the soldiers were met by the rapid firing of the Indians who had occupied the houses and orchards between the English and the fort. Every charge of the soldiers only enveloped the pursuers in a maze of buildings, trees and fences, while the Indians beat a nimble retreat, firing from behind any shelter they could find. From an open cellar, the concealed savages poured a deadly fire into the British ranks; but still Dalzell was undismayed. Where commands were of no effect, he beat the men with the flat of his sword. Major Robert Rogers, trained in Indian warfare, burst open the door of a cottage filled with Indians, and with his Rangers put the ambushed savages to flight. Captain Gray fell mortally wounded in a charge. Dalzell himself, twice wounded, went to the succor of a helpless sergeant, when he too fell dead, and the Indians smeared their faces with his heart's blood. Major Rogers, who succeeded to the command, took possession of the well built Campau house, where his soldiers, fortified without by solid logs and bales of furs, and strengthened within by copious draughts from a keg of whisky, held the enemy at bay until communication could be had with the fort. Two bateaux armed with swivels soon came to the rescue of Rogers, who had been besieged by about two hundred Indians. The remainder of the force under Captain Grant beat an orderly retreat. Of the two hundred and fifty who went out, one hundred and fifty-nine were killed or wounded, while the Indian loss did not exceed twenty.

This victory of Bloody Run, as the creek was ever afterward called, restored the waning fortunes of Pontiac, and every day brought accessions to his forces. Yet never since the siege began was Major Gladwin more hopeful of ultimate success. So the heats of August passed with an occasional skirmish, and September began. The Indians, powerless against the palisades, again turned their attention to the vessels that kept open the food communication with the settlers across the river and made occasional trips to Fort Niagara for supplies and ammunition. From one of these latter voyages the schooner *Gladwin* was returning on the night of September 4, when, the wind failing, she anchored nine miles below the fort, having on board her commander, Horst, her mate, Jacobs, and

a crew of ten men. Six Iroquois, supposed to be friendly to the English, had been landed that morning, and to their brethren was probably due the night attack made by a large force of Indians, whose light canoes dropped so silently down the dark river that a single cannon shot and one volley of musketry was all the welcome that could be given them. Horst fell in the first onslaught, and Jacobs, seeing that all hope was gone, gave the command to blow up the vessel. At the word some Wyandottes, who knew the meaning of the command, gave warning to their companions, and all made a dash overboard, swimming for dear life to be clear of the dreaded destruction. Jacobs, no less astonished than gratified at the effect of his words, had no further trouble that night, and the next morning he sailed away to the fort. Six of the sailors escaped unhurt to wear the medals presented to them for bravery.[15]

From the beginning of the siege Pontiac had relied on help from the French in the Illinois country, to whom he had sent an appeal for aid. "Since Father Bellestre departed," he said, "the Indians had no news, nor did any letters come to the French, but the English alone received letters. The English say incessantly that since the French and Spaniards have been overthrown, they own all the country. When our father, M. Bellestre, was going off from hence, he told us, 'My children the English today overthrow your father; as long as they have the upper hand ye will not have what ye stand in need of; but this will not last.' We pray our father at the Illinois to take pity on us and say, 'These poor children are willing to raise me up.' Why do we that which we are doing today? It is because we are unwilling that the English should possess these lands; this is what causeth thy children to rise up and strike everywhere."

This message was endorsed by the Chippewas and by the French inhabitants at Detroit, the latter complaining that they were obliged to submit to Indian exactions. M. Neyons, the French commandant in the Illinois country, acting under pressure from General Amherst (who had learned from Gladwin how essential to Pontiac's success was the expected help from the French) replied to the appeal that "the great day had come at last wherein it had pleased the Master of Life to command the great Great King of France and him of England to make peace between them, sorry to see the blood of men spilled so long." So these kings had ordered all their chiefs and warriors to bury the hatchet. He promised that when this was done the Indians would see the road free, the lakes and rivers unstopped and ammunition and merchandise would abound in their villages; their women and children would be cloaked; they would go to dances and festivals, not cumbered with heavy clothes, with skirts, blankets and ribbands. "Forget then, my dear

[15] Chapman Abraham's testimony.—Gladwin MSS.

children," he commanded,[16] "all evil talks. Leave off from spilling the blood of your brethren, the English. Our hearts are now but one; you cannot, at present, strike the one without having the other for an enemy also."

This message had the desired effect. Dated on September 27, its contents so dashed Pontiac's hopes that on October 12 he sued most submissively for peace. Gladwin, being in need of flour, granted a truce, but made no promises, saying that General Amherst alone had power to grant pardon. To Amherst the commandant wrote that it would be good policy to leave matters open until the spring, when the Indians would be so reduced for want of powder there would be no danger that they would break out again, "provided some examples are made of our good friends, the French, who set them on." Gladwin then adds, "No advantage can be gained by prosecuting the war, owing to the difficulty of catching them (the Indians). Add to this the expense of such a war which, if continued, the ruin of our entire peltry trade must follow and the loss of a prodigious consumption of our merchandise. It will be the means of their retiring, which will reinforce other nations on the Mississippi, whom they will push against us, and make them our enemies forever. Consequently it will render it extremely difficult to pass that country, and especially as the French have promised to supply them with everything they want."

Then follows the passage[17] often quoted to show Gladwin's cynical brutality: "They have lost between eighty and ninety of their best warriors; but if your excellency still intends to punish them for their barbarities, it may be easier done, without any expense to the crown, by permitting a free sale of rum, which will destroy them more effectually than fire and sword." Parkman closes the quotation at this point; but a very different turn is given to the matter in the next sentence, taken from the draft of the letter in Gladwin's own handwriting, as follows: "But on the contrary, if you intend to accommodate matters in spring, which I hope you will for the above reasons, it may be necessary to send up Sir William Johnson." This is the letter of a warrior, who was also somewhat of a statesman.

Pontiac's conspiracy ended in failure. For five months the little garrison at Detroit had been surrounded by a thousand or more savages; and nothing but the untiring watchfulness and the intrepid coolness of the resourceful commandant saved the post from annihilation and prevented the Indian occupation of the lake country. General Amherst was so well pleased with Gladwin's course during the first four months of the siege that on September 17, he wrote to the Secretary at War, Ellis: "As

[16] Gladwin MSS.

[17] Gladwin MSS. This letter is in Gladwin's own handwriting, and is doubtless his original draft.

there have been two deputy adjutants general serving here, I have taken the liberty to show a mark of my entire satisfaction of Major Gladwin's good conduct and commendable behavior in appointing him a deputy adjutant general; but to remain with the troops at Detroit in the same manner as has been ordered. This is no more than a name, but should it be your gracious pleasure to approve it, and honor Major Gladwin with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, I am firmly of the opinion that the promotion of so deserving an officer must at any time be a benefit to his majesty's service, and this is the sole view I have in mentioning it to you." General Amherst's recommendations were followed, and Gladwin held the rank of lieutenant colonel until he was made a colonel in 1777.

It fell to the lot of Colonel Bradstreet, the hero of Fort Frontenac, to lead the great force which was to confirm the British power in the lake country. The vain glory of that officer led him to make with the Indians a peace which General Gates, who had succeeded Amherst, was compelled to repudiate. Bradstreet's expedition got no further than Sandusky, but a detachment reached Detroit late in the August of 1764, and on the last day of that month Colonel Gladwin departed from Niagara on his way to New York. He was heartily tired of fighting Indians, and preferred to resign rather than to undertake another campaign of that kind. Returning to England, we find him in 1774 living a contented life with his wife and two children; but ready again to take up arms for his king. On a visit to London he was presented to George III, who asked him how long he had been in town. "Three weeks," replied the soldier, to the consternation of George Wert, who whispered to him to say that he had just arrived. "But," says Gladwin, in a letter to General Gage, "as I went to court only on that occasion, I thought there could be no harm in speaking the truth."

In April, 1769, Pontiac went to St. Louis. One day he arrayed himself in the uniform of a French officer, given him years before by the Marquis de Montcalm. After visiting his old friends, he repaired to the village of Cahokia, across the Mississippi, where he joined in the feast given by the Illinois Indians. In the early morning he left the town for the forest, singing as he went. An English trader, Wilkinson by name, awaiting the opportunity and thinking to rid his country of a dangerous enemy, promised an Illinois Indian a barrel of rum to murder the famous chief. This treachery on the part of one of their number, cost the Illinois dear, for Pontiac's friends did not cease till they had practically wiped out the Illinois nation. The body of the chief was buried with military honors near the fort at St. Louis. "Neither mound nor tablet," says Parkman, "marked the burial place of Pontiac. For a mausoleum a city has risen above the forest hero; and the race whom he hated with such burning rancor trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave."

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS, DECLARATIONS, ETC.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM CAPT. GEORGE ETHERINGTON, COMMANDANT OF MICHILIMACKINAC, DATED MICHILIMAIKIMAKIMAC, JUNE 12, 1763.

Sir: Notwithstanding what I wrote you in my last, that all the savages were arrived, & that everything seemed in perfect tranquility; yet on the second instant the Chippewas who live in a plain near this fort, assembled to play ball, as they had done almost every day since their arrival; They play'd from morning till noon, then throwing their ball close to the gate, and observing Lieut. Leslie and me a few paces out of it, they came behind us, seized, and carried us into the woods. In the meantime the rest rushed into the fort, where they found their squaws, whom they had previously planted there, with their hatchets hid under their blankets, which they took and in an instant killed Lieut. Gamet and fifteen rank and file, and a trader named Tracy; they wounded two and took the rest of the garrison prisoners, five of which they have since killed.

They made prisoners of all the English traders, and robb'd them of everything they had; but offered no violence to any of the persons and properties of the Frenchmen.

When this massacre was over Messrs. Langlad and Farti, the interpreter came down to the place where Lieut. Leslie and me were prisoners, and on their giving themselves as security to return us when demanded, they obtained leave for us to go to the fort under a guard of savages, which gave time by the assistance of the above mentioned gentlemen to send for the Oatewas, who came down on the first notice and were very much displeased at what the Chippewas had done.

Since the arrival of the Oatawas they have done everything in their power to serve us, and with what prisoners the Chippewas have given them and what they have bought, I have now with me Lieut. Leslie and eleven privates, & the other four of the garrison who are yet living remain in the hands of the Chippewas.

The Chipewas, who are superior in numbers to the Outawas, have declared in council to them that if they do not remove us out of the fort, that they will cutt off all communication to this post; by which means all the convoys of merchants from Montreal, Labay, St. Joseph & the upper posts would perish; but if the news of your posts being attack'd (which they say was the reason they took up the hatchet here) be false, and you can send up a strong reinforcement with provisions, etc., accompany'd by some of your savages, I believe the post might be re-established again. Since this affair happened, two cannoes arrived from Montreal which put

it in my power to make a present to the Outawa nation, who very well deserve anything that can be done for them.

I have been very much obliged to Messrs. Langlad and Farti, the interpreter, as likewise the Jesuit for the many good offices they have done us on this occasion; the priest seems inclinable to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man and has a great deal to say with the savages hereabout, who will believe everything he tells them on his return, which I hope will be soon.

The Outawas say they will take Lieut. Leslie, me and the eleven men which I mentioned before was in their hands, up to their village & there keep us till they hear what is done at your post, they having sent this canoe for that purpose. I refer you to the priest for the particulars of this melancholy affair, and am,

Dear Sir, Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) GEO. ETHERINGTON.

To Major Henry Gladwin, Commandant of Detroit.

P. S.—The Indians that are to carry the priest to Detroit, will not undertake to land him at the fort, but at some of the Indian villages near it, so that you must not take it amiss that he does not pay you the first visit, and I once more beg that nothing may stop your sending him back the next day after his arrival, if possible, as we shall be at a great loss for the want of him, and I make no doubt that you will do all in your power to make peace, as you see the situation we are in, and send up provisions as soon as possible and ammunition, as what we had was plundered by the savages. Adiew. G. E.

EXTRACT OF A DECLARATION MADE TO CÆSAR CORMICK AND THE THEREIN NAMED WITNESSES, AT DETROIT, 11 JUNE, 1761.

We undermentioned James Sterling, merchant, and Samson Fleming, deputy commissary of this place, being call'd by Caesar Cormick, also merchant here, Do Certify to have heared the intelligence of a person whom we contrast, as being well informed by said person hitherto, of all the conspiracies made against His Brittanick Majesty's subjects since they came to Detroit to the satisfaction of the commanding officer particularly since the present siege. The said person has declared before us, that Miny Chain, Jacque Godfrey, & Messrs. Beauban, Chavin and Labadee went from here the 12th or 13th ultimo, being the third or fourth day of the siege, publickly as they pretended for an officer from the Illinois to disperse the Nations, and in this way they met John Welch, Merchant from Miamis in the Mouth of the Miamis River with two Pettiagus loaded with peltry bound for this Place: The said five Frenchmen ordered a band of Indians who were with them to hide themselves in the wood close by, untill they would entice the English ashore; then hailing

them to come and smoke a pipe and get the news, they came ashore and sate down; the said Frenchmen then seised and tole them they were their prisoners and calling up the Indians they divided the prisoners and peltry betwixt them, then the said Chain & Godfrey detached the other three companions back to Detroit, with their share of the booty, & Mr. Welch prisoner; who came and lodged the same in the House of the abovesaid Miny Chain next in the settlement to the Potewatamis Village, that the Outawas Claiming Mr. Welch seised, and murdered him since; and that the said Outawas came this day seised and carried off the said peltry, and tole them that the French had no business with any plunder, but that it belong'd entirely to the Indians. The said Informer likewise declared that the said Chain and Godfrey took also four of the said Prisoners along with them, saying that they would take them to the Illinois and make soup of them to spirit up the Indians to War and come against the English, which they now daily expect here. And that the said Chain and Godfrey proceeding with the same Indians to Miamis, with whom they acted in conjunction to destroy that garrison: Then parted for Ouitanon intending to act the same barbarous part there; being in their way to Illinois.

We then questioned the said Informer if we could depend upon the abovesaid intelligence, or from whence they were derived. Answered, that Niniway a Potewatamis Chief sent for Isedore Chain brother to the said Miny Chain the Evening that he the said Niniway arrived with Ensign Schlosser Commanding Officer of St. Josephs and acquainted him of what his brother Miny had done at Miamis; that the said Isedore in tears replied that he wished to God his Brother might die in that Place, for as soon as he arrived at Detroit he would be hanged. And that the said Informer declares to have been present when all this was told by the said Niniway in the house of the abovesaid Minay Chain.

Signed, Cæsar Cormick.

Witnesses,

James Sterling,
Samuel Fleming.

EXTRACTED OUT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. EDWARD JENKINS, COMMANDING AT OUIATINON TO MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN, COMMANDANT OF DETROIT, DATE FORT OUIATINON, 29 JULY, 1763.

Sir: Two days ago the Bearer arrived from the Illinois, who assures me that the People in that part of the World are for a quiet life, I mean the French; but he says the Indians wanted the Commanding officer to come and attack these Posts, which he refused. The English woman that is along with him, told me that the Canadians were advising the Indians to Murder us all in these Posts, but that they would not be seen

in it themselves; but I shall say no more of it, as the woman will acquaint you all she knows about it; She says she heared the bearer talk of; indeed I would have examined him, but the woman was afraid, as she was to go farther with him, & you are in a much better place for it than I.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. EDWARD JENKINS, COMMANDING AT OUIATINON DATED 28 MARCH, 1763, TO MAJOR HENRY GALDWIN, COMMANDING AT DETROIT.

Sir: The bearer arrived from the Post last Sunday, with two more Deserters and his wife. They have not heard yet below of the cessation of Arms, and I am acquainted by Monsieur La Bond that we have attacked, or at least blocked up some Place near the Mississippi; indeed I don't well understand him as he has an odd way of talking, but Capt. Campble will understand him better. Mr. Crawford acquainted me this morning that the Canadians that are here are eternally telling *lies* to the Indians, and tells me likewise that the Interpreter and one La Pointe told the Indians a few days ago that we should all be Prisoners in a short time (showing them when the corn was about a foot high) that there was a great Army to come from the Mississippi; & that they were to have a great number of Indians with them, therefor advised them not to help us; That they would soon take Detroit and these small Posts, and that then they would take Quebec, Montreal & Ca. and go into our country. This I am informed they tell them from one end of the year to the other, with a great deal more that I cannot remember. I am convinced that while they are permitted to trade here that the Indians here never will be in our Interest, for although our Merchants sells them a stroud for three Beaver, they will rather give six to a French man. It is needless inquiring into the affair as the French have so much influence over them, that they will deny what they said, for the other day I had the Express before me for saying we should all be fighting by and by; but could make nothing of it as the Indians were afraid to own it before him, altho the Indians that heared them talk of it stood to it. I am,

Yours, &c.,

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM RICHARD WINSTON, MERCH'T AT ST. JOSEPH'S, TO THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS AT DETROIT. DATED ST. JOSEPH, 19 JUNE, 1763.

Gentlemen: I address myself to you all, not knowing who is alive or who is dead, I have only to inform you that by the Blessing of the Almighty, & the help of Mr. Louison Chevalie I escaped being killed when this unfortunate Garrison was massacred. Mr. Hamback and me being hid in the House of the said Chevalie for four days and nights; Mr. Hamback is brought by the Savages to the Illinois, likewise Mr. Chin, unfortunate me remains here Captive with the Savages. I must say that

I meet with no bad usage, however I would that I was with some Christian or other, I am quite naked, & Mr. Castacrew who is indebted to Mr. Cole, would not give me an inch to save me from Death, who the day before the massacre here to pay me part of said Debt, but since that denyd in the presnce of Mr. Chevalie, that he owed me anything, untill I produced his note, he then said his note was no order to pay any part of said debt to me, I am informed that Castacrew has information that Mr. Cole was killed on his way from Niagara; I have nothing to say concerning our enemy here but that they recommend to the savages at Detroit to quiet their firing upon the Fort at Detroit, that as the Six Nations began the War they might persist in it. We are informed that at Miamis Mr. Holmes and part of his Garrison were killed, the other part carried down the Wabash to joyn the Garrison of Ouitinon and carried all to the Illinois; At Ouitinon there was not one killed but all taken Prisoners. I am, &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM EDMOND MORAN, MERCHANT AT FORT EDWARD AUGUSTUS, TO MR. JOSEPH SPEAR AND COMPANY, MERCHANTS, AT DETROIT, DATED 16 MAY, 1763.

Sir: The Indians would do very well here but for the Canadians; They spirit them up to everything thats bad against the English. I am sure that it will never be worth any English Traders while to follow this Trade unless the French are prohibited to come here.

Yrs, &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. EDWARD JENKINS TO MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN COMMANDING AT DETROIT, DATED OUITINON, 1 JUNE, 1763.

Sir: I have heared of your situation which gives me much pain, indeed we are not a great deal better, for this morning the Indians sent for me to speak with me, & immediately bound me when I got to their cabbin, & I soon found some of my soldiers in the same situation. They told me Detroit, Miamis and all these Posts were cutt off, and that it was a folly to make any resistance, therefor desired me to make the few soldiers I had in the Fort surrender, otherwise they would put all of us to death in case one man of theirs was killed. They were to have fallen on us and killed us all last Night, but Monsieurs Maisonville & Lorrain, gave them Wampum not to kill us all, and when they told the Interpreter we were all to be killed & he knowing the Canadians of the Fort beged of them to make us Prisoners. They have put us into the French houses and both Indians and French use us very well. All these Nations say they are very sorry, that they were obliged to do it by the other Nations. The belt did not arrive here till last night about Eight o'clock; Mr. Lorrain can inform you of all. Just now received the news of St. Joseph's being taken,

eleven were killed and three taken Prisoners with the officer; I have nothing more to say but that I sincerely wish you a speedy succour, & that we may be able to revenge ourselves on them that deserve it. I remain with my sincerest wishes for your safety, &c., N. B. We expect to set off in a day or two for the Illinois.

EXTRACT OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN TO ENQUIRE INTO THE MANNER OF THE TAKING OF THE FORTS ST. DUSKY, ST. JOSEPHS, MIAMIS AND PRESQU'ISLE, DETROIT, 6 JULY, 1763.

Captain Hopkins, President.

Lieut. Hay, 60th Regiment, Ensign Perry of the Queen's Rangers, Members.

Ensign Pawlee who commanded at Fort Sanduskey informs the Court that on the sixteenth of May he was informed by his Sentry at the Gate, that there were Indians come who wanted to speak to him, upon which he went to see who they were, and finding them to be some of his own Indians who received him very friendly, he permitted seven of them to come in and gave them a little tobaccoe to smoak; in a short time after one of them raised up his head; which he supposes was a signal, upon which the two that sat next him seized and tied him, without saying a word and carried him out of his Room; where he found his sentry Dead in the Gateway with the rest of the Garrison one here and there all massacred, and the Fort surrounded by Indians; His Sergeant who had been planting something in his garden was killed there; who notwithsanding he had given repeated orders that in case any Indians came to the Fort, every man should immediately come in; The Merchants were all killed and everything they had plundered; from whence he was brought to the Indian Camp at this place, where he remained prisoner untill the third instant, when he made his escape into the Fort. The Indians that he permitted to come in were four Hurons, and three Outawas who live near the Fort. Ensign Schlosser who commanded at Fort St. Josephs informs the Court that on the 25th day of May between 9 & 10 in the morning, he was acquainted that there was a party of Detroit Putawatamis arrived to see their relations there, and who intended to come and wish him a good morning, a few minutes after a Frenchman came and told him that there was some Indians come with an ill design, upon which he run to the Barracks to get the soldiers under Arms, and upon entering found them full of Indians, upon which he ordered his Sergeant to use all his endeavors to get under arms; while he assembled the French and immediately went to speak to them, who were already assembled at his room, and in two or three minutes after he was entered he heard a cry in the Barracks, upon which those Indians that were in the room with him secured him, & those that were without seised the sentry at the Gate, and rushed

in, in such numbers that they massacred all the Garrison except three in about two minutes & plundered the Fort. . . . . James Beems, Soldier in the 60th Regiment who was one of the Garrison of Miamis informs the Court that about the 23d May a Frenchman arrived there who informed Ensign Holmes who commanded, that when he left the mouth of the River below Detroit he heared the firing of cannon, which made him believe this Fort was attacked, that Mr. Holmes then ordered the men of the Garrison to remain within the Fort and sett them to make cartridges, that the 27th in the morning a squaw that lived with Mr. Holmes came into the Fort & told him that there was another squaw in a Cabbin about three hundred yards from the Fort that was very ill, and wanted him to bleed her upon which he went out with her and in a short time after they heared two shot fired, upon which the Sergeant went out to see what was the matter, and upon his coming up to two or three Indians that was in sight of the Fort, they took him prisoner, having killed Mr. Holmes before, upon which the men in the Fort shut the Gates, and got upon the pickets to look out, when they saw one Welch who had been taken prisoner some days before, & two Frenchmen, who by evident description must be one Godfrey and Miny Chain that went from this to the Illinois for Pondiac (as the Indians said) for a Commandant for the Place, who called to them to give up the Fort, otherwise they would all be put to Death, but if they would resign their lives should be all saved, upon which the men consulted amongst themselves & thought it best to give it up upon the conditions, as there was but nine of them in the Fort, the three others the remainder of the Garrison having been taken two days before as they were afterwards informed. . . . . Lieut. Cayler informs the Court that on the 20th of June at about 10 in the morning, he was on board the schooner Huron opposite to Presqu-isle on his return from Niagara to Detroit which place he imagined to be attacked as he saw two swivels fired one after another, that soon after the Schooner came too in the Bay they saw ten Canons & heared a smart firing upon the Fort, which continued till the 21st when he saw the officers house that stood near the Blockhouse on fire which burn'd to the ground without doing any further damage. The firing commenced again and continued till the 22d between twelve and one when he saw the Blockhouse on fire. That he was not able to give them any assistance having nothing but a small Boat to land men in which would not carry above ten at a time, and being two miles from the shore. Since which the officer and Prisoners were brought to the Indian Camp at this Place.

Jos. Hopkins.

EXTRACT OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR GLADWIN TO ENQUIRE INTO THE MANNER OF THE TAKING OF PRESQU-ISLE, DETROIT, JULY 10, 1763.

Cap. Hopkins, President.

Lieut. Geo. McDougall Ensign Jos. I. Schlosser of 60th Regiment Members.

Ensign John Christie who commanded at Presqu'isle informs the Court that on the 20 June at daybreak in the morning he found that Fort surrounded by about 200 Indians part of four nations; at a quarter of an hour after they began firing upon the Blockhouse and continued all that day pretty smart; they likewise shot fire-arrows into the roof of the Blockhouse by the enemy which set it several times on fire. The Blockhouse was situated on a rising ground, & could be approached at a little distance by two Hills, one ascending from the Lake Eastward, the other ascending from the bottom or Creek Northward from these two places the Indians kept their fire, having made holes in the earth at night to secure themselves, notwithstanding which, two or three of them endeavoring to get into the trench were killed, which made them abate their fire for some hours, at which time they were employed digging a passage through the Earth to get at the body of the House: The 21st they commenced firing as hot as ever with fuses and arrows, which set the house again in flames in several places; the same Day the Barrels of Water he had provided for such emergencies was spent in extinguishing the aforesaid fires, and finding it impossible to get at the Well that was sunk in the parade, was therefor obliged to sink one in the House by very hard labour, while he was digging the well the House was set again on fire, but got it extinguished by driving down the shingles from the roof: At same time they had approached through the Earth as far as the Commanding Officer's room on the Parade, they set it on fire and communicated it to the Fasines around the Fort; he continued firing 'till midnight, when one of them who spoke French called up to him that it was in vain for him to pretend to hold out, for they could set fire to the Blockhouse when they pleased, & if he would not surrender they would burn and torture every man that he had; he finding that they had made the approaches aforesaid, that they could set the house on fire above and below, the men being fatigued to the greatest extremity, & not able to extinguish such a fire and resist the enemy's numbers; he asked them in English if there was any man amongst them that understood that language, they said there was an Englishman now fighting against him who had been their Prisoner seven years. They then desired him to leave off firing & he should speak with him, accordingly they told him that they were of the Huron Nation at Detroit that had been compelled to take up arms against Detroit by the Outawas, that there was part of the other nations there with them, that they only wanted the house & that they

would have. They told him he might have liberty to go with his Garrison where he pleased. He then desired them to leave off their firing and he would give them an answer in the morning, early: That seeing the vessel during the attack hovering about unable to assist him & considering the situation he was in, & the impossibility of holding out any longer, He sent out two soldiers as if to treat with them that they might find out their disposition & how they had made their approaches, who were to give him a signal if they found what he imagined to be true, that finding what he imagined to be so he then marched out with the Garrison in order to save them having their promise of liberty to go to Fort Pitt, or where they pleased, but were no sooner out than seised, bound & he with four soldiers and a woman carried to the Huron Village, where they were kept Prisoners untill the 9th instant that he, the woman and one soldier were delivered up. That Shelbarger the said Soldier of Capt. Hopkins Company of the Queen's Rangers being examined by the Court declares the same in every particular.

JOS. HOPKINS.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPT. GEORGE ETHERINGTON TO MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN COMMANDING AT DETROIT, DATED MICHILAMACKINAC 18 JULY, 1763.

Dear Sir: The Express which I sent off to Lieut. Gorrell at Labay arrived very luckily one day before that Post was to have been cutt off. The Savages of that Post came down the Indian Village where I was Prisoner, & brought with them Lieut. Gorrell and all his Garrison, and they with Mr. Lesley, me and fourteen men that remained of the Garrison of this Place, are just embarking for Montreal under a guard of sixty savages of the Outawa Nation.

I have a thousand things to tell you but I cannot trust them by this conveyance, I have heard nothing of the four men that I sent last May to St. Josephs, there is two of my men yet with the Chippewas. I have prevailed with the savages to permit all the English merchants to carry all the goods to Montreal under the convoy, I have been at a very great expense here but it was all unavoidable. I don't despair of seeing you this Fall at Detroit & am, in the meantime Dear Sir, Yours Sincerely,

GEORGE ETHERINGTON.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN, COMMANDING AT DETROIT, 9TH AUGUST, 1763.

Captain Hopkins, President.

Lieut. Williams, 17th Regt, Ensigns Anderson, 55th Regt, Members.

Mr. Rutherford being sworn informs the Court, that the Night before Capt. Campble was put to Death, He was sleeping at Monsieur St. Bemands house (who was always very civil to him) & in the middle of the night he was awakened by Francois Maloshe & two others whose names

he knows not. They took him in a Closet in said House produced him several letters which had been sent from the Fort to Cap. Campble & obliged him to read them in order (as they said) to know whether Peace was made with France or not; among the above mentioned letters this Deponant found one from Lieut. McDonald which mentioned that Peace was declared in the Fort and read said letter to them; upon which they scornfully said that peace was declared in *the Fort*; But they believed no where else. Several of the above mentioned letters were sealed when they were delivered to this Deponant and others open, which Meloshe said were given to him by Cap. Campble to be taken care of. Upon the Death of Campble (the day following) this Deponant was sent for to explain (in full Council of French and Indians) the aforesaid letters. He remembers the following persons that were in the Council, viz., Batist Campeau, Francois Meloshe, Batist Meloshe, Sancho P. Obain, *Louisan Denter Indian Interpreter*, Monsieurs Domelte, Pero Barth, likewise many others he does not know; Those above mentioned were very eager to find out anything to tell the Indians that they might not believe that Peace was made with France. This Deponant further saith that Pero Barth told him that he did not believe that there was Peace; But that Major Gladwin had made the Declaration himself to pacify the Indians. Francis Meloshe in the above mentioned Councill, upon reading the news of Dr. Cuyless being attacked, said aloud let no man speak of them, they are Dogs. Monsieur Denter has often told this Deponant that he would make his escape to the Indians, for fear the Major would hang him. Pero Barth has told him the same. It was generally said among them that if any of the French were hanged, it would be those that brought Capt. Campble out of the Fort. This Deponant was used very illy by Monsr. La Tiard (at whose house this Deponant's Indian master had planted corn & his Cabbin always there & was treated very well by P. La Tiard) After Lieut. McDougall had made his escape, Mr. Coulliere told this Deponant, that it was a pity he was saved, as the French would likely suffer thereby. Farther this Deponant saith not. Detroit 6 Aug. 1763.

Ensign Poulett says the night before Capt. Campble was killed he was sleeping in the same room with Mr. Rutherford when Francis Maloshe awakened him and took Rutherford into another Room where he heard for sometime whispering and rustling of papers. In the morning he wanted to know what the French had told him; But Rutherford told him they had absolutely forbid him to mention it to him; But on his promising secrecy he told him the same as he has upon oath declared to the Court.

Lieut. McDougall being sworn informs the Court that the Day he and Capt. Campble left the Fort to treat with the Indians for a Peace, they

met with them at Monsieur Cuelleries House where they saw the Indians and French assembled in the largest room. Monsieur Cuilliere seated in the middle with a laced hat and coat on, in which manner this Deponant had never seen him before, he kept his seat & his hat on when Capt. Campble entered & continued covered during the Congress: The Indians had just finished eating some bread which said Cullierie had given them and on his giving them bread a second time, he again took part of one of the Pieces and eat himself, the Indians Demanded the reason, to which he answered that it was to assure them, he gave them nothing that was poisoned: This Capt. Campble and another person (who he does not remember) interpreted to this Deponant. After some time Pondiac the Chief of the Indians addressed himself to the beforementioned Cuillierie telling him that he looked upon him as his Father come to life & as the Commandant of Detroit untill the arrival of his Brother Monsieur Billeta; at which speech the said Cuilliere seemed much pleased; Then Pondiac turning addressed himself to Cap. Campble & this Deponant & told them that if they made a Peace it must be on the same terms that his Father Monsieur Billeta had made, viz., to lay down their Arms and be escorted by a number of Savages, that he would appoint for that purpose to the first Inhabitants; but he would not allow them to take either arms or baggage along; On which the aforesaid Cuilliere turned to this Deponant, took him by the hand and said my Friend this is my work (meaning the offered Terms). I thought they would have been much harder. Some Days after this Deponant and Capt. Campble were talking to said Cuillierie, & heard him say to Capt. Campble that he was only sorry for him and Mr. Sterling, the Day the Indians met in Council to assassinate the Garrison. Some time after when the Vessel went first from Detroit for Niagara Pondiac detached five canoes with Indians to attack her in one of which a Potawatamie was killed, on which the others run off. The Day after Monsieur Cuillerie was in the Room with Cap. Campball this Deponant, Pondiac and his Chiefs. And on Pondiac's acquainting said Cuillerie what he had done & what had happened, Cuillerie answered in a deriding manner; what was the use of five canoes, why not thirty-five canoes. This Capt. Campble interpreted to this Deponant. This Deponant further saith that the Son of Cuillerie was employed carrying messages to and from Pondiac, giving information against the few French who assistaed the Fort with provisions, and prejudicing them against listening to the account of Peace. This Deponant says further that Young Cuillerie was one of the Party who when Pondiac in Council proposed to the French to take up arms against the Fort, that accepted the Belt and answered he eat the same bread & drank out of the same cup, & would fire out of the same gun. This Deponant says before and after the orders which Major Gladwin gave forbidding all

kind of communication with the Savages, Francis Meloshe continued a constant and open trade with the Savages selling them daily bread and dry goods; but was kind to him during his captivity. Further this Deponant saith not.

Mr. Chapman Abraham being sworn informs the Court, that in coming up Detroit River, having put on shore at the place of Monsieur St. Lewis, he acquainted this Deponant that the Fort was besieged by the Indians & Capt. Robertson, Sir Robert Daviss and a great many more English were killed, & that they intended to kill all the English that would come up Detroit River. This Deponant immediately told his men to go back with him; but the before mentioned soldiers told his men if they returned that would be all killed, as the Indians were round the whole Lake and at Niagara, upon which they absolutely refused to return with him. In consequence of which this Deponant put all his goods in said St. Lewis's house, who told him he could do his best to save them from the Indians; Then this Deponant asked him where he should go to hide himself to save his life. He and Madam Esperame (who was present) answered him he should go to her home & hide himself in her cellar; where he continued about ten minutes and then was told by said Madam Esperame to go out of the house; which he obeyed and in going out she perceived his watch chain & told him to give it to her that she was certain the Indians would kill him; upon which this Deponant told her he would make her a present of it, if she would let him stay in the cellar to save him from the Indians. She answered he should stay no longer in the House; upon which he endeavored to gain the woods; she followed him, demanding the watch a second time, which I again refused. By this time the Indians discovered him, took him prisoner and carried him to St. Lewis's house, where he found some of his goods were put in his canoe. This Deponant says further that one Pero Barth told him that Major Gladwin was the occasion of this Indian War; That if Capt. Campble had commanded this would not have happened; That the aforesaid Major would not give the Indians presents nor suffer their guns to be mended as Capt. Campble did; This Deponant replied that perhaps it was the General's orders not to do so, upon which he immediately said that the General did not order the Major to call them Dogs, Hogs & bid them go out of his house. This Deponant one Day saw Batist Devuiere and a great many other Frenchmen going to a Council with the Indians, he asked some of them what was the matter they would not tell him anything. This Deponant has daily seen some of the Frenchmen trading with the Indians giving them bread, tobacco and fish for English Merchants Goods that were taken from the Prisoners. That Piero & Hyacinth Reaume have traded with the Indians for his effects some of which he has seen worn by said Hyacinth's Daughters since his arrival in the Fort.

That Piero LaBute told him he bought of his effects. That Madam La Jenness being indebted to Monsieur Labadie & knowing him to owe this Deponant upward of twelve hundred louis, asked him if he had occasion for a quarter of veal & she would send it to him & discount it, which was proposed to said Labadie, who absolutely refused it. This Deponant says further that Batist Devuiriere had bought of his effects.

Monsieur La Bute Indian Interpreter for the Patawatamies & Outawas being sworn, informs the Court that the Day Cap. Campble and Lieut. McDougall met the Indians at Cuilleries house, that he was habited as Lieut. McDougall has informed the Court & that he kept his hat on during the Council, and that the purport of Pondiac's first speech was to inform the French and Indians that he turned out the Commandant (meaning Major Gladwin) and desired them to look upon and regard Monsieur Cuillierie as their Father and Commander, after which the said Cuillierie regaled Pondiac and the other Savages with three or four Flaggons of wine and pieces of bread. This Deponant further affirms what Lieut. McDougall has informed the Court of in regard to not poisoning the bread; The Day following the said Cuillierie inquired how Capt. Campble and Lt. McDougall did, they answered very well; But his Deponant answered very ill, for that the Indians had stripped them of everything & during the whole night, is that all, says Cuillierie, they are well off. I thought the Savages would have done much more. This Deponant further says that an Outawa savage told him, that the aforesaid Cuillierie, spoke to Pondiac, the Indian Chief, in this manner, have you sent three or four canoes to attack the Vessel, it would have been better to have sent forty. He also says that the son of the above Cuillierie was continually employed in giving and carrying intelligence to and from Pondiac, & that he (this Deponant) in Council, when Pondiac was alleging things against the said it was not true, on which Pontiac without hesitation answered then he is pointing to Cuillierie's son, who answered, yes I did tell it This Deponant adds that the Day Pondiac had assembled the old and young men of the settlement together, he demanded of them to assist in digging trenches against the Fort, Cuillieries son with the other young men desired the old men to answer first and they would afterwards. The answer was delivered by Monsieur Mayerin Spokesman for the young men, to this effect, we will not only take Spades but it is also our desire to take up Arms.

COPY OF AN EMBASSY SENT TO THE ILLINOIS BY THE INDIANS AT DETROIT, BY THE COURIER GODFREY & CHENE.

Speech of the Outawas, accompanied with a large Belt.

Listen ye French our Bretheren who are Prisoners as well as we. It is vexing that the English whom we were willing to adopt as Bretheren, should deceive so many nations. All that the Delawares and Shawany's told us is now come to pass. They told us to be diffident to the English, they only seek to deceive you & so it happeneth. Without the assistance of the French Merchants who give us on trust some trifles we had received to buy what we stood in need of in the Fall we were undone since our Father, Mr. Billetre went away; we have no news, none but the English receive letters. Is it possible that our Father writeth not? No Frenchman receiveth letters. This is to let our Father at the Illinois know our situation and request of him to inform us what is going on, that we may know if we are abandoned. The English tell us incessantly What ye Indians dare ye speak, see what we have done; We have your Father and the Spaniards; We are masters of these lands and of all which belonged to your Father, for we have beat him & we possess all these countrys even to the Illinois except a small spot which is but trifling. The Delawares told us this Spring, that the English sought to become Masters of all, and would put us to Death, they told us also "Our Bretheren let us Die together, seeing the Design of the English is to cutt us off, we are Dead one way or another. When we saw this, we decided all the Nations who are thy Children, to range themselves here at Detroit which they have done. We pray our Father at the Illinois to hasten to come to our succour, that he may have pity on us, notwithstanding that the English tell us constantly "From whom will ye get what ye stand in need of? When our Father, Mr. Belletre was going off from hence he told us "My Children the English to Day overthrow Your Father; as long as they have the upper hand ye will not have what ye stand in need of; but this will not last." We pray our Father at the Illinois to take pity on us and say "These poor Children who are willing to raise me up. Why do we that which we are doing to day? It is because we are unwilling that the English should possess these lands, this is what causeth thy Children to rise and strike everywhere.

We pray thee, our Father, send us an answer speedily, by these Couriers, tell us thy thought & thy will; We will put in thy hands him who chased thee from hence; there will be no hurt done unto him, we will say unto thee behold here he is. We beg of thee, also, our Father to treat kindly our Couriers. We are the cause of the fatigue which they are going to undergo.

Speech of the Chippewas, accompanied with a small Belt.

We approve of the Outawas Speech & have not forgotten our Father. We call to mind what our Ancestors told us. That if our Father was overthrown our lands would be taken from us. We know the intention of these people that crawl over our lands; this is what engages us to do what we do. We still keep hold of our Fathers hands, and do what lyeth in our power to draw it unto us, if we possess it we shall never let it go.

COPY OF A LETTER SENT BY THE INHABITANTS OF DETROIT, DIRECTED TO THE GENTLEMEN COMMANDANTS AT THE ILLINOIS.

Gentlemen: We are obliged to submit to what the Indians exact from us; The English are blocked up, and all the passages are shut up; We cannot express to you the our perplexity. It would be necessary, in order to judge of the calamaties which threaten us and which appear to us inevitable, that you saw with your own eyes what is going on here. God alone can prevent our becoming the victims of the English and Savages. These Couriers bear to you the talks of the Nations here; We look upon it as a happiness to have it in our power to acquaint you of our deplorable situation. We certainly never have contributed thereto by our conduct; The English on their part never gave us occasion. Instruct us what we can do; We look upon you as Protectors and Mediators who would be willing to employ themselves efficaciously to pacify two contending partys who threaten us with an unexemplary Desolation.

A COURT OF INQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN, COMMANDANT OF DETROIT, 8 SEPTEMBER, 1763.

Capt. James Grant, 50th Regt, President.

Lieut. James Bain, Queens Independence, Ensign Robert Anderson, 55th Regt Members.

Andreas Trueax an Inhabitant of Schenectady being examined; declares that sometime after he had been taken Prisoner by the Indians and carried to their Camp, he met with a Frenchman at the house of one Rofcinate, to whom he told in course of conversation, & in the Indian tongue that he was glad to hear of the Indians that they said it was peace, & that he Trueax had told them it was so, upon which the Frenchman answered in a very angry tone that it was not so, that there was war at the Illinois, at Quebec and everywhere, pointing with his arm stretched to all parts, and that there was also a French fleet at Quebec; The Frenchman's name he does not know, but he is a short thick squatt fellow, a sil-

versmith (he himself said) by trade. That afterwards he Trueax had heard that about the beginning of the troubles at Detroit, this Frenchman had deserted the Fort where he formerly lived and is certain he never returned thither whilst he was a prisoner. Mr. Trueax further says that he had told the above Mr. Fisher, his fellow prisoner, who he believes knows the Frenchman's name.

Mr. Fisher who was a Prisoner with the Indians acknowledges to have the above Declaration told him by Mr. Trueax, & says the Frenchman's name is Bart and was a silver and gun smith in the Fort. The above Mr. Fisher declares that a day or two after he had been brought to the Indian Camp, he saw the above mentioned Bart the Frenchman in the Indian Cabbin he was brought to & on his telling the English that it was certainly Peace between the English and the French, this same Bart made answer, directing his discourse in answering contemptuous tone to the Indians saying it was a Lye, that it would not be Peace, why should it be sooner in Albany than at the Mississippi, that he Mr. Fisher told it was certainly Peace, and related to him as far of the Articles of Peace as he could then recollect; but Bart still insisted that it could not be, and that everything he Mr. Fisher had said to convince the Indians was false. The Indians then asked of Bart whether he had left the Fort or not, to which he answered laughing, left the Fort, I have left it long ago. Mr. Fisher further declares that sometime after, the sloop was seen under sail up the River, that he saw the same Bart upon the top of a house, who upon his observing the sloop steering towards the Indian Camp he heared him call to the Indians, down with your Hutts, down with your Hutts send off your squaws and children to the woods. Mr. Fisher also declares that the morning Capt. Dalyell had gone with his party, the squaws in his hutt told him, that Bart was through their Camp with his gun & that he heared him calling out, go to the woods, knowing his voice perfectly well. Mr. Fisher says further the same day he went with his Indian Father up to Gross Point, who invited him in to do his Commands and get some victuals, that they went to the house of a Frenchman whose name he does not know, but that he is a little squatt man with black curled hair & squints a little, with whom the Indian had some talk, he could not well hear as they spoke low, but on their coming away he heared the Frenchman above described say to the Indian, taking him at the same time by the hand, Brother do your best againts the Fort, which he earnestly repeated, to which the Indian replyed in their manner, yes. Mr. Fisher further says that when the Indians were making a Raft to sett the Vessels on fire, he told them that it was to no purpose that the English would hawl them off before they reached the vessel, that then a well dressed pleasant looking Frenchman & tall came up to him and said in presence of the Indians in their own language, that if there was ten well

tied together, with ropes, they would do, get across the vessel and certainly set her on fire, and at the same time directing the Indians, showing them how the Outawas made their rafts; which were then finished a little lower down; and waiting for the Chippewas, sending down theirs. This Frenchman Mr. Fisher says lives on the other side of the Creek in which the Outawas made their rafts, and is said by Isaac Trueax and Gerrit Teller to be one Miloss. Mr. Fisher further says that soon after the attack of Capt. Dalyell he was with his Indian Father at the House of one Cardinal, the son of the old Cardinal, & heared him tell his Father and many other Indians with a tone full of ectasy & joy that the English had in that affair many killed and wounded, that they were lying here and there Dead in the Fields and that a Woman who had been in the Fort, of whom the Major had asked news regarding that affair, told him; she said there was but few Indians, that the Cardinal said to the Indians, that was true, for had you been all there few of them would escape, telling them at the same time that the Major had said that he would whip them all like beasts out of the ground with a horse whip. At which expression the Indians laughed very much, as if disdaining all threats.

Mr. Fisher further says that he was one day with his Indian father in a Frenchman's house, where there had been several Indians and one Gabriel a Frenchman, who lives where the Outawas encamped the time Capt. Dalyell made his attack, that he heard the said Gabriel & the Indians talk about having sent to the Fort for pipes, & the Indians telling him Gabriel that the Commanding officer had sent them word he knew not of their pipes, nor had he any, upon which this Gabriel got up and gave the Indian hoop or holloe, saying he was a man, & that he never threw away or lost a pipe, the Indians then answering the hoop, he Gabriel went out.

Andreas Trueax and Mr. Fisher both say that the same Gabriel had told them, that when the French and Indians had spoke at any time to the Major, he called them Hogs and other names, telling them to gett along and go about their business & would not hear them. Mr. Fisher further declares that one Tom, a servant of Mr. Knaggs's, who was prisoner at the same time told him, Mr. Andreas and Mr. Isaac Trueax, that one evening Mr. John Seeger, a partner of Mr. Knaggs's had got Wabacumaga the Indian Chief of the Messisagar Nation with him at Toronto and that Mr. Seeger who is now Prisoner told him at that time, Wabacumaga told him Seeger that St. Luke LeCorn had sent him a large belt to make war upon the English, which belt he kicked from him saying he would have nothing to do with it, that he would not fight against the English, for they were Masters of all, & that the above Chief had told Seeger who spoke the language well not to be afraid, that he or his partner should not be hurt, whilst he was about here. They do not

know the time the belt was sent, but Knaggs and Seeger were at Toronto from the Spring 1762. Mr. Fisher further says that one Notawas, an Outawa Indian had told him and both the above Trueax's, that there had been many Belts and Hatchets sent them these two years past, but that they the Outawas would not accept of any untill a large fine Belt came this last winter or Last Spring, the Outawas said from the Six Nations. But Mr. Fisher and both of the Trueax's are of opinion that the large fine belt was the same offered to the Messesagas Chief by St. Luke LeCorn.

MANNING FISHER.

Messrs. Andreas & Isaac Trueaxs acknowledges to have been present when Tom, Mr. Knagg's servant, had told Mr. Fisher what Mr. Seeger told him in regard to the Belt sent by St. Luke LeCorn as also at the Conversations between Mr. Fisher & the Outawa Indian and confirm the same, and that this Outawa Indian had told them the above in the Six Nation language having confidence in them, saying he had not fought himself, and when the War was over he would not live amongst his Nation, but would go down to Albany.

Isaac Trueax a Schenectady Inhabitant, declares that some time after he was brought to the Indian Camp, he was standing upon the Road with some other Prisoners, one George and one Bolton, Soldiers in the Royal Americans, that at that time Bart, the silversmith and Gunsmith, mentioned in Mr. Andreas Trueax's and Mr. Fishers Declarations, came to them and being in middle of Indian Camp, spoke to them very loud in the Indian Tongue and told them as a piece of news that there were some canoes arrived just then from Montreal, which brought letters that it was no Peace, and that there was fighting everywhere upon Sea and Land just as before, which news the Indians must have heared, as there were numbers about there, who showed all the marks of joy, on the occasion; He further says that some time after, he met one Lassell; who told him he was come from Montreal at that time, and had seen the traders murdered at Grand Riviere. Isaac Trueax further declares that one Mitchell, an inhabitant at Gross Point, told him there is a young man in the settlement, who had been amongst all the other young people of the settlement, with belts inciting them to take arms and assist the Indians in taking the Fort, desiring that they would form themselves into a Company of which he was to be Captain. Isaac Trueax, Andreas Trueax, Mr. Fisher, Turnball, & Teller all cotemporary Prisoners knew the above mentioned Young Man Personally from many instances of his ill treatment and barbarity to the Prisoners, and that Mr. Mitchell knows his name, they having forgotten it. Isaac Trueax further declares, that Mr. Mitchell also told him there was another Young Man on the South side of the River exciting the People on that side in the same manner and to

the same purpose, whose name Mitchell also knows. Isaac Trueax further declares that from the time the goods taken from him and the other Traders came to the Indian Camp it was a publick market between the French and Indians 'till all was sold, and that Meloss who lives on the further side, of the Creek from the Fort, came to him in particular and told him that he bought Dollars of the Indians and gave the value of a Beaver for each dollar, that he also showed him his own Watch which he had got, and asked him if it was good. He further says that he and his partner had brought up with them a thousand Dollars which he saw disposed of to the French, who were there in crowds whilst the sale lasted, both men and women so many, that he could not possibly make any further distinction.

ISAAC TRUEAX.

Andreas Trueax says that he had taken from him one hundred and fifty dollars which were also bought up by the French.

Gerrit Teller a Schenectady Inhabitant declares that soon after he was brought to the Indian Camp a Prisoner, he spoke to one Niganuay a Chippewa Chief, the Father-in-Law of DeConagne the Interpreter at Niagara, and asked him if he thought we should soon have Peace, to which he answered not for a long while, and asked him Teller if he knew (when he left Niagara) that the Indians were fighting against the English, he answered he did not. The Indian Chief then said, No that none of the English or their Traders know of it; but that all of the French and a few of the Indian Chiefs knew of it. Gerrit Teller Further says that one Sunday in the afternoon the armed boats were sent up the River, he saw Bart, the silver and gunsmith mentioned in the Declarations of Mr. Andreas, Trueax and Mr. Fisher, run very fast up into the Indian Camp, and calling to the Indians that the English were coming up again, upon which the Indians took all to their Arms.

GA TELLER.

Andreas Trueax being again examined says that Mitchel's wife at Gross Point told him that she was told by a Frenchman the names of four of the first people in this Colony who were principals at the head of all the mischief done here.

ANDREAS TRUEAX.

The above persons, Andreas Trueax, Manning Fisher, Isaac Trueax, and Garrit Teller, Declare they are willing at any time to make affidavit of what they have said, through the course of this examination. James Grant, President.

James Conner soldier in the 60th Regiment, who was Prisoner with the Indians, says that Charles Dusette had threatened to kill him, &

that he had fought against Capt. Dalyell on the 31st July and has Sr Robert Davers's Rifle and the Powder Horn and Point of Cap. Robinson. The said Dusette is the Person hinted in Mr. Trueax's evidence to have sent Belts to the young men of the settlement and treated the Prisoners so ill.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF INQUIRY HELD AT DETROIT, OCTOBER 1, 1763.

Capt. James Grant, 60th Regt., President.

Lieut. Bain of the Queens Rangers Ensign Anderson of the 55th Regt, Members.

John Severings soldier in the 60th Regiment being taken Prisoner by the Savages in May last by the Chippewas and brought down to the Outawa Camp near Melosshes House, says that during the time of his imprisonment he was made to work by the Savages at the Rafts with which they intended to fire the Vessels, he saw two Frenchmen, the two Melosshes, assist the Savages not only in constructing said Rafts but had given them augres, axes and other implements fit for that purpose. That he was in some time brought to the South Side of the River to a Frenchman's house with whom he was made to work. That the Frenchman paid the Savages half a bushel of wheat for every four days work (the Frenchman's name he knows not) but knows his House that he had saw some Indians come to the House demanding a cow to kill, that the Woman of the House asked them for Pondiac's order, which they said in Indian, Panama, signifying soon, that he had frequently seen billets or orders from Pondiac to several French for what the Savages might want, which was always readily granted, that he heard the woman of the same house say when the Indians are gone that Montreal was to pay half their loss by the Indians. James Conner soldier in the 60th Regiment being taken Prisoner at the same time with the above, was brought to Jacoe St. Aubergs an inhabitant's house who bought him, that soon after he was bought Pondiac the Indian Chief came and desired St. Aubergh to send him to work at the Rafts then making to sett fire to the Vessels, which the Frenchman obeyed and sent him and his own son with a horse and cart to draw timber for the Rafts, that the same day he saw St. Aubergh give a small Bullock to the Indians which they slaughtered before his door; that one day one Piero Bart came to St. Auberghs house and asked him the Prisoner what he thought of the war, will the Fort be taken, to which he cry'd no. That Bart said it would in two days, & that he would buy the two Jones's gunsmiths from the Indians; that Bart had at another time told him that the soldiers in the Garrison were entered in a Conspiracy, and under the silence of the Night intended to leap over the Pickets and abandon the Fort, and after they had got out

were to be conducted to Pondiac's camp by one Rhenbeaux, an Inhabitant in the Fort, desiring him at the same time not to speak of it to any of the English prisoners (This Conversation with Bart was in English) that he knew Mayack, St. Aubergh, Mathias Meloshe, & Brother to have been constantly at the Indian Councills, whilst he was a Prisoner, that his Master St. Auberg had told him, these Councills were held to get them to take up Arms against the English, which they refused, but that two Frenchman had taken up arms, one Charloc Dusette, the other name he does not know. That he knows his Master St. Auberg to have tilled about ten acres of ground, which he had given to four different families of Indians to plant corn in, that he had often seen his master feed the Indians and knows him to have bought from them different sorts of goods plundered and taken from the English.

his
JAMES X CONNER.
Mark.

Thomas Meares soldier in the 60th Regiment being taken prisoner by the Savages at Presqu' isle the 22d June last says that he was brought from thence to the Indian Camp at Detroit where he saw Capt. Campble & Lt. McDougall Prisoners, that soon after Lieut. McDougall having made his escape he was carried to see Capt. Campble put to Death in a most barbarous and inhuman manner, and expecting the same to be his Fate as soon as they had done mangling the body of Capt. Campble, he implored the mercy of the man in whose house Capt. Campble & Lt. McDougall were whilst Prisoners, who answered no, were you my own Prisoner I would give you to the Indians, as you are an Englishman, for the Indians and we are all one, clapping of his hand to his heart, and proceeded in saying whilst he had anything they should not want, that on their return from the place of Execution he heared the same Landlord of Lt. McDougall tell many things of him to the Indians which occasioned their being very cruel and ill natured to him for a long time after. That he had been soon after Capt. Campble's Death brought to an Indian Village on the way to St. Josephs about four days march, in which Village he saw three Frenchmen (whose names he does not know but well know their Faces and their houses having been there sometime) come the day after Capt. Dalyell's Defeat in great haste, and heared them tell the Indians there, seemingly in the greatest joy, how the English were beat & had great numbers killed, showing how they were brought in complaining of their wounds & many other demonstrations of joy. That there is a Frenchman who lives below the Huron Village, & to his knowledge had given a cornfield to three Families of the Outawa Indians, as well as his Horses to carry the corn for them to the Riverside, when pulled (He also knows the man's face and house). That he also knows of St. Auberg having

given a Field of ten acres well till'd to the savages, and that he himself was made to work at the pulling of it, that he also knows the said St. Auberg having often run into the Indian Camp where he had been kept with intelligence when the English came out of their Fort with their Boats or otherwise. That he had often heared many of the Inhabitants spirit up the Indians by telling them that the English Garrison were living upon two ounces of Flour pr day, and no Pork, nor was there any at Niagara to be sent to them, that he knows also the houses of several Inhabitants in which the English plunder is deposited and preserved for the Savages, which he can show at any opportunity.

THOS. MEARES.

The three soldiers, John Severings, James Conner & Thomas Meares, are ready to make affidavit to what they have declared in the Course of the above examination.

JAMES GRANT, *President.*
JAMES BAIN,
ROB'T ANDERSON.

Detroit 12 October, 1763

A COURT OF INQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR GLADWIN, ENG. COMMANDANT.

Captain Robert Rogers, President.
Lieut. Hay 60th Regt. (Members) Ensign Perry, Q. R. A. Rangers.

Evidence of John Seger, who was taken Prisoner at the Grand River in coming here, says that since he has been a Captive he has often heared the Indians say, in talking amongst themselves, that they were surprised that the French did not keep their words with them that they had promised they should not want for Provisions or Ammunition in case they should begin & continue the war with the English, & how would it be by and by if they began to draw back already. He further says that he was last Winter at Toronto a trading when he was told by Wapaumagen a Chief of the Missisagys that St. Luke Le Corn, had sent Belts to the Several Nations this Way, as he termed it under ye ground, which moved about last winter, the purport of which was to desire them to continue still in their friendship to the French, who would come in a Fleet in the Spring & take the Country again. He at the same time told him that the Indians would be at War with us in the Spring. That he was told by an Indian Chief in the Mohawk Tongue in Mr. Massack's House, in presence of many others that three Belts had been going about from the French these three years past exhorting the Indians to take up Arms against us. He also says that as soon as there is any alarm amongst the Indians they carried their goods in the French houses by way of security, that he

saw six pieces of straw in Massacks, which he believed to be part of what was taken from him at Grand River. The said Seger is willing to take his oath that the said evidence is true whenever he shall be called upon, and that Several Prisoners had shown him a Frenchman who spoke a little English, and whom he will know when he sees him, that always came to fire against the Fort with the Indians. The above Seger recollects that he was told by the Chippewas that the first canoe that went from here in the Spring to Montreal went on purpose to bring ammunition for them.

John Packs soldier, who was taken Prisoner coming from Michilimackinac in the Spring says that Charlo Dusette told him that he and Piero Barth had received two Belts of Wampum from the Indians as Commanders to raise the French in Arms to take the Vessels, they were to have had a man from each family, but they would not go with them though they warned them. That the French Guard the most valuable of their goods that in case we should drive them off they can come back and get them. The above Packs is willing to be qualified to the above evidence whenver he shall be called upon. True Copy.

ROBERT ROGERS.

LETTERS FROM M. NEYEON, COMMANDANT AT THE ILLINOIS.

To all my Children: The Iroquois, or Six Nations, Abenakies, Shawnes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons, Pautewatamies, Shiraponts, Macoutins, Miamis, Ouiejalanaws, Peanquickias, Ilinois, Sakeys, Foxes, Folcavoines, Ozages, Kanses, Missouris, Panis, and to all Red Men.

My Dear Children, as none of you can reproach me of lying, I promised you to communicate to you the news, and you to listen to my speech. lo! here it is, My dear Children, open your ears that it may penetrate even to the bottom of your Hearts. The great day has come at last wherein it has pleased the Master of Life to inspire the Great King of the French, and him of the English to make Peace between them, sorry to see the blood of men spilled so long, it is for this reason they have ordered all their Chiefs and Warriors to lay down their arms and we to acquaint you of this news, to engage you to bury the hatchet, doing it as I hope, what joy you will have in seeing the French and English smoke with the same pipe and eating out of the same spoon and finally living like Bretheren. You will see the Road free, the Lakes and Rivers unstopped. Ammunitions and Merchandise will abound in your Villages; Your women and children will be cloaked as well as you, they will go to the dances and Festivals not with cumbersome & heavy clothes, but with skirts, blankets and Ribbands, forget then, my dear children, all the evil talcks, may the wind carry off like dust all those which have pro-

ceeded out evil mouths. The Respect and Friendship which you have always had for the Word of Onondiijo and for mine in particular makes me believe that you will listen to this one now: It is from a Father who loves tenderly his Children and who seeks nothing but your welfare.

The French are free even as you, they change the Land when the King orders it, he has not given yours, he has only ceded those which he had amongst you in order to avoid War for the future and that ye may always enjoy tranquility and have abundance of merchandise in your Villages. I depend upon you that you will not make me lie, and that your Young Men will not quit their Rattles or play things to take up the Hatchet, but to carry it amongst Savage Nations from whom you expect no succours and who are on the Earth to Embroil it. Leave off then my Dear Children from spilling the blood of your Bretheren the English, our hearts are now but one, you cannot at present strike the one without having the other for enemy also, if you continue you will have no supplys, and is from us that you expect them, you will be always in my heart, and in those of the French who will never abandon you.

I bid you all farewell and recommend you to respect always the French who remain amongst you, altho I expect to go off sometime after the Couriers which I dispatch to you, send me your answer by them. If I do not receive it here it will be at New Orleans where I will concert with the great chief, the means for supplying you, thus having all the other side of the River Mississippi where the French will supply the wants of those who will be in this quarter.

I pray the Master of Life to enter into your hearts & that he may make you know that in following the advice which I give you to make Peace with our Bretheren the English, you may never stand in need of being pitied, and finally that the King, I and all the French will be glad to see you live in Peace, and for proof of the truth of what I tell you, I sign these Presents with my hand and put thereto the seal of my arms at Fort Chartre 27 Sept. 1763.

(Seal)

Signed, J. Neyeon DeVilliere.

Fort Chartre at the Illinois, 27th Oct., 1763.

Gentlemen: It is well decided that the King of France, the King of England and he of Spain (undoubtedly affected with the horrors of such a long and bloody war) have at length made Peace, whereof the Definite Treaty was Exchanged the 4th of March last. It is by virtue of a letter with the King's Seal that the Governour by his dispatches bearing date the 13th of last July (and which I received the 21st past) gives me orders to deliver up this Peace to the Commissaries of his Brittannick Majesty empowered by his orders for the purpose & evacuate it. I do not enter

into a Detail of this Cession; it is conformable to the articles in the Parliamentaries concerning this Quarter, and which you have seen, which leaves the Inhabitants free and at liberty to retire whereever it seemeth good unto them within the possessions of the Three Kings; he has then ordered me to acquaint all those who are willing to withdraw themselves hereof, & to propose to them New Orleans, the Allemants, Lapointe, Loupéé, Anhancas and Sante Gunnviene, to establish themselves there with assurance of having all facility in their new settlements. If any amongst you gentlemen choose to follow this resolution, they are free to do it and may assure themselves that I will procure them every succour that will depend on me. It remains then, Gentlemen, that I exhort you agreeable to the Kings intention to put everything in practice to contribute to the Peace which I demand of the Indians, being well persuaded that the English Gentlemen will take the most just means to accomplish it in consequence whereof I have dispatched these Couriers and am entirely, Gentlemen, Your very humble & Most Obt. Servt.

(Signed) NEYEON DEVILLIERE.

To all the Inhabitants at Detroit.

We Peter Joseph Neyon DeVilliere Major Commandant of the Illinois:

Mr. Dequindre, Cadet, is ordered to set out this day with one named James la Devarette and two Indians to go to Detroit to carry our Dispatches thither.

He will be charged, moreover, with a parole from us in writing with a flying seal, three Belts and four pipes for all the Nations.

As the Ouyatanons are the first that he will find, he will cause their Chiefs to be assembled, together, to whom he will explain exactly our Parole in assuring them of the Peace, in token whereof, he will deliver up to them one Belt and one Pipe.

He will do the same with the Kekapouts, Maskoukins, & Miamis, and from thence he will go to Detroit, when he will deliver our letters to the Commandant.

If contrary to our intentions the siege of Detroit by the Indians should obstruct his entering into the Fort, he is to go to Pondiac, Chief of Outawas, where he will read over our Parole and give it up to them, enjoyning them to convey it to all the other Nations.

He will be on his Guard in order to avoid all manner of surprises from ill conditioned Indians.

We command to him most expressly to make all dispatch. We desire, therefor, all whom it may concern not to retard him but on the contrary to procure him succour and assistance. Given at Fort Chartre, 27 Sept. 1763.

Signed, NEYON VILLIERE.

THE DECLARATION OF MR. JADOC TO MAJOR GLADWIN AND CAPT. GRANT AT MAJOR GLADWIN'S HOUSE, THE 24TH DEC., 1763, IN THE EVENING.

Saith that in council with Pondiac composed of the following principal Inhabitants, viz., Navarre Schcott, Campeau, Currie, and Frank Meloss, sometime about the latter end of June or beginning of July, 1763 Schcott told Pondiac that they would not fight with him against the English, as they would expose their wives and children to inevitable ruin, should they not succeed, but that there were about three hundred young men in the settlement who had neither Parents or much property to lose, that might and ought to join him, in consequence of which speech Pondiac addressed himself to some Young Men present, who immediately agreed to join him and fight against the English. Kenbarger told him of this Council and that Frank Meloss had insisted in said Council that Mr. Nevarre being a knowing & leading man would tell assure Pondiac that they were all ready and willing to take up arms with him against the English, which Nevarre absolutely refused, & said no I will not tell him, tell it him yourself. That on Jadocs hearing the result of this Council he came to Pero Potie, the Jesuit and prevailed upon him to come to the Fort and acquaint the Commandant of what passed, but as the Jesuit was ready to sell out, Piero La Bute & Baptist Gruereme came and finding he was going to the Fort told him he was mad, that Pondiac would burn his church, destroy all he had and then kill himself, which frightened him and prevented his going and acquaint the Commandant that it was agreed upon in Council about the 5th day of July, that the Garrison was to be attacked without by the Savages and French, and within by the French Inhabitants residing in the Fort. N. B. This corresponds with three large Keys being found in the Fort, which answered in every respect the locks of the Fort & with the Deposition of McConie, a soldier in the 60th Regiment, who had at that time been Prisoner, and told by a fellow Prisoner, who spoke good French that the Garrison were all to be murdered, as the French were all to attack it from without and within, as well as the savages, or to this purpose. Jadoc further saith that at Piero Labutes House he told Pondiac of the Peace, and putting three of his fingers close, showing as the three great Kings had now made Peace, that in attacking the English it was attacking the whole three & many other arguments to prevail on the Savage Chief to listen to reason which he for a little time seemed inclined to giving great attention; But the said Labute in a rage told him Pondiac it was all a lie, propogated by the English to deceive them, and that Jadoc himself was no other than an Englishman. He further saith that all the St. Obaignes & Campeaus are the most prominent people in the settlement, and by them proposed to make trenches, that when the enemy were close on the outside the

Garrison was to be attacked within. That Bart the gunsmith and Shippaton, two Inhabitants of the Fort had often gone out amongst the Savages and told everywhere that the English in the Fort were half Dead, and that a good savage cry would make them surrender; Further that Currie, Schicott, Meny Chene, Godfrey and others knew of the Plan to murder the Garrison in Council several days before it was attempted to be put into execution; and that by the requests of Curie, Campeau and some others Capt. Campbell was to be saved, That Pierro La Bute had told Jadoc that Currie had also desired of Pondiac to save Capt. Hopkins that he was as one of them, which he promised to do if he knew him. Further that Baptist Campeau came to his Jadocs house showed him some letters & a Belt which were to be sent to the Illinois by Godfrey and Meny Chene, which on reading surprised him so much that he asked said Campeau if he showed them to the Commandant; that he answered with equal surprise, what Commandant, we have no other Commandant now but Pondiac & next Sunday you'll go to the Mass in the Fort, and you'll see no English there, we will take it eer that time. Jadoc then replied, how will you take it. We will take it by sapp replied Campeau, further that Tiffoc, who came in the Fall from the Illinois and positively declared to all the Savages there was no Peace that it was all a lie & there would be an army soon from the Illinois with ammunition enough; he lodges and resides at old Predomes House. That LeVille Beau, Chartoc Campeau and old Predome particularly harboured and fed the savages in the times of want. Further that outside Rentaigne, Cabbarcher, St. Andrew and St. Bernard are all good men, but that, in short, the villaney of the settlement in general, to write it, would fill a volume.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY MAJOR GLADWIN'S ORDER TO EXAMINE THE FOLLOWING PERSONS UPON OATH, DETROIT, 20TH DEC., 1763.

Capt. James Grant, President.

Lieut. Abbot Royal Artillery Ensign John Christie Members.

James Barns soldier in the 60th Regiment being duly sworn declares that he was one of the Garrison of Miamis on the 27 May 1763, when that Garrison was taken by the Indians, and that Mr. Welch the Merchant who had been taken on the Miamis River some days before, told him after he had been taken, that being in the river he was haled to come on shore and was secured by the Indians in company with two frenchmen, Godfrey and Miney Chene, who were with the same Indians when he came to the Miamis Fort on the 26th in the Evening, & that next day after Mr. Holmes was killed, the serjeant taken and the men, having shut the Fort, the Frenchman Godfrey was with Mr. Welch at the Fort when he called to them to give up the Fort & that they would be all

saved, on the Contrary, the Fort would be set on fire & they all burn't, upon which they opened the gates and surrendered, that soon after they were Prisoners, Welch told him the Deponant that he was ordered to tell them to give up the Fort, By the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Chene, that Godfrey had told him, the Deponant, to give him a pair of silver buckles he had on his shoes, saying he might have them as well as the Indians, which he, Godfrey, made Welch Interpret to him in English, for which buckles the said Godfrey paid him, at Detroit, in December following, being then Prisoner there; the Indians who had them Prisoners told them they were going to take Ouyatanaw, and went off accordingly accompanied by the two said Frenchmen, Godfrey and Chene, and that soon after they heard Ouiyatanaw was taken and that they carried two of the soldiers taken at Miamis with them, when they went off for Auiyatanaw. The Deponant further says that as soon as they were taken away from the Fort Miamis, He saw French Colours flying upon it, The Deponant further says, upon oath, that Godfrey and Miney Chene, the prisoners at Detroit, are the very Persons he saw with the Indians when Miamis was taken.

William Bolton, soldier in the 60th Regiment, being duly sworn, confirms the Depositions of Burns, excepting from the consternation he was in he does not remember who was with Welch when he spoke to them to surrender the Fort, as also that he heared that the Indians had told the Frenchman Godfrey and Chene to desire him to tell them in the Fort to surrender and that they would be all saved.

John McConnie Soldier in the 60th Regiment being duly swornne deposeth that he was taken by the savages at Presqu' isle in June 1763, that he was conducted from that to the Indian encampment above Detroit and from thence to one Labidie's house, an Inhabitant on the Riverside below the Fort, and that during the two nights he was there, he saw the Landlord Labidie with his own hands dressing the heads and painting of three Young Frenchmen in the Indian manner, each of the two nights. He believes the first night was only to please the savages, several being there. That on the day following, being the second day, he was there, one Rannoc, a Frenchman but a soldier taken with him and Prisoner at Labadies told him, with seeming sorrow, that this night they would all be killed within the Fort, That Waggeman, another Fellow Prisoner had been sent into the Fort to be exchanged for an Indian, and then would be killed, That he the Deponant having asked Rannoc how or in what manner they were to be killed telling him at the same time of his seeing Labadie painting and dressing the young Frenchmen the night before, that Rannoc then replied that the rain only hindered them from attempting it the night before and that the French were to assist the Indians, being angry for a Frenchman being wounded, and this Night they are

to be killed in the Fort, as they can go in when they please, they having gotten keys to open the Gates & all the French within are to rise and assist them as well as all the young men in the country.

The deponant further declares that the evening of the day Rannoc told him as above, Labadie, the Landlord, had the second time addressed his young men as above described, who had all gone out with several savages, he imagined to attack the Fort as told him by Rannoc, that at several other little intervals during the Night Labadie came to the place where the Deponant lay, touching him with his hand, he believes to prevent his escape, the house being dark and only one old soldier left to guard him, That about the middle of the Night, finding the House quiet he the Deponant got up, and crept as far as the Door, with an Intention to make his Escape but was prevented by Labadie's having heard him trying to open the door, challenged him and desired if he would go out to take the Indian along with him. The Deponant further says that he believes he might have got off, had he not in the same day, Rannoc and he conversed as above, put confidence in Labadie who had asked him if he knew the Indians to have got money in their plunders with some other questions to which he replied he did not know, but that they had got some Watches, and then consulted him about making his escape, that he told him it was impossible if could not swim, pointing to the River, which trust he is certain prevented his getting off that night by the vigilance of Labadie & likewise believes was the occasion of his being carried away next day to Sagama, where in his way he met with John Edwards a Soldier & Prisoner to whom he related the circumstances as in this Deposition. The Deponant further declares that he saw Labadie buy three pairs of white stockings from the Indians for tobacco, which stockings he believes had been the property of Ensign Christie, who had been also taken at Presqu-isle. And that he further knows the said Labadie to have received spades shovels and other utensils belonging to the King from the Savages. The Deponant further says that in the Fall of the Year when he was at Sagana, he saw two cannons with eight or nine Frenchmen, mostly wounded, who the Indians told him were going to the Mississippi for to bring ammunition and men, that a French army from thence were coming this way. The Deponant further says that he was lying down in Labadies house one of his Daughters came to him, give him a kick with her foot and told him in English to move aside, and that the husband of that woman was one of the men dressed and painted by Labadie as above related, and had gone out with the savages in the night.

John Edwards soldier being duly sworn declares that the Deponant McConnie had told him on his way to Sagana the whole in regard to a Frenchman in whose house he had been in, having painted and dressed

three young Frenchmen, who he believes assisted the Indians against the Fort and also told him with great concern that the Fort was to have been taken that Night in the manner related in his deposition. N. B. The circumstances in the Deposition of McConnie with regard to the Gates being laid open by the Enemy's false keys appears to be true, as there were three large keys found within the Fort sometime after hid under ground exactly the same make with the real keys of the Fort and answering locks equally well. McConnie being asked how he knew Labadie to be the Person he had seen Painting the Young Men &Cc Answers he has often since he came from the Savages, therefore knows him perfectly well; being asked who were the young men he saw him paint, answers he believes two of them were his sons & the other he is sure was his son-in-law.

JAMES GRANT, *President.*

A COURT OF INQUIRY ORDERED TO TAKE THE DEPOSITIONS OF THE FOLLOWING PERSONS TAKEN BY THE SAVAGES IN THE SUMMER, 1763.
DETROIT, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1764.

Capt. James Grant, President.

Ensign John Christie, Ensign Christopr Pauly, 60th Regt. Members.

Capt John McCoy of the 60th Regiment being duly sworn Deposeth that he was at Miamis Fort on the 27th day of May 1763 when it was taken by the savages, that in the morning he saw some Indians coming towards the Fort, that he went out to see who they were, and what they came about, that as he approached them he saw Mr. Welch, the Indian Trader and two Frenchmen, Chene and Godfrey, with the savages, that Welch called to him and told him it was better to surrender the Fort, that their officer was killed & that none of them would be hurt, on which he turned round to go back to the Fort but found that he was surrounded by the savages and his retreat cut off; surrendered himself and was carried away to the Indian Cabbins about 200 Yards where he found three soldiers who had been taken with Mr. Welsh some days before: Being asked in regard to the behavior of the Frenchmen Godfrey & Chene, answers he saw no bad behavior of them during the time he had any opportunity of seeing them, which was not above an hour, he further Deposeth that the second day after he was taken from the opposite side of the River he saw a Frenchman hoisting a white Flag on the Flagg Staff but does not know positively who the Frenchman was, that he did not know of Ensign Holmes being out of the Fort until he was told by Welsh that he was killed, that he knows nothing of any French that had been seen amongst the Indians, but of a vagabond (had been sometimes at the Miamis) who has gone off to the Illinois & had often told the Indians that Quebec and New York &c were to be taken, that the Miamis

Indians had only sent seventeen or eighteen of their Warriors to Detroit who they told him were not to fight as they were at war against the Cherokees.

Robert Lawrence soldier in the 60th Regiment Deposeth that on the 24th May when he was taken by the Indians with Mr. Welch the Trader on the Miamis River he saw the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Chene, with the same Indians of whom he asked Welch to enquire what Nation the Indians were off, that the old man Godfrey answered they were Ottawas and Chippewas, that Welch, at his desire, asked the Frenchman Godfrey again, where they were going? Who answered that the Indians had sent them with Letters to the Commandant of the Illinois to desire that he would come down and take possession of the Garrison of Detroit, that Capt. Campble and Lt. McDougall were taken Prisoners, & that the Indians had been a beating of them for two days before they left Detroit, that Godfrey spoke to them only, that Miney Chene kept constantly among the Indians, that in a little after they were taken and tied, he saw two other Frenchmen whose names he does not know, who had some conversation with Mr. Welsh, Godfrey and Miney-Chene, set off with these other Frenchmen who were servants to Mr. Welch, in two Battoes with all the plunder then taken he was told for this Place, that Welsh told him on the 25th that the old Frenchman Godfrey had asked what sort of man was Mr. Holmes? Was he a good soldier? That on his being told he was, the Frenchman then said if he was he had better shut the gates and Fight. That on the 26th in the evening the Indians had tied the Prisoners down to the ground, within two miles of the Fort Miamis; Went all off except two, who with the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Miney Chene, he as well as the other Prisoners supposed were left to Guard them, that after they were sometime gone, Mr. Welch asked the French where they were gone, they told him to kill Mr. Holmes, in his Room if they could, that in the night two Indians returned to where they were tied & were led in that condition to their Cabbins. That in the morning 27th May they had contrived to get Mr. Holmes out of the Fort, waylaid & killed him & brought his scalp to the Cabbins, that then they called out Welch and the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Miney Chene who he saw no more.

Thomas Cooper a soldier in the 60th Regiment being upon Oath, Deposeth he was taken at the Depot of St. Cayler on Lake Erie and carried through this settlement to an Indian farm, belonging to different Nations, that he was well treated by the Savages during his Confinement & did not see a Frenchman all the time he was prisoner.

N. B. The two Frenchmen who carried off Welsh's goods and not known by Lawrence must be known by Godfrey and Miney Chene, who were there.

James Grant, President.

John Christie, H. Pauli, Ensigns 60th Regt. Members.

Detroit, 16 February, 1764.

Jadeau told the Commandant in my presence that there are severals in this settlement making Pettyaguar in order to run off in the Spring with all their grains, to the Illinois & that that several of them had called him names and abused him for hindring them from striking the English last year, and driving them out of the country, and promised to bring their names. Jadeau returned the 6th March, but says the above intention was owing to a vagabond from Montreal who stays in the settlement and he is to bring him into the Fort as soon as possible with Claremont who is to discover a person in the Fort who had sung and Danced the War Song and Dance with the Indians the Night or Day before the Commandant and the Garrison were to be murdered in Councill, which he told Claremont the intended Massacre. Jadeau further told on the said 6th March, that one Predome an Inhabitant abused him for stopping some young Frenchmen (forced by Pondiac) from attacking the Vessell, he further says that old Bean an Inhabitant on the south side of the River (or little Cote) is one of the worst subjects in the Colony.

Thursday, the 5th April, 1764.

Jadeau further told me in Col. Gladwins room & presence, that Teala the Huron Chief had told him that the source of the Indian War, was not owing to any Belts or Emissary sent amongst the Indian Nations about Detroit by the Six Nations but to the French, who had been constantly telling them that their Father had come and taken Quebec & Montreal & they were coming here with an army from the Illinois, that they would be angry with them if they did not strike the English and take the Fort, ere they came, that this was the argument used by more than two thirds of the settlement to stir up the Indians to mischief.

I was informed by Mr. LeGrand and Monsieur Dirrisseaux, that before Canada was taken Pondiac and some Chiefs from Detroit, suspecting a complete conquest on the side of the English had gone down to Fort Pitt and the other Forts on the Communication towards Pensylvania enquiring the treatment they would have should the English succeed to which was answered that first all the Rivers were to run in Rum, that presents from this great King were to be unlimited, that all sorts of goods were to be in the utmost plenty and so cheap as a Blanket for two Beavers, 4 Raccoons taken for a Beaver, with many other fair promises which they told in the settlement on their return with much insolence. In consequence of which they allowed Rogers with a handful of men to take possession of the Fort and Colony, receiving him with joy, and using Belletre the French Commandant at the same time with much disrespect.

That in about a year after Pondiac in particular had been heared to complain and say the English were liars, which opinion became so general, that a long time before they openly declared themselves in arms, a general discontent was amongst all the Nations, and the chief complaint on that of the prohibition of rum and that the English took six Raccoons for a Beaver, when the French never took but four, with many other complaints more trifling in their nature, such as Annual Congresses promised &c., so that on the whole they say all the promises the English made were no other than to blindfold and delude them for which they had been often heard to say they would kill all the liars and give their lands to their Fathers.

(Signed) JAMES GRANT.

May 11, 1764.

Mr. Clairmont told Col. Gladwin in the presence of Capt. Grant & Lt. Hay. That the 9th day of May 1763 (being near the Mouth of the River Huron getting timber where was also Mr. Massac and many other Frenchmen) at three in the morning some Indians came by there with a Belt inviting all nations of Indians they met to fall upon the English, wherever they found them. That they sung the War Song in Mr. Massac's house or Cabbin, which was a little distance from his, & that Mr. Massac sung with them & when he struck his stroke in the song he struck with a little loaf of Bread. That one Dunoir and one Campeau was present. That they also said the first Council that was to be held in the Fort would be to murder all the English. That about eight o'clock the same morning Sir Robert Davers and Lt. Robinson came there in a Boat, to whom he told all that had passed and desired them not to go forward but rather stay with him, but they would not believe anything he said and went on. That Mr. Massack went off in the woods and would not see Sr. Robert. That about ten he heard the report of some guns toward the Lake & between three and four in the afternoon the Indians came back and brought their scalps. Massack then said he did not think they would have killed them, & he was sorry for his fault. Clermont then told him it was necessary somebody should go and acquaint the Commandant of what had passed, upon which Massac desired him to come along, but Clermont then asked him he could go who had nobody but a Child to take care of his House, and you have four or five men. But since you will not go without me I will go by myself, when Massack saw that he went off & Clermont imagined came to inform of what had passed, it was then about five in the afternoon, the 9th May.

On Tuesday the 5th June, 1764, Mr. Jadeau informed me in the presence of Col. Gladwin and Lieut. Hay that one Lesperame, a Frenchman on his way from the Illinois he saw a letter with the Ottawas, at the Miamis River, he is sure wrote by one Baptist Campeau (a deserter from

the settlement of Detroit) and signed by Pondiac, the Savage from the Illinois setting forth, That there were Five hundred English coming to the Illinois, & that they, the Ottawas at Miamis, must have patience that he Pondiac was not to return until he had defeated the English & then he would come with an Army from the Illinois to take Detroit, which he desired they might publish to all the Nations about. That Poudar and Ball was in as great plenty as water. That the French Commissary La Cleff had sold about Forty Thousand weight of Powdar to the Inhabitants, that the English, if they came, might not get it. There was another letter on the subject sent to an Inhabitant of Detroit, but can't tell in whose hand it is. Jadeau further said that Lesperame told him that Pondiac on his way to the Illinois this Spring, at Miamis, found there some English Prisoners, one of whom had beat a Chief of that Place. That Pondiac told them they must burn him, and on non-Compliance he threatened to destroy their Nation, on which threat that Prisoner was burned and another shot.

Signed, JAMES GRANT.

July 9th, 1764.

This day a small party of Potawatamies arrived here who informed that an Indian was come from the Illinois to St. Josephs who informed them that he was in Council with Pondiac there. That Mr. Deneyon told him he was glad to see him & hoped that his sences were come to him. Pondiac then took a large Belt and laid it before him saying, My Father, the reason of my journey is to get you & all your allies to join with me to go against the English, upon which Mr. DeNeyon took the Belt and told him, Your speech much surprises me as I doubt not but you have rec'd my message, wherein I informed you, the French and English were but one, then returned the Belt. Pondiac then took the Belt again and importuned Mr. DeNeyon several times on the same subject, at last Mr. DeNeyon grew angry and kicked it from him, asking him if he had not already heared what he said to him. He then addressed himself to the Illinois Indians and told them, they saw him that day in the Fort but perhaps they would see their Brothers the English next, and exhorted them to live in amity with them, which he made no doubt of as their sentiments were very good. Pondiac then asked for Rum & De Neyon gave him a small Barrell, which he took to one of the Illinois Villages, and with a Red Belt exhorted them to sing the War Song with him, which some of them did, but were very sorry for it when they were sober. The Indian that brought this says that before he left the Illinois he saw three English officers, who were sent on before, the Army being but a little way behind with a large Body of Indians.

June 10th, 1764.

This day Teata, a Wiandott Chief of this Place, arrived here from Sandusky where he had been to carry Sir William Johnson's Speech, who says that after he delivered it and left it to their Deliberation, The Great Chief (Big Jaw) got up and thanked him for the trouble he had been at to bring it and immediately the whole went out. After he had delivered the speech he says he advised them to come to their senses, but in case they did not it was their affair. Four days after they came back and desired Teata to come and hear what they had to say in answer. The first Belt they gave him was a repetition of Sir Williams speech. Then they took another. Saying Sr William asks the reason why we struck against the English, we think he ought to know better than anybody; yes said they, it is Sr William that ought to know, but since the Senecas have made Peace with him, and the English, tell him it was them that just embroiled the Earth and were the first cause of what has been done. Gave a Belt. They then took another Belt and said, Sr. William and the Six Nations want that we should own our folly and find words to excuse ourselves that we may be again set right. You'll tell him by this Belt which you are charged to deliver to him that for what is past is past, that we have yet done no harm since last summer, we have kept our Young Men quiet for which reason we think the breach may be easily mended; and tell him also we shall keep them quiet this summer when we think we shall be reconciled. The two Mohawks who are come with Teata say that they were told by the Hurons of Sandusky that they would not tell Teata the result of a Council they had had with the Shawnees, which was that they were to try to take Fort Pitt by Treachery, and if they failed there, were to go against the Inhabitants on the Frontier. One of them further says that before he left the Delawares Towns he saw thirty small parties go out who were all intend to go to our Frontiers. They both also say that the Hurons at Sandusky laughed at Teata behind his back and called him fool for believing what Sir William said and bringing such a message. That tho he said they should be friends, it can never be untill all the English, except Traders, go from this Place, meaning Detroit, and then we believe we shall agree. That their God tells them they must make War, & no Peace for ten years, at the end of which by the force of treachery during that time all the English will be drove away & then they will have Peace & not till then. That the Delawares and Shawnees and *Hurons of Sandusky* all say the English are fools, that they can make friends with us when they please and Tomahawk us the next day. That the English always told them they had as many men as there were leaves on the trees; but we look upon one Indian as good as a thousand of them, and notwithstanding we are but mice in comparison to them, we will kick as much as they can. The two

Mohawks further say that the Hurons at Sandusky told them they were very sorry that Sir William Johnson was coming here, as they imagined by that, he wanted to have his Bones here. They also say that, while they were at the Shawaney Village, the French from the Mississippi sent them a Present of Powder, of which they saw three Barrels. That the Onondagoes whom Sir William sent against the Shawanies came to one of these Villages, where they were asked what they came for; they said we come to scalp you; Then one *Kayoughshoutong* said, here, take these, giving them two old scalps, that he had newly painted, go home and tell Sir William you have scalped two Shawanese; upon which they returned, that the above mentioned Indian was the cause of their not striking against the Shawanese. But it was not so with the Tuscororsco for they lost three men. Mr. St. Martin, Interpreter, told Col. Gladwin several Times, that the Hurons of this Place, told him, that if Peace was made with the Delawares, Shawanese and Hurons of Sandusky that it would be neither good nor lasting.

I Henry Bostwick, Resident at the Fort of Michilimackinac the 2d June 1763, declare that I saw Mr. Sans Chagarine of the Fort of Michilimackinac standing at the Door of His House at the Time the Indians were murdering the Soldiers, with the Door open, and I saw a soldier running towards the House for Shelter and the Indians after him, but as soon as he came near the Door, they shut it against him, which gave the Indians time to strike him with his Hatchet; upon receiving the Blow he fell forward with so much force against the Door that He broke it open. I then went into my Garret and hid myself under some Baggs of Corn and soon after my house was broke open and they began to plunder: I saw the Pany slave, belongin to Arngott, the Smyth, plundering in the Chamber with the Rest. After the affair was over I demanded Argott to return me what his slave had plundered from Me; He told me what he had got was safe, but he would not then return them. I also saw in my garret the son of Monsr Cardin, named *Hance*, taking the corn out of my Chamber into another adjoining his. When he came to the Corn that covered me, I directed him to speak to the Indians to save my life, but he called to one of them and made a motion with his mouth towards me. On seeing myself in such an unhappy situation I went towards an Indian, that I knew, and put myself in his hands, at the same time the other Indians made a stroke at my head, with his Hatchet, which I fended off with my arm, and the Indian, I spoke to to protect me, saved me from all other attempts. During the whole time the Frenchman came not to my assistance. I was not in many of their Houses after, but in every one where I *was*, I saw either Goods or Peltry. I saw in the House of Forti, the Interpreter, three Packs, which belonged to me, the first Day; the Day following I saw his Servants bringing into his House Corn, Pork and

other things which I supposed came out of the King's store, as it was at that time opened. I likewise saw Powder brought in from the Magazines. At Monsr Langlads, Senr, I saw one Pack which he would not give me, for Fear of affronting the Indians, who left it with Him. He told me he had traded several of my Packs and would trade all that came in his way, as it was no matter to him where they got them. Amblin, likewise told me, he had bought very cheap of the Indians some of my stockings, and other Things. I told Him I would be glad to give Him what they cost him, if he would let me have them again, because I had none to wear. He told Me he got them for His own Use and not to sell, and that He wou'd wear fine stockings as well as I, and I heard him say that every person got something.

Sworn before me on the Holy Evangelist this 13th Day of Augt. 1763, at Montreal.

DANIEL DISNEY,
Town Major.

I Edward Chim declare that on the 16th day of July, 1763, Joseph Tessuo a Person employ'd in the service of Howard, Chim & Bostwick, came to me and demanded to be released from his service. We being much in want of Assistance cou'd not comply with His Request, and He went immediately and took away a pack of Peltry and never came near us after.

Sworn before me on the Holy Evangelist this 13th Day of Augt. 1763 at Montreal.

DANIEL DISNEY,
Town Major.

I Ezekiel Solomon, Resident in the Fort of Michilimackinac at the time it was surprized by the Savages, declare that on the 2d day of June a Frenchman, Mons. Cote, entered my House several Times and carried from thence several Parcels of Goods, my Property. And also an Indian named Sanpear carried the Peltry from my House to the House of Aimable Deniviere in whose Garret I was then concealed. I owed Monsr Ariek a sum of money, but at the time He demanded it the payment was not become due, and I refused to pay Him till the Time I had contracted for; but he told me if I did not pay it he would take it by force: I told him, the Commanding Officer would prevent that, & he replyed that the Commanding Officer was nothing, and that he Himself was Commanding Officer. Sworn, &c., 14th Aug., 1763, before me.

DANL DISNEY,
Town Major.

I Ezekiel Solomon, Resident in the Fort of Michilimackinac at the time it was surprized by the savages declare that on the second day of June, 1763, a Frenchman, Monsieur Cote, entered my house several times and carried from thence several parcels of Goods, my property. * *

The Deposition of Garrit, Roseboom, Tunis, Fischer, Cummin, Shields and Wm. Bruce, Merch's from LaBay, as taken upon Oath before a Court of Enquiry at the Detroit the 4th day of July 1764.

Capt. James Grant, 60th Reg., President.

Lieut. George McDougal, 60 Regt. Lieut. Richard Williams, 60th Regt. Members.

Garrit Roseboom declares that about the latter end of April, 1763, he was going from the Bay to the Soaks to look for his Partnr Abrahh Lancing who had been up there, being told that he was killed, that on his way he met some Indians coming down with some Packs, which he knew to be his, and which they said he might have for paying the carriage; That both the French and Indians told him, Mr. Lancing and his son were killed by two Frenchmen, Tibot & Cardinal, both servts of Mr. Lancing, who, they had been told, upon the above Murder made their escape to the Illinois; that on his return to the Bay he found Mr. Garrit and the Garrison there, and came with them to Michilimackinac, leaving his goods in possession of one Jordan, a Frenchman and an Inhabitant at the Bay; that when he returned from Michilimackinac with the Indians to La Bay, he found some of his goods taken away. He thinks of his and Mr. Fisher's to the value of 20 pounds, wh. he said was stolen by the Indians, but Mr. Roseboom declares he saw his goods wore by Jordan's Family afterwards. That the Indians had often told him that the French at the Bay (in particular Goalie, the Interpreter, to Mr. Garrit, and Langlad his Son in Law Sourini) had told *them* there was an open war between the English and French; That the French would send the Indians ammunition enough & if they went down amongst the English they would put poison in their Rum, which he was sure prevented the Indians from coming down much sooner, and declares from the treatment He and the rest of the English Traders received, and the lyes propogated by the French at LaBay, among the Indians, such as the English being all killed, an open war with the French, the French Fleets and Armies being at Quebec and the Mississippi, he thinks these Inhabitants were very bad subjects, except one Ducharm, a Montreal Merchant, who had come there last Fall, and who treated him very well, and to his knowledge had often endeavored to persuade the Indians, not to believe all that was told them—that it was all a Lye. W Tuenis Fisher, being in Compy with the aforesaid Deponant at La Bay, declares that the Deposition above consists literally, with his knowledge, therefore confirms the Truth thereof; Mr. Cummin Shields declares that he, being at

La Bay all last winter, frequently heard (understanding the French language) the Lyes propogated to disturb the Indians, as already declared by Roseboom and Fisher, and further that he heard Young Langlad say before him and De Chann, that there were 1000 English killed at the Portage of Niagara, 500 Inhabitants on the back Settlements killed, and that some Governor, he does not remember who, had been so hard pushed by the Savages that he had got shipping ready to carry him and his People away, and abandon his province; that the Dauphin of France being displeased with the Peace concluded by his Father, had arrived in the Mississippi with a large Fleet, and that the Indians would be supplied from that quarter with all necessaries that they would want: All this he declared to have read in a news paper which came up to the Priest. That a Frenchman named Knash Bray, who lived with De Charm told him, the Deponant, that he heared Sourini say to DeCharm he would give 20 packs if there never should another Englishman come there. William Bruce declares that in the Spring 1763 hearing Michilimackinac was taken, he came down from the Bay and left his goods in the care of one LeDeuke, a Frenchman; that when he returned he found they were all taken away. LeDeuke said by the Indians. That the Indians who were with him at Michilimackinac asked the two chiefs who were left there, how they could permit their young men to do this; that they said that LeDeuke had robbed the goods himself and desired that they (the Indians) shou'd take them as the English at Michilimackinac were all killed, other Indians wou'd come and take them, that it was well they might have them; That he did not after find any of his Goods in Possession of LeDeuke, but that he carried on a Trade with the Indians all Winter, and to his knowledge he had no Goods before he the Deponant, was pillaged, which the other opponents affirm, nor any method, which they could see, by which they might come at goods, except by pillaging; That in Septembr 1763, there was a letter sent up to LaBay from the Priest at Michilimackinac by one Mastoc, that there had been 400 English and the General who came with them killed at Detroit, this letter was directed to old Langlad, who he, the Deponant saw read the letter to the Indians. That about the latter end of Sept a Chief of the Soaks had brought him up called Lewis Constance & at the Benards Castle, an Indian, told him he was come from LaBay with a letter from Gaolie, the Interpreter, to one LeBeace, telling him that there were officers from France who had come with a large Fleet commanded by the Dauphin, &c, and that the Governor of Quebec had offered these officers a Purse of Money for their News, that soon after the Fleet was seen, and that Quebec and Montreal would soon be taken, being no more than 500 men in Each, which news immediately spread among the Indians, who were there at the time in great numbers; that the Santows, Ottawas,

Renards and Puonts gave a Good Deal of Credit to it having a few days before received a Belt from the Indians about Detroit to come to War against the English, but that the Soaks and the Folleasoines could not believe it;That at the Soaks Castle the Indians told him, the Deponant, the French there intended to kill him, on which they called a council and brought the French to it, and told them if they killed the Englishman every Frenchman should die with Him, this had been told him by the Indians to whom the French had discovered their intentions; the Names of the French on the above Voyage up the Tovis Constance were, Martoc, Jordan & Sabeau, Rivier St. Pier, Mon. Fontasil, Havness, Lafortain, the three first discovering all the marks of bad subjects and disaffection to the English in their whole behaviour; That he hear'd St. Pier say that if he had wrote such a letter as the Interpreter wrote to Sabeau, he wo'd expect to be hanged if ever he went among the English; That St. Pier, Rivier, and Fontasie did all they could to prevent the Indians from believing the letter above, that in the opening the Mississippi River his Chief asked the Deponant if these Lands did belong to the English; he said they did, but LaBeau immediately contradicted him and said it was a Lye, and that all was false that the English officers had told him, the Chief, in saying it was Peace between the English & French. There was no such thing, and repeated the contents of Goalie's Letter to the Indians. That when they had come down the Mississippi River about ten days the Indians told him that St. Pier and the other French there had sent a Petition to the Commandant of the Illinois, the Contents of wh. he cou'd not justly tell, but he was informed it began in acquainting them, they had killed the English at Michilimackinac and had not forgot their old Fathers, that one Bonfoi was bearer of said Petition, that he was happy in being told on the return to the Petition the Commdt had ordered them to leave off, & not to kill any English, that in killing them they killed the French, they being one people. That the Pense, Reynards & Soaks wrote down this Spring with the other Nations to Montreal for goods but were prevented by one LeVorn who came from the Illinois, and told them if they went down the English would hang them, and cut off their heads; That they had Plenty of Goods at the Illinois wh. he would bring them; That he and other Frenchmen went off to Illinois for said Goods wh. hindered said Indians from bringing down their Peltry. That Goalie had told the Indians, that the Genl. had sd he cou'd hang Capt. Ethrington if he had a mind, but he would send him to His Majesty.

James Grant,
George McDougal,
Rich'd Williams.

COPY OF A SPEECH SENT BY THE SHAWANESE, DATED LOWER SHAWANY TOWN, JUNE 21, 1764.

Friends and Brothers:

We the Shawanese never intend to be at Variance wth our Brs the English, That it is altogether yr own Faults, formerly when a Number of our Nations was going to War agt our Enemies the Catabas and was oblig'd to travel through your Country, then you laid Violence on some of our Warriors & killed them. Brethren, you have this War, asked for a Peace, but don't blame us, but yourselves for our prosecuting the war against you as we have done.

Brethren now be strong and let your hearts be good as ours the Shawanese are and let you and us unanimously to agree in Cultivating a lasting Peace with each other, and in order to confirm that Friendship, you must erect no more Forts on our Ground. Brs when ye went to take Possession of Fort Detroit, we cautioned you against it; we told you the Indians inhabiting that part of the Country were not well, but ill disposed towards you, which you have since found to be true. Yr first work when you arrived there was to build a Fort; this none of us liked, and that was one Chief Reason for our entering into a War against you, as we had sufficient reason to think you intended taking our country from Us.

Brothers, now be strong and let us think of making a firm and lasting Peace with each other; We your Friends, the Shawanese, will help you all in our power, the Delawares, Six Nations & Wyandotts will join us in so good a work. Brethren, we must again excuse ourselves for entering into this present War and look upon ourselves as blameless for it is done. We, and the Delawares, Six Nations & Wyandotts are heartily sorry for it, and think it a Pity to prosecute it, any further, as we think our Numbers full able to oppose those of the English: At the beginning of the War We the Shawanese were well disposed towards you, our hearts were good and are so still, and hope our Brs the English are the same. We wth the Six Nations & Wyandotts have no bad thoughts within Us & seem well inclined to renew our ancient Friendship wth our Brs the English. Last Summer we went wth the Delawares, Six Nations & Wyandots to Fort Pitt, wth a full intent to accomodate Matters, but as we approached that Garrison We were fired upon wth their Cannon, wh obliged us to retire without talking to our Brs, and our Foolish Young Men remained there to fight against the Fort. Brs We have collected now everything we have to inform you of at this Time. When our Friend Mr. Smallman was given to us by another Nation, we thought then he might be a useful person when we should come on Speaking terms, to

transact Business between Us; we are now sending him to perform that Duty with a proper interpreter & a Copy of the Letter & make no doubt if our Brothers will again take Us into Favour but they will not detain him.

SPEECH OF THE SIX NATIONS, JUNE 24, 1764.

We having this day met in Council & having weighed talked Matters over, conclude we are not in the fault for entering into a War agt You; but that you are entirely to blame. We told you, our Brs, when you went to take Posts on the Lake, that it was a dangerous undertaking, which you have since experienced & found to be true. We know very well you blame us for wt is past, but if you consider things rightly & do us justice you must needs think the Fault lies among yourselves; the Indians inhabiting all this large country were greatly dissatisfied, having repeatedly told Sr Wm. Johnson to withdraw his men and demolish the fortifications, erected on our Ground. When we saw all other Nations rising to defend themselves and their Country, We thought it expedient and our interest to join them, of which you had timely notice. When you saw this, that yr Brethren the Six Nations had taken up Arms against you, then you solicited for a Peace, wh. Sr. Wm. Johnson has been successful in obtaining, now that we see you inclinable to a Peace wth us as Yr Brethren, the Six Nations gives us great Pleasure as we find ourselves well disposed to enter into our former Love & Friendship wth you. You told us to be strong, & that you would be in good understanding with us, wh pleases much all the neighboring Nations of Indians this Way, you have told us to be strong & the Peace lasting; & if the Shawanese & Delawares wd accept of the same they shd have it. They now agree to it and hope 'tis good on your parts as 'tis on Theirs, & within their Hearts that the Brethren, the English, have no mind any to deceive them. Therefore Brethren be ye strong also and let this Peace be a desirable one. Should you first violate it there is a Good and a . . . . bear Witness to it & punish you should you prove faithless. We do not, Brs, only talk for ourselves, but also for the Shawanese and Delawares & Wyandots, who think as We do, that you should do this in yr Hearts, as they & We will observe on our Parts: the Peace that shall now be made shall never be broken on either side, then let us both Parties be strong and think of nothing but what is good.

Brothers, think maturely upon this; do not imagine that what is intimated comes from the mouth only. Tis with all Truth & Sincerity from the Heart; besides, we speak for all Indians in this Country, & are taking great pains to communicate this Good Work to all the Western Nations.

MONCKTON TO GLADWIN.

Fort Pitt, July 26, 1760.

Sir: This will be delivered you by Colonel Bouquet—Who has the command of a detachment, consisting of 400 men of the 1st Batn R. A. R., under Majr Walters, for the relief of Niagra, and of 100 Virginians to take Post at Presque Isle.

By a copy of Genl. Amherst's letter to you, I find, sir, that immediately upon the arrival of the Americans at Presque Isle, you are to embark and transport them across the Lake. But as I have not as yet been able to get up any of the Pensilvaniae Provincials, in time to march with this detachment; (though I expect some in this day) and the 100 Virginians may not be sufficient to keep that Post, till the arrival of the Pensilvanians, (which I am hopeful will be at Presque Isle in two days after this detachment as I shall send them off immediately) I should be glad, if it would be of no detriment to the service, that 150 or less, of the Americans, or of your own detachment, might be left—I think for two days almost—till the arrival of the reinforcement. The more so as I suppose they will be able to join you, before you can get your whale boats back across the carrying place. This you will consult upon with Colonel Bouquet, who is to fix that Post. Besides, sir, the boats that will take them after you, may be those you are directed to leave by the Genls instructions to you, for keeping up the communication between Niagra and Presque Isle.

I should be glad, sir, of your remarks on the distance of your crossing the Lake, of any harbours or creeks, you may have put into, and of the shore; likewise of the situation of the ground where the French store stood, below the Falls.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient
& Hum. Servt.,
ROBT. MONCKTON.

Major Gladwin, of the 80th Regt.

AMHERST TO GLADWIN.

New York, 21st March, 1762.

Sir: Your letter of the 24th and 25th February, Containing Some further Discoveries You had made concerning the Indian plot, came to my hands last Night.

You will see by mine of the 17th instant, in Answer to yours of the 4th ultimo, that I could not give credit to the Indian's intelligence; and I

must confess I am still of the same way of thinking, and imagine the whole will appear to have arisen from Some Drunkenness among themselves.

I However approve of your using all the means in Your power to Come at the Truth of this Affair; and of Your Reporting everything you learn to Governor Gage, who, I am persuaded, will be able to Discover if there is any foundation for the accusation of the People of Montreal.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JEFF. AMHERST.

Major Gladwin; or officer Commandg at Fort Wm. Augustus.

AMHERST TO GLADWIN.

[From the original warrant, now in possession of Rev. Henry Gladwyn Jebb, of Firbeck Hall, Rotherham, England.]

By His Excellency Sir Jeffery Amherst, Knight of the Honorable Order of the Bath, Major General, and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, &c., &c., &c.,

To Major Henry Gladwin, Or Officer Commanding His Majesty's Forces at the Detroit, & its Dependencies.

Whereas it has been Reported to me, that a Cruel & Inhuman Murder was lately committed on the Body of Mr. John Clapham, on the route from the Detroit to Presqu' Isle, Supposed to be Done by Two Panis Slaves, now in custody at your Post, and Assisted by some Indians; And Whereas I Judge it absolutely Necessary that the Perpetrators, & Abettors, of that Horrid Crime, should be Brought to Condign Punishment; I Do, by Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given & granted by His Majesty, Authorise & Require You to Collect as many of the Officers belonging to His Majesty's Troops as you conveniently can, who are Hereby Empowered to Hear & Examine, by Oath, or Otherwise, all such Evidences as can be found, for or against the Two Panis Slaves, Confined for the Murder aforesaid, or any other Person, or Persons, whether Indian, or White, that are anyway Suspected of having been concerned in that Inhuman Act; And according to the Opinion given by the Majority of the Court, after hearing the Information or Evidence, given for & against the Prisoners, You will give immediate Directions, for putting the Sentence, or Sentences, into Execution, Even if they should Extend to Death, provided You think proper to approve of the Same; And You are further Required to See that the said Sentence, or Sentences, are Executed in the most Exemplary & publick manner, that thereby Others may be Deterred from Committing such Cruelties for the Future; And

for Your so doing, this shall be to You, and all Persons Concerned, a Sufficient Warrant & Authority.

Given under my Hand & Seal at Head Quarters, in New York, this 15th Day of September, 1762.

JEFF. AMHERST. [SEAL.]

By His Excellency's Command,

ARTHUR MAIR.

LETTER FROM SIR JEFFERY AMHERST TO THE SECRETARY AT WAR.

New York, 17 Sept., 1763.

Sir: As there have been two Deputy Adjutants general serving here, I have taken the liberty to show a mark of my entire satisfaction of Major Gladwin's good conduct, and commendable behaviour, in appointing him a D. Adjt. General; but to remain with the troops at the Detroit in the same manner as has been ordered: this is no more than a name, but it should be . . . gracious pleasure to approve it, and honor Major Gladwin with the rank of Lieut. Colonel, I am firmly of opinion that the promotion of so deserving an officer must at any time be a benefit to his Majesty's service, and it is the sole view I have in mentioning it to you.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect regard,

Sir,

Ye

JEFF: AMHERST.

Right Honorable McEllis.

GLADWIN TO AMHERST.

[Original draft of letter in Gladwin's handwriting.]

Detroit, November 1, 1763.

Sir: On the 12th Oct. the enemy sued for peace in a very submissive manner. At that time I was so circumstanced for want of flour that I must either pass or hear them. Of the two I chose the latter, thinking it of the utmost consequence to keep possession of the country. Nevertheless, I made them no promises. I told them the affair of peace lay wholly in your breast, but I did not doubt when you was thoroughly convinced of their sincerity everything would be well again; upon which hostility ceased and they disbursed to their hunting grounds. This gave me an opportunity of getting flour from the country to serve from hand to mouth.

Yesterday Monsieur De Quindre, a volunteer, arrived with dispatches from the Commandant of the Illinois, copies of which I enclose to you. The tenor of that of Pondiac is something extraordinary. The Indians are preparing for peace. I enclose you my answer to their demands.

I believe as things are circumstanced it would be for the good of his Majesty's servants to accommodate matters in Spring By that time the savages will be sufficiently reduced for want of powder, and I do not imagine there will be any danger of their breaking out again, provided some examples are made of their good subjects, the French, who set them on. No advantages can be gained by prosecuting the war, owing to the difficulty of catching them. Add to this the expense of such a war, which if continued the entire ruin of our peltry trade must follow, and the loss of a prodiguous consumption of our merchandise. It will be the means of their retiring, which will reinforce other nations on the Mississippi, whom they will push against us, and make them our enemies forever. Consequently they will render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to pass that country. And especially the French have promised to supply them with everything they want.

They have lost between eighty and ninety of their best warriors, but if your Excellency still intends to punish them further for their barbarities, it may be easily done, without any expense to the Crown, by permitting a free sale of rum, which will destroy them more effectually than fire and sword, but on the contrary, if you intend to accomodate matters in Spring, which I hope you will for the above reasons, it may be necessary to send up Sir William Johnson.

I shall write your Excellency fully concerning everything in this department by Lieutenant Montressor. This comes by Aren, a Mohawk, whom I shall direct to wait at Fort Pitt for your answer.

This moment I received a message from Pondiac, telling me that he should send to all the nations concerned in the war to bury the hatchet, and he hopes your Excellency will forget what is passed. If not, I believe he will retire to the Mississippi.

In a few days I shall send a duplicate of this by Andrew, a faithful Huron. He has a great deal to say with the Delawares. He will try to make matters easy that way. I shall direct him to assure them of a peace provided they remain quiet during the winter, which may perhaps ease our frontiers of those villains, and in Spring your Excellency can do as you please with them.

No news of the troops nor of the vessel which sailed from hence the 7th of last Month. If the troops do not come very soon they will scarcely have time to return to Niagara, but I hope they will come time enough to destroy that nest of thieves at Sandusky. When things are accommodated, if your excellency allows an exclusive trade for a year or two to

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your Excellency shall intend to
punish them further for their
barbarities, it may be easily
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but on the contrary, if you intend
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which I hope you will for the
above reasons it may be necessary
to send up Sir William Johnson

FAC-SIMILE OF MAJOR GLADWIN'S HANDWRITING.

the merchants who have suffered so much by this unhappy affair, they will be amply paid for their loss.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

H. G.

Endorsed:

To General Amherst, November 1, 1763.

COL. GLADWIN TO GEN. GAGE.

[From Gladwin's draft of the letter, written at Stubbing, England.]

February, 24, 1774.

Dear Sir: Your most obliging letter of the 9th instant did not come to hand till two days ago. The cover was very dirty and worn out, therefore I conclude that either your servant or mine by mistake had kept it in his pocket for a week; I wrote to Meyrick yesterday to send me down a letter of attorney, and desired him that if he met with any difficulties to apply to you, not doubting your good offices. I am prone to thank you for your friendly and good advise, and I begin to think I am as bad a politician as a courtier. To give you an instance of the former latter. When I was presented to the king to thank him for the rank he gave me, I was asked how long I had been in town. I replied, "three weeks." George Wert, who stood at my elbow, told me I should have said just arrived, but as I went to Court only upon that occasion, and thought it probable that I should never go there again, I conceived there was no harm in speaking the truth.

In regard to my politics you find me just as I left you in America, which may suffice to show you that I am not calculated to push myself in the world. Besides I am now engaged in another scene, being very happy in a good . . . wife and two little children, upon a small paternal estate, and am fond of farming and rural amusements. As to company, I keep but little, because I cannot afford to live in the stile of my neighbours. Nevertheless I am happy content. From this account of myself, I daresay you will not be surprised when I tell you that I should prefer a small sinecure government at home to all future expectations in the army. I should be satisfied with anything that would better my income two or three hundred a year. On the other hand, I do not suppose I could get put in a lieutenant colonel anywhere without purchasing, for my friends are out of power, and I think likely to continue so. With such interest I should stand but a poor chance in being a candidate for a regt. and I have not the way to make friends in another quarter to assist me in so capital a thing, wherefore I shall endeavor to make myself as comfortable as I can in my present situation and not sore beyond my reach.

If anything should draw you into these Northern parts, I should be extremely glad to see you here in my little way; if not I do not despair of seeing and waiting upon you in London before you leave the King, if I can get leave.

Endorsed:
To General Gage, February 24, 1774.

WM. AMHERST TO COL. BOUQUET.

New York, June 14, 1762.

Sir: I enclose to you the orders given out here containing the Promotions that have been made; I beg leave to congratulate you on seeing your name amongst them.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Yr Most obedt humble Servt.
WM. AMHERST.

Col. Bouquet.

Endorsed:
Coll. Amherst, June 14th, 1763. Receive1 the 26th. Answd. 12th July.
[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 4, page 137.] (Promotions not enclosed. A. R.)

LETTER TO MAJOR GLADWIN.

Fort Pitt, the 28th Augt., 1763.

Dear Sir: I had last night the very great pleasure to receive your Letter of the 28th July by your express Andrew who says he was detained by sickness at Sandusky. Your Letters for the General are forwarded. A Mohawk having reported to Sir Wm. Johnson that De Troite was taken, I could not help being uneasy tho Long acquainted with Indian Lies.

It was a great satisfaction to me to know from yourself that you have been able to defend that post, with so few men against that multitude, what was known below of your firm and prudent conduct from the beginning of the Insurrection had obtained the General's approbation, and does you the greatest honor.

The loss of all our Detach'd Posts is no more than could be expected from their Defenceless state, But Capt. Campbell's Death affects me sensibly.

I pity the unfortunate who remain Yet in the Power of the Barbarians, as every step we take to rescue them may and will probably hasten their Death.

Your Express says that after he left the De Troite, two Wiandots told him that the Detachment of 300 men from Niagara had joyn'd you with

provis's. This will give you some ease till more effectual Reinforcements can be sent.

You know that you are to have the Command of all the Troops destin'd for De Troite and to retake possession of the Country now fallen into the hands of the Enemy. To that effect the General collects all the Troops that can be spar'd at Niagara and Presque Isle.

The remains of the 42nd and 77th were order'd to Joyn you this way when we had Intelligence that Venang had been surprised, Lieut. Gordon and all his unfortunate Garrison murdered. Le Boeuf abandoned and Presque Isle surrender'd to my unspeakable astonishment, as I knew the strength of that Block house which would have been relieved from Niagara.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

* *

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and Humble Servant,

Major Gladwin. (Sic.)

Endorsed:

To Major Gladwin, 28th August, 1763.

[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 19-2, page 376.]

LETTER FROM DAVID FRANKS.

Pha., Octr. 15, 1763.

Sir: This day the post in & brot accot of the Packetts' arrival, and prints to 16th August frm England & inclose you the papers, containing the most materiall news. there's reports in Town that Sr. Jeffery has Leave to go home, & that a Commissn for Dy Adjutant Generall is come over for Major Gladwin and that 3000 Troops are coming over. I have not time to Ferutt out the Truth of these reports—nor is any Letters I may have yett come to hand, by wch I might have any advice—No Letters frm Sr. Jeffery to forwd upp there 12 day's Post have advised him of the reports of the communication to ye Post being again infested with Indians, if any hope ye number may be but few & hourly expect ye Pleasure to hear from you, that you and your Garrison are all well.

* *

Dear Sir,

Yr. most obeidt. hb. Servt.

Davd. Franks.

Endorsed:

Mr. D. Franks, 15th October, 1763. Received the 6th Novr.

[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 19-2, page 495.]

MAJOR GLADWIN TO COL. BOUQUET.

Detroit, Novr. 1, 1763.

Dear Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your two very kind letters of the 28th August & 29th September. I congratulate you on the drubbing you gave the dogs which does you so much honor—and I doubt not our frontier inhabitants have felt the good effects of it, they never will enter into such a war again, with that confidence they engaged in this, which I believe they would not have undertaken, but for our good subjects the French.

I have had no late accounts from below, the last I received from the General is of the 2nd of July, in which I am ordered to establish the outposts immediately, at the time I received these orders, I knew it was impossible to comply with any part of them, the event shows I was right in my conjectures. I am heartily wearied of my command and I have signified the same to Colonel Amherst, I hope I shall be relieved soon, if not, I intend to quit the service for I would not chuse to be any longer exposed to the villany and treachery of the settlement and Indians.

I hope the General has countermanded his order about the reinforcement you were to send me, because they can be of no use here this advanced season—besides I don't see how they can leave Presque Isle if they get thither, supposing that post was re-istablished which I believe is not the case, owing to the loss of the sloop but if they should come contrary to expectation, you may be assured Sir, I shall dispatch the Royal Americans immediately, perhaps I may have an opportunity of sending them down, in lieu of other troops that are coming up.

I need not say any thing of our affairs here, as you must have heard enough of it from other hands, but I send you my dispatch to the General open for your perusal, pray let me know what passes in your Department, I shall be happy to hear of your health and welfare & believe me to be,

Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

HENRY GLADWIN.

I desire to be remembered to the Gentlemen with you, seal my dispatches to the General and be kind enough to forward them the first opportunity.

Endorsed:

Letter from Major Gladwin to Colonel Bouquet, dated Detroit, 1st November, 1763. Received by the Mohawk Aron the 29th at night.

[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 19-2. page 520.]

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